THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

MUZZEY

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HISTORY
OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

BY

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PREFACE

This book is not a revision of the author's revised "American History," but a new high-school text written in response to the request of many teachers for a fuller treatment of our history, especially of its social and economic phases in the last few decades. Approximately one half of the book deals with the period since the Civil War, and more than one half of that half is devoted to our history in the twentieth century. Not only does the enlarged text permit a more adequate treatment of the problems that occupy our people today, but the earlier chapters of the book have been oriented to explain the experiences by which the American people have evolved those ideas and ideals with which they face the problems of today. It is a common fallacy, in our overanxiety to make history "up to date," to regard questions which have been "settled" in the past and which are no longer "live issues" as unimportant. This may lead us to miss the significance of the continuity of history, which means not that the same problems persist, but that contributions to the ideas and institutions of a people made by dealing with successive problems tend to persist. The Revolutionary War and the slavery contest were settled long ago, yet they are of greater importance in our history than, say, the "live issue" of the tariff, which is ever with us.

Again, the author cannot agree with what seems to be the fashion in some quarters, of minimizing the rôle of memory in the study of history. History, after all, deals with the past; and memory (even the memory of some dates!) is an indispensable requisite for the appreciation of the past. Factual knowledge is the raw material for the finished product of historical judgment. Of course we do not want mere learning by rote, or parrot-learning. But does not the broad denial of history as a "memory subject" contain an element of dangerous indulgence for the student who is all too ready to ask, Do we have to remember this or that? Memory, therefore, should not be decried, but should be encouraged by a presentation of the past in a way to appeal as strongly as possible to the pupil's curiosity, imagination, and reason.

Realizing that the crowded curriculum of the schools of today makes extended "research" work impossible for the pupil, the author has endeavored to include in the text the essentials of American history for the high-school and the college-preparatory student. How much outside reading or work on special topics the teacher can assign to the pupils will depend on a number of circumstances, such as the mental caliber of the class, the time at the students' disposal, and the equipment of the school library or other easily accessible libraries. In general, the author would recommend giving the students a taste of vivid original sources, such as are to be found in the author's "Readings in American History" or Professor Hart's "American History Told by Contemporaries" or "The Old South Leaflets," rather than having them read too much in secondary works which only expand the material in the textbook.

For the help of teachers who favor the unit plan of following a topic through American history, or for the purpose of review work, the author has appended (p. 731) a list of topics with references to the numbered paragraphs of the text in which these topics are treated.

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HISTORY
OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

CHAPTER I

THE NEW WORLD

THE AWAKENING OF EUROPE

AMERICA is the child of Europe. Until the discoverers and explorers from the maritime nations of western Europe began to come to the shores of these continents, more than four hundred years ago, the vast regions now occupied by the United States, the British Dominion of Canada, and the Latin-American republics of Mexico, Central and South America were a wilderness of tribes of copper-colored barbarians or savages, whose ancestors had crossed by Bering Strait from northeastern Asia to Alaska, we know not how many centuries before, and had slowly spread southward and eastward to Patagonia and Labrador. These American Indians (or "Amerinds," to use the cable-code name by which scholars distinguish them from the inhabitants of the country of India) showed great diversity of character and attainments, due to differences in climate, soil, food, building material, and the activities necessary to preserve life. The Mayas of Yucatan, the Incas of Peru, the Aztecs of Mexico, the Hopis of New Mexico, the Haidas of Queen Charlotte Island, and the Iroquois of central New York furnish examples of Indian tribes who had learned to construct quite elaborate calendars and temples, to weave beautiful rugs and baskets, to bake pottery, to build houses of clay or of cedar beams, shaped with stone implements and ornamented with huge carved totem poles, to devise rude political institutions, and to raise crops of beans, pumpkins, and Indian corn. Other tribes were sunk in bestial savagery, sheltering themselves from wind and snow behind piles of brushwood, wallowing in the southern mud like hogs, eating roots, grass, snakes, and lizards, and dying by thousands from the ravages of the beasts and the diseases against which they were powerless to protect themselves. Nowhere had they risen above the stage of barbarism. It was for the European settlers to introduce civilization into the New World. They brought hither not only tools for the conquest of the wilderness, such as firearms, iron implements for building and farming, horses, cattle, sheep, and hogs, wheat and barley, vegetables and fruits, but also the forms of government, the religion, the books, and the languages of the Old World. For the ethnologist the American Indians have been a picturesque object of study; for the government, since the days of the earliest settlers, they have been an obstruction to be removed, by methods often unnecessarily cruel, from the path of civilization. They have contributed almost nothing to the making of America. The New World was a virgin continent for the European discoverers and their descendants, to make of it what they would.

2. The Middle Ages. To understand why and how this task was begun, therefore, it is necessary to know something of the conditions of life and of the currents of ideas which prevailed in western Europe some four and a half centuries ago. That was the time known to scholars as the age of the Renaissance, or "the new birth." Perhaps it would be better to call it a new awakening, for Europe had been not dead but sleeping, and the awakening was not a sudden start but a gradual stirring attended by a good deal of drowsiness and yawning. For five or six hundred years after the great Roman Empire had gone to pieces and its place in western Europe had been taken by the rude tribes of barbarian invaders from beyond the Rhine and the Danube, civilization was threatened with extinction.

Europe was passing through the Dark Ages. The political authority, the legal institutions, the commercial industry, the art and letters of the ancient world, were lost. The sap of creative energy ceased to flow. Life became dull, stagnant, and precarious. The strong built castles and filled the land with their incessant petty feudal wars and raids, while the stolid peasants or serfs lived in miserable hovels on their lord's domain and got a bare subsistence from the cultivation of their strip of the manor land. Such little learning as there was betook itself to the monasteries. The Church alone, with the fall of the political power of the Roman Empire, struggled to preserve a sense of unity, a show of authority, and a modicum of peace in western Europe. But it was a well-nigh hopeless task. The cement had fallen out of the structure of European society, leaving it to crumble into thousands of little baronial or ecclesiastical estates, without cultural or commercial contact beyond the borders of their immediate neighbors. Thirteen recorded plagues swept over the filthy, unsanitary hovels and halls of Europe in the tenth century, carrying away unnumbered thousands by scurvy, influenza, and leprosy.

3. The Crusades. Toward the close of the eleventh century, however, events occurred which were to stir Europe from her lethargy. Ever since the rapid conquests of the Mohammedan armies in the seventh century, the eastern shores of the Mediterranean Sea, including the holy city of Jerusalem, had been in the hands of the Arabs, an enlightened people who respected the Christian religion and permitted the pilgrims from Europe to visit the Holy Sepulcher, or grave of Christ, unmolested. But now the cruel race of Seljuk Turks coming down from the north ousted the Arabs from control. They barred the Christian pilgrims from the holy places and made war on the Eastern emperor, conquering his vast province of Asia Minor and threatening his capital of Constantinople. The emperor appealed to the Pope for aid and the Pope appealed to the lords and knights of Europe to cease slaughtering their fellow Christians in feudal warfare and join for the rescue of the Holy Sepulcher from the Turks. The response to the Pope's impassioned plea at the Council of Clermont in 1095 was enthusiastic. With the cry "God wills it," the soldiers of Europe sewed the emblem of the cross on the breasts of their tunics and started on the holy Crusades, or wars of the Cross. For a century and a half armies of crusaders, led by knights, nobles, and even kings and emperors, marched across Europe and Asia Minor, to establish Christian kingdoms in Syria. As military expeditions, however, the Crusades failed. Jerusalem, twice captured and recaptured, was finally lost to the Turks (1244), who retained their possession of the Holy Sepulcher until General Allenby's triumphal entry into Jerusalem in 1918. In spite of the failure of their purpose the effect of the Crusades on western Europe was enormous. They provided the new contact necessary to stimulate social and economic activity. They revealed a new civilization, superior in many respects to the stagnant feudalism of the Middle Ages. The wealth of Asia, which had been unknown to the West since the days of the Roman Empire, was again discovered. The Damascus steel and linen ("damask"), the Egyptian glass and cotton, the gold and gems and rugs and spices of Asia began to find their way to Europe to encourage new tastes. Moreover, many knights and lords had mortgaged their lands to raise crusading armies and had returned impoverished or had not returned at all. The Pope had freed debtors and had pardoned criminals who assumed the cross. The old feudal order or disorder was changed. Serfs found themselves without a master and with opportunity beckoning them to become artisans or traders in the newly forming towns. Slowly a new order of society, neither nobles nor serfs, but a middle class, or *bourgeoisie*, began to develop, which in time was to amass riches by commerce and manufacture and to contend with kings for power.

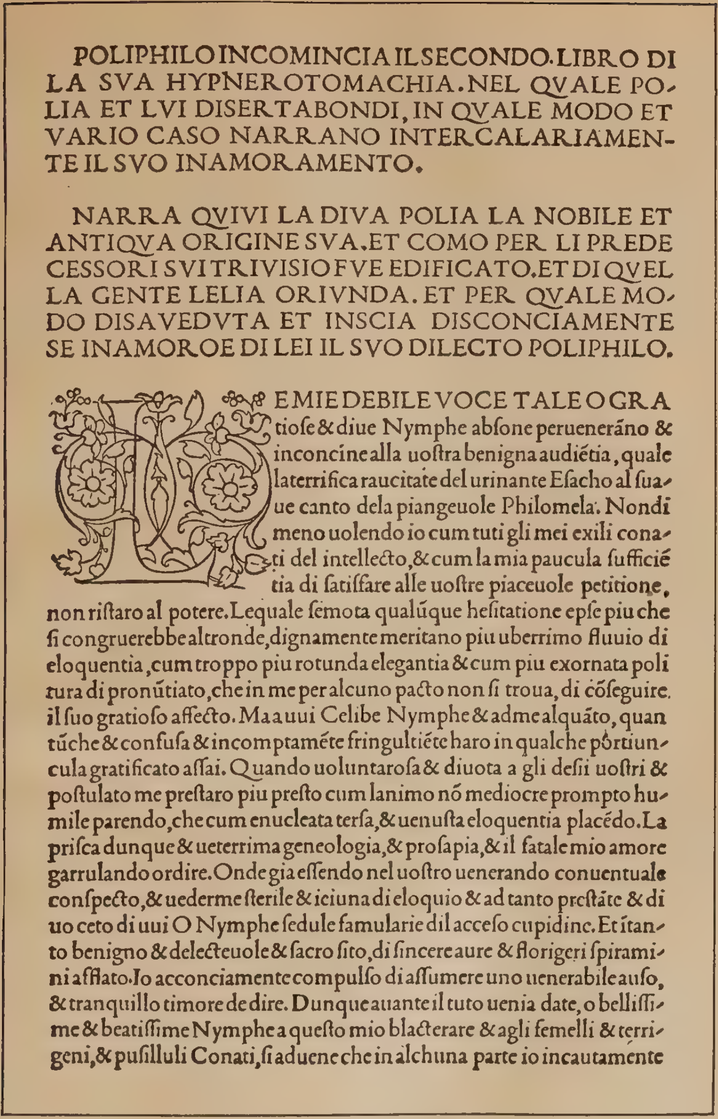
4. The Far East. When the Crusades, which had revealed the Near East, were beginning to peter out in the thirteenth century, the far-distant Orient was brought into the vision of Europe. Eastern Asia came to meet eastern Europe. The great Tatar conqueror Genghis Khan (died 1227) and his successors extended their empire westward from Mongolia to the borders of the

Balkans. The Mongols were hospitable to the Europeans, and before the century was over missionaries, ambassadors and traders, had found their way from western Europe to Cathay, or China. The most famous of these visitors was Marco Polo, a Venetian merchant, whose account of his travels marked the greatest advance in geographical knowledge for more than a thousand years. Polo as a boy of seventeen accompanied his uncle on trading trips to Pekin, the capital of the great Kublai Khan of the Mongols, and, pleasing the Khan, was retained by him as a councilor and diplomat for twenty years. Allowed at last to return to Venice in 1295, Polo astounded his fellow citizens by the magnificence of the jewels which he ripped from the seams of his garments and with the stories of golden-roofed palaces that made the splendor of Venice look like a village of hovels. He was nicknamed "Messer Millione," or "Mr. Millions." Perhaps the most important news brought back from the distant East was that the further shore of China was washed by the sea, and hence the treasure-laden lands of the great Khan could be reached by ship — if one only knew where and how.

5. The Medieval Trade Routes. Meanwhile the Mediterranean cities, especially Venice and Genoa, were profiting and causing all western Europe to profit by the contacts which they had established in the Near East. They had partially financed the Crusades, reaping their reward in assignments of territory in the conquered districts, where they had set up "factories," or trade agencies. They had their quarters in Constantinople, Damascus, and Alexandria, and their agents acted as middlemen, receiving the precious goods (spices, rugs, gems, porcelains, and drugs) which came from the Far East by caravans of camels across southern Asia or by sea from the East Indies to the head of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea; and dispatching them thence to Genoa, Venice, and Marseille, whence they were carried up the river valleys and across the Alpine passes to the markets of France and Germany. Venetian galleys even sailed through the Strait of Gibraltar and up the Atlantic coast in the fourteenth century, distributing their treasures at Lisbon, London, and Antwerp.

6. The Revival of Learning. But the new commerce with the East, important as it was in raising the social level of feudal Europe, was by no means the only factor in the awakening of the West. Italy was "the wharf of Europe," but she was also "the mother of the nations." The political empire of Rome had been shattered, but the Eternal City was still the capital and center of the most powerful institution of the Middle Ages, the Christian Church; and the Roman law was the basis of the codes of many of the peoples of western Europe. It was the study of the theology of the Church, first of all, that brought great companies of scholars together in centers like Paris and Oxford to furnish the models for the establishment of the medieval universities. It was the revival of the study of Roman law in the twelfth century that laid the political foundations for the modern states of Europe. Moreover, the Italian cities, to a far greater extent than the regions north of the Alps, had preserved the spirit of the classical world. And when Greek scholars began to come to Italy in the fourteenth century they received an enthusiastic welcome from pupils who were eager to learn the language and the literature of Homer, Sophocles, and Plato. The classical Renaissance spread from Italy to the nations of the north. Its cultural effect was enormous. Not only did it introduce into western Europe the ancient models of literary and artistic refinement, of proportion, balance, and good taste, but it revealed a new conception of man as a free spirit, glowing with creative energy, rejoicing in the beauties of nature, and enamored of a world of opportunity for human development — a conception contrasting strongly with the theological doctrine of the utter corruption of mankind and the sinfulness of worldly ambition. The devotees of the new living were called "Humanists," because their interest was in man as a *human being*.

7. The Invention of Printing. The most important contribution of the Renaissance to civilization was the invention of printing. Why so many centuries passed before men hit upon the comparatively simple device of stamping words on a page by means of inked letters, raised on tiny blocks of wood or metal



POLIPHILO INCOMINCIA IL SECONDO LIBRO DI LA SVA HYPNEROTOMACHIA. NEL QVALE POLIA ET LVI DISERTABONDI, IN QVALE MODO ET VARIO CASO NARRANO INTERCALARIAMENTE IL SVO INAMORAMENTO.

NARRA QVIVI LA DIVA POLIA LA NOBILE ET ANTIQVA ORIGINE SVA. ET COMO PER LI PREDECESSORI SVI TRIVISIO FVE EDIFICATO. ET DI QVELLA GENTE LELIA ORIVNDA. ET PER QVALE MODO DISAVEDVTA ET INSCIA DISCONCIAMENTE SE INAMOROE DI LEI IL SVO DILECTO POLIPHILO.

DE MIE DEBILE VOCE TALE O GRAtioſe & diue Nymphe abſone perueneráno & inconcine alla uoſtra benigna audiétia, quale la terrifica raucitate del urinante Eſacho al ſuaue canto dela piangeuole Philomela. Nondimeno uolendo io cum tuti gli mei exili conati del intellecto, & cum la mia paucula ſufficiétia di ſatiſſare alle uoſtre piaceuole petitione, non riſtaro al potere. Lequale ſemota qualúque heſitatione epſe piu che ſi congruerebbe altronde, dignamente meritano piu uberrimo fluuio di eloquentia, cum troppo piu rotunda elegantia & cum piu exornata politura di pronútiato, che in me per alcuno pacto non ſi troua, di cóſeguire il ſuo gratioſo affecto. Ma a uui Celibe Nymphe & ad me alquáto, quantúche & confuſa & incomptaméte fringultiéte haro in qualche portiuncula gratificato aſſai. Quando uoluntaroſa & diuota a gli deſii uoſtri & poſtulato me preſtaro piu preſto cum lanimo nó mediocre prompto humile parendo, che cum enucleata terſa, & uenuſta eloquentia placédo. La priſca dunque & ueterrima geneologia, & proſapia, & il fatale mio amore garrulando ordire. Onde gia eſſendo nel uoſtro uenerando conuentuale conſpecto, & uederme ſterile & iciuna di eloquio & ad tanto preſtáte & diuo ceto di uui O Nymphe ſedule famularie dil acceſo cupidine. Et í tanto benigno & delecteuole & ſacro ſito, di ſincere aure & florigeri ſpiramini afflato. Io acconciamente compulſo di aſſumere uno uenerabile auſo, & tranquillo timore de dire. Dunque auante il tuto uenia date, o belliſſime & beatiſſime Nymphe a queſto mio blacterare & agli femelli & terrigeni, & puſilluli Conati, ſi aduene che in alchuna parte io incautamente

A BEAUTIFUL SPECIMEN OF FIFTEENTH-CENTURY PRINTING, BY ALDUS, VENICE

(especially since the ancients, as far back as the Babylonians, had been accustomed to transfer to soft substances like clay and wax impressions from seal rings and little carved cylinders), is hard to see. Perhaps it was because there was no suitable material for a printed page until the Arabs introduced paper into Europe from the East about the thirteenth century, to take the place of the stiff, crinkly vellum or parchment on which the medieval chronicles were written. Whether the honor of inventing the process of printing by movable type belongs to the Dutch or to the Germans is a matter of dispute. At any rate, it was from the press of John Gutenberg of Mainz that the first book, the Bible, was issued in 1456. Before the close of the century there were more than 150 printing presses at work in Europe, and several million books had been printed. A cheap and ready circulating medium for European culture had been found. Heretofore, men had had to copy manuscripts by hand, with all the attendant liability to errors from careless or undecipherable writing, while the labor involved made the manuscript so expensive that only the favored few could own them. A great noble of Florence in the fifteenth century had employed forty-five scribes for two years to make a library of only two hundred volumes. But the printing press made possible the unlimited reproduction of uniform copies, and put books into the hands of great numbers of men who had never had reading material before. In the quaint phrase of a writer of the time, "Learning, yea and wisdom also, can now knock at everyman's door." Reading spread ideas and ideas stimulated further writing. The middle class now began to share in the intellectual life which had been the exclusive privilege of the university scholars, the theologians, and the scribes.

8. The National States. The political development of Europe from the age of the Crusades on tended to the formation of national states. There had been kings, to be sure, in England, France, and Italy all through the Dark Ages, but they had not been the symbols of national unity. The two great institutions of the Middle Ages, the empire and the papacy, were international in character. The emperors claimed as successors of the Cæsars to rule over all Christian Europe, and the Popes were interested in men's allegiance to the universal Church rather than to the national kings. The latter, without a central system of taxation or a national army, were often forced to contend on equal terms with the great feudal lords who paid them nominal homage but did not hesitate to fight them for the possession of territory. The vassals and serfs naturally looked to their immediate lords rather than to the distant king for their support, but when the artisans and merchant class began to grow and towns, or "communes," multiplied, where men wished to be free from the exactions of the feudal lords and to pursue their industries in peace, they turned to the king for grants of charters for protection, and for the enforcement of law and order. Often the towns joined the king and sent their burghers to fight side by side with the royal levies against the feudal armies, or they bought the privilege to manage their internal affairs by sums of money which allowed the king to hire troops. Little by little the royal arms prevailed, the royal domain was enlarged at the expense of the feudal duchies and counties, the royal laws, courts, taxation, and coinage were extended. The process was under way which was eventually to reduce the names of duke, earl, count, and baron to mere titles of honor at the court of the all-powerful national sovereign. The kings also resented the interference of the Church with their growing power, and the Pope, who had not hesitated in the medieval period to excommunicate kings and absolve their subjects from allegiance, began now to find these subjects, even to the priests and the bishops, quite as determined to be good Frenchmen, Englishmen, and Spaniards as they were to be good Christians. By the end of the fifteenth century most of the states of western Europe were fully conscious of their national unity and ready to engage in rivalry for the wealth and prestige which the new industry and commerce offered.

9. The New Geography. Meanwhile the knowledge of the world outside of Europe, which had shrunk to almost nothing before the new discovery of the East, was increasing steadily. Even before the printing presses sent out, among their earliest products, editions of Ptolemy's Geography and Marco Polo's Travels, the zeal for the commerce of the East had led to a diligent study of geography and a great improvement of the science of navigation. The magnetic needle, which swung to point north and south when floated on a bit of wood, had been known at least since the twelfth century, but was looked on as a mere curiosity or a contraption of Satan until the maritime students of the fourteenth century bethought themselves of fixing it to a card and using it as a compass to determine the direction of their voyage, and to fix with accuracy the relative position of harbors, capes, and coast lines. The astrolabe, a device for calculating the altitude of the stars, and hence measuring latitude, was perfected in the fifteenth century. But no accurate way of measuring longitude was discovered, as is shown by the fact that the mistakes in the maps which led the navigators into ludicrous errors were almost always in the measurements east and west and not those north and south. "Portolani," or Port-Charts, were made in great numbers, one of them dating as early as 1339 showing the shores of the Mediterranean with wonderful exactness.

10. "The Sea of Darkness." Men's eyes had not yet turned westward, however. The Atlantic, or the Ocean Sea as it is called, was still an object of mystery and terror. It was the scene of fabled islands and the home of dire monsters. From its waves the hand of Satan might be raised to seize luckless vessels, or great sea-griffons might swallow them sailors and all, or the dreaded worm bore through their hulls or the fabled mountains of loadstone draw the iron spikes from their planks. The mariners hugged the shores, except when some pilot was driven by the trade winds far out to sea to return with stories of islands glimpsed through the fog. Still, with the stimulated interest in commerce and with the prizes of the East beckoning, it was not to be expected that the states facing on the Atlantic would remain for long passively watching the Venetian galleys ply up their coasts with rich cargoes from the Indies. One of those states, Portugal, had already attained complete national unity by the end of the fourteenth century. Her territory was small and her industries feeble, but her commerce extended to England and the Netherlands and her navy was already "the mother of seamen." Portugal could not hope to break the Venetian and Genoese monopoly of the Mediterranean trade, but might not her sailors reach the Indies by the ocean route, passing round the African continent (whose size was not known), and so coming into that sea whose waters, according to Marco Polo, washed the eastern coast of China and the golden island of Japan?

11. Prince Henry of Portugal, 1394–1460. So at least thought the man who deserves to be called the father of European overseas expansion. Prince Henry "the Navigator," the third son of King John I of Portugal, devoted his life to maritime enterprise with the double purpose of finding places where there was "a sure and certain hope of profit" and of converting the infidel inhabitants thereof to the true faith. Prince Henry established a sort of maritime college, where he assembled the most noted geographers, map makers, and naval architects of the day. Continuous improvements were made in the design, construction, and rigging of vessels, and fleet after fleet was sent out to explore the waters of the African coast. The Madeiras and the Azores were reached and colonized early in the fifteenth century. Mile by mile the Portuguese captains sailed down the coast of Africa until in 1447 they reached the "green cape" (Cape Verde), south of the Sahara Desert, which was supposed to set the bounds to habitable land. From the coast they opened up the trade of the interior of Africa in gold, ivory, and negro slaves. In 1471 they crossed the equator without falling into the fabled boiling whirlpools or the goblin clutch of Satan. In 1486 Bartholomew Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and in 1498 Vasco da Gama crossed the Indian Ocean to Calicut in India. At last a sea route to the Indies had been found, although more than 10,000 miles in length, which was independent of the caravan traders of Asia and the monopoly of the Venetian and Genoese middlemen.

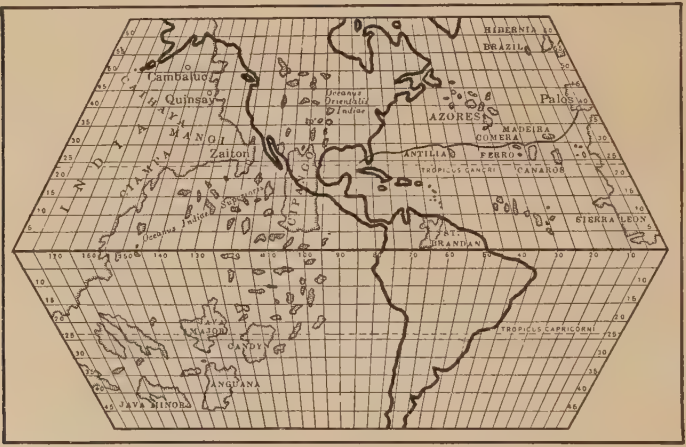
12. The Fall of Constantinople. It was certain that such a route would be eventually found when once the nations facing on the Atlantic began to compete with the Mediterranean cities, whatever the latter's fate might be. But even as Prince Henry's captains were finding their way down the coast of Africa, an event happened which spelled the commercial doom of the proud cities of Venice and Genoa. In 1453 the Ottoman Turks, a race of savage fighters, overthrew the Eastern Empire and captured the great capital of Constantinople. They converted the Christian churches into Mohammedan mosques and drove the European merchants from the city. They seized the trading posts of the Venetians and Genoese in the Ægean Islands and on the Syrian coast, and made the whole eastern end of the Mediterranean unsafe for Christian commerce. The fall of Constantinople, while not the beginning either of the migration of Greek scholars to Italy or of the shifting of commerce from the cities of Italy to those of the Atlantic coast, accelerated both processes. The great days of Venice and Genoa were over. The future of world trade was with the rising cities of Lisbon, Cadiz, Bristol, London, and Antwerp. A new era was at hand. The Mediterranean shrank to the limits of an inland sea, and the age of European expansion across three world oceans began.

The Discovery of America

13. Christopher Columbus. Among the goodly company of navigators attracted to the Portuguese harbors was a young Genoese named Cristoforo Columbo. Of his early years we know almost nothing. Even the date of his birth is uncertain. At an early age the boy developed a great interest in the sea, picked up considerable knowledge of geography, shipping, and map making, and probably sailed with a Genoese captain to eastern Mediterranean ports. About fifteen years after the death of Prince Henry, Columbus arrived at Lisbon, where he soon won a conspicuous place among the mariners. He made voyages to England and to the African coast and married the daughter of one of Prince Henry's old sea-dogs, the royal governor of the Madeiras. From sources that are not clear to us, Columbus arrived at the unshakable conclusion that there were new lands to be found by sailing boldly out into the Atlantic. He broached his plan to the king of Portugal, whose commission of wise men ridiculed it as fantastic, but sent out a secret expedition to confirm their doubts. Disgusted with this trickery, Columbus shook the dust of Portugal from his feet and went to Spain, where for seven years he labored endeavoring to enlist the support of the sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, who were in the midst of a campaign to drive the Arabs out of their last stronghold in the country. After his scheme had been twice rejected by the royal commissioners, the indomitable man started to cross the Pyrenees to lay his plan before the king of France, but to his surprise he was recalled and graciously received by the Spanish sovereigns. They had just entered Granada in triumph. Queen Isabella, perhaps in gratitude for the victory over the infidels, perhaps through the persuasion of some high official who approved Columbus's plan, perhaps from jealousy lest another nation might after all reap the glory and profit from that plan, now gave the Genoese adventurer her whole-hearted support. "Capitulations," or articles of contract, were signed on April 17, 1492, conferring upon Columbus the title of Don and Admiral and the powers of viceroy and governor "in all the islands and lands which should be discovered or acquired" by him, together with the tenth part of "all the pearls, precious stones, gold, silver, spices and other merchandise" there found, and the right to subscribe one eighth of the cost of the expedition and to have one eighth of the profits.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

14. The Great Voyage. Though the inhabitants of Palos and neighboring towns had been ordered to provide ships and men for the enterprise, it was not till the beginning of August that Columbus was able to equip three small vessels with about a hundred sailors. Few even of the hardy mariners of Portugal were willing to enlist in so hazardous and novel an expedition. On August 3, 1492, the little fleet (the *Santa Maria* of about two hundred and thirty tons, the *Pinta* and the *Niña*, somewhat smaller) left Palos and put in at the Canaries for final overhauling and instruction. Quitting the Canaries on September 6, they sailed due west into the uncharted sea. The weather was favorable and trade winds from the east bore them rapidly on their way. But as weeks passed and no sign of land appeared the sailors began to murmur and the murmurs rose to threats of mutiny. It took all the iron courage of the great commander to sail on. He had confidently expected to find land not more than seven hundred and fifty leagues from the Canaries; but by the end of September that point had been passed and still there stretched before him only the gray horizon, broken now and then by a cloud-bank which the lookouts eagerly mistook for a shore. On October 6 he yielded to the advice of his chief captain, Martin



AN ITALIAN MAP OF THE LATER FIFTEENTH CENTURY WHICH PROBABLY REPRESENTS COLUMBUS'S IDEA OF THE RELATION OF THE INDIES TO EUROPE

The actual position of the western continent is shown by the heavy black outline

Pinzon, to turn the course a little to the south, and soon after midnight of the eleventh a sailor on the *Pinta* spied a light ahead like a moving torch. The next morning the ships approached the shore of an island (probably Watling) in the Bahama group, and while the sailors thankfully chanted the *Gloria in Excelsis* Columbus landed and, with the red robe of the Admiral of Spain thrown over his armor and the standard of Spain held aloft, took possession of the land in the name of Ferdinand and Isabella. For several weeks he cruised among the islands of the West Indies, mistaking the long coast line of Cuba for a part of the mainland of Asia and identifying Haiti (or Hispaniola) with the island of Japan. Here on the day after Christmas he built the fort of the Nativity, in which he left a garrison of thirty-seven men, and started for home in the tiny ship *Niña*. After a stormy voyage he landed at Palos in March, 1493, and a few weeks later was summoned to the court at Barcelona, where he told his marvelous tale, exhibited the Indians, the strange birds and animals, and the specimens of gold which he had brought from the islands of the West, and received royal honors from his sovereign.

15. The Significance of the Voyage. Whatever purpose Columbus had in sailing to the west, and however mistaken he was in believing to his death that he had reached the Indies or the lands of the East, his wonderful voyage remains one of the greatest landmarks in history.[1] Unwittingly he had revealed a new world. Not that Columbus was the first European to see these shores. The Norse vikings in their stout seagoing galleys had sailed over the far northern arc of the Atlantic from Scandinavia to Greenland, where a considerable settlement existed in the tenth century. It seems well established that Leif the Lucky, son of Eric the Red, came from Iceland to the shores of America, somewhere between Labrador and Cape Cod, in the year 1000 and found a pleasant country abounding in wild grapes which he called "Vineland the Good." But in spite of Leif's visit, America, as Mark Twain humorously remarked, "did not stay discovered." It was Columbus's voyage that wove the first strand of a continuous and ever-thickening web of intercourse between the old world and the new. Columbus himself set out on a second voyage in September, 1493, with a fleet of seventeen vessels, carrying fifteen hundred men, with horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, and chickens, fruit and vegetables, seeds and sugar cane from the Canaries. On the island of Haiti he established the colony of Isabella as the capital of his viceroyalty — the first permanent settlement of Europeans in the Western Hemisphere.

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[1] Because in Columbus's negotiations for the voyage and in his "Capitulations" with Ferdinand and Isabella there is no mention of any intention to sail to the Indies, but only of "lands and islands" to be discovered in the West, some scholars have denied that Columbus was seeking a new way to Asia. But if this is so, it is hard to understand why Columbus was provided with letters and presents for the Great Khan, whom he sought to find in Cuba, why he named the land which he found the "Indies," and why he insisted on his return and till the end of his life that he had reached the neighborhood of the coast of Asia. He may have had secret reasons for not wishing to divulge his plans before sailing. The whole question of the purpose of his voyage and of the charts which he had for his guidance is a subject of controversy, but this uncertainty in no way detracts from the importance of Columbus's discovery.

16. Columbus's Ill Fortune and Death. Had Columbus dreamed that a solid barrier of land, reaching from arctic to antarctic snows, and beyond that another ocean wider than the one he had just crossed, lay between the islands which he mistakenly called the Indies and the real Indies of the East,[1] he would not have spent the remaining years of his life in the attempt to locate the rich cities of Cathay. He sailed along the northern coast of South America in 1498 and called it "a mainland and very large of which no knowledge has been had till now"; but it was obviously not the kingdom of the Great Khan. Then he tried to find a passage to Asia further west and for a whole year skirted the savage shores of Central America from Nicaragua to Panama with no better success. Meanwhile his misfortunes as an administrator equaled his disappointments as an explorer. His vanity, avarice, and despotism invited resentment and plots among his followers. The meager returns of his costly expeditions disappointed the sovereign and grandees of Spain. Even as he was sailing along the pestilential coast of South America the Portuguese Vasco da Gama had reached the harbors of India by way of the Cape of Good Hope [**11**][1] and had brought back to Lisbon treasure sufficient to pay the cost of the voyage sixty times over. Compared with such returns the results of Columbus's exploits seemed trivial indeed. The court wits dubbed him "the Admiral of the Mosquitoes, who has discovered lands of vanity and delusion as the miserable graves of Castilian gentlemen." He returned to Spain in 1504 to find his benefactress Isabella on her deathbed and two years later. in the humiliation of poverty and obscurity, he followed her to the grave. Never was reward more ill-proportioned to deserts. The man whose vision and courage had discovered a new world was not even to have the honor of giving it his name.

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[1] Columbus's error has been perpetuated to our own day in the name of the group of islands girding the Caribbean Sea. The term "West Indies" is a self-contradictory one. It means literally the "western lands of the east."

17. The Pope's Demarcation Line. Missionary zeal was quite as prominent a motive as the search for wealth in the explorations of the new age. The Pope as the acknowledged head of Christian Europe was regarded as having a special interest and authority in matters pertaining to the conversion of heathen peoples. He had sanctioned the Portuguese establishments on the coast of Africa in the middle years of the fifteenth century. Now that Spain had entered into competition with Portugal for the exploitation of the Indies, her sovereigns asked for papal recognition of their claims too. Accordingly Pope Alexander VI, who was a Spaniard, issued a proclamation or "Bull" (from *bulla*, "a seal") a few weeks after Columbus returned from his first voyage, assigning to Portugal all the new heathen lands to be discovered to the eastward and to Spain all such lands to the westward of a line drawn from pole to pole, one hundred leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. The two countries accepted the papal idea of the division of the spoils in a treaty concluded at Tordesillas the following year (1494), but they shifted the location of the line to three hundred and seventy leagues west of the said islands. It will be seen from the map (p. 19) that by this division all of the American continents except the eastern part of Brazil fell within the Spanish sphere of influence.

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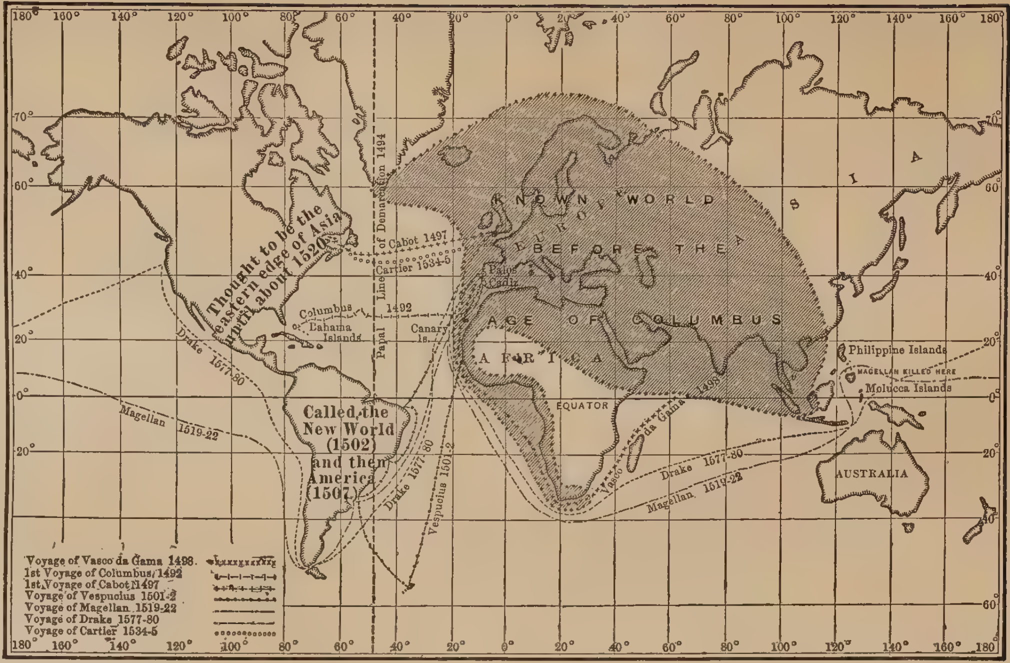
[1] Figures in brackets refer to paragraphs where subject is treated.

18. Amerigo Vespucci. But when we say "the American continents" the student must realize that neither the Pope nor Columbus nor anybody else had any idea in 1493 that such continents existed. Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine merchant who had helped to fit out Columbus's expedition, made a remarkable voyage of discovery in 1501, while in the service of the king of Portugal. Sailing from Lisbon, he struck the coast of Brazil near Cape St. Roque and, running down to 34° south latitude, found the constant westward trend of the shore carrying him across the papal demarcation line into the region assigned to Spain. So he steered out into the Atlantic again and reached the ice-clad island of Georgia in latitude 54° south, whence he sailed northeast in a straight line of four thousand miles to the coast of Africa. Vespucci was a good advertiser. He wrote letters about the "new world" (*novus mundus*) which he had discovered, declaring that he had found a continent in the south "more populous and full of animals than our Europe or Asia or Africa and even more temperate and pleasant than any other region known to us." For a man who had not set foot in his "new world," Vespucci certainly claimed to know a good deal about it. However, his letters had great vogue and were responsible for the naming of the western continent.

19. Why the New World was called America. Shortly after Vespucci's letters were published, some of the faculty of the little college of St. Dié in the Vosges Mountains were preparing a new edition of the popular Geography of Ptolemy. One of the collaborators, a German named Martin Waldseemüller, wrote an introduction to the work in 1507, in which he printed some of Vespucci's letters. He further made the suggestion that since in addition to Europe, Asia, and Africa, "another fourth part [of the world] has been discovered by Americus Vespucius . . . I do not see what fairly hinders us from calling it Amerige or America, viz., the land of Americus." There was no intention of robbing Columbus of his due honor, because it



MAP SHOWING VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY IN THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES was believed by all (including the great discoverer himself, who died the year before Waldseemüller's introduction was written) that Columbus had found only a *new way to the old world* and not a *new world*. It was this new world south of the equator to which the new name was given. And when in the course of time it was found out that the "America" of Vespucci was the same continent along whose northern shore Columbus had sailed in 1498, and that it was joined by an isthmus to another great northern continent which Vespucci had never seen, it was too late to remedy the mistake. The name "America" had become popular and it spread with the progressive discovery of the true shape and extent of the continent until in 1541 the geographer Mercator applied it to the whole mainland from Labrador to Patagonia (map, p. 23). So it came about that this continent was named by an obscure German professor in a French college for an Italian navigator in the service of the king of Portugal.[1]

20. Balboa discovers the Pacific, 1513. For a score of years after Columbus made his first voyage, although there was great activity in exploiting the West Indies and many an expedition had been sent to the coast of Central America and South America, no one knew what lay beyond those lands to the west. It was believed, in spite of the fact that the wild forest regions inhabited by Indian tribes bore little resemblance to the populous golden cities of Cathay, that the treasures of the East must be close at hand. All the maps of the period, by the error of greatly extending the longitude of Asia, brought the east coast of that continent very near to the actual western coast of America. Hence the constant effort of the explorers to get through or around the newly discovered lands which in their eyes formed a barrier to the way to China. A picturesque adventurer from Haiti named Balboa, finding himself on the Isthmus of Darien, heard tales of the coast land of fabulous wealth beyond the mountains, and of a great sea on which sailed ships as large as the Spanish vessels. He set forth early in September, 1513, with a band of Spaniards and Indian guides and, after a twenty days' march through the almost impenetrable tropical jungle, reached the top of a mountain from which he looked out upon the waters of the Pacific. Four days later he reached the shore and, striding out into the tide, took possession of the sea in the name of the Spanish king. The natives told him that for unmeasured leagues to the south the sea washed the shores of countries abounding in gold and silver. Balboa called the water the Mar del Sur, or the South Sea.

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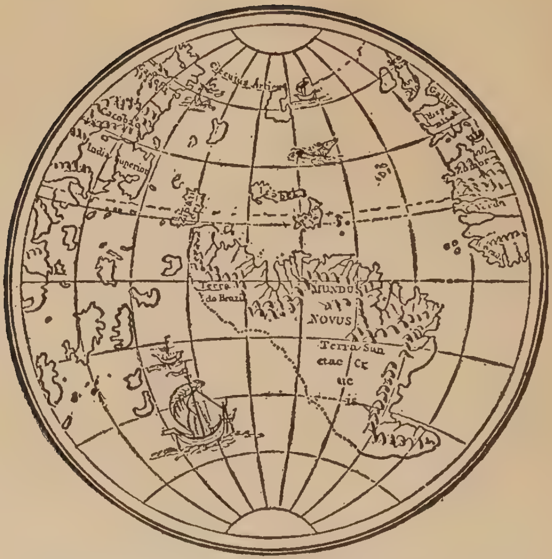
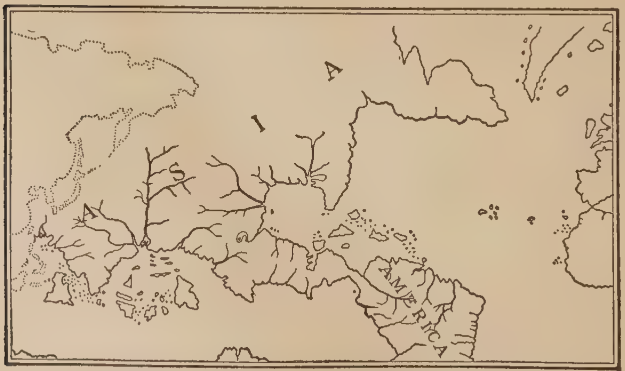
[1] At the same time that he published his introduction to Ptolemy, Waldseemüller made a map on which he placed the new southern continent and named it America. The map was lost for centuries and scholars had become almost convinced that it never existed when it was found in 1901 by an Austrian professor in the library of a castle in Württemberg. It had evidently circulated enough before its disappearance to fix the name "America" on the western continent.

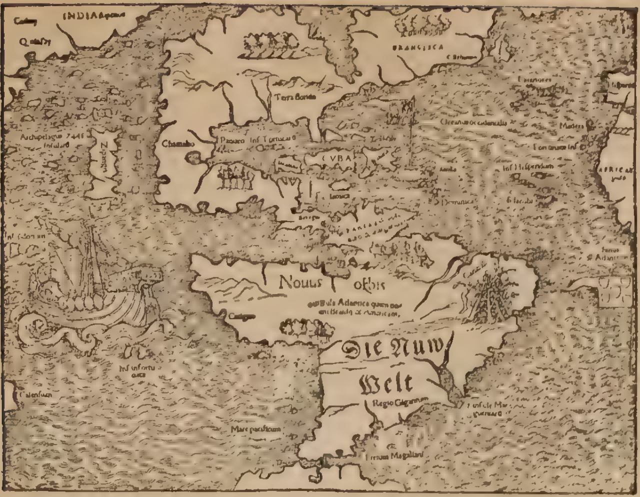
21. Magellan's Wonderful Voyage (1519–1522). It was reserved for another explorer, however, to discover the extent of the great ocean whose waters Balboa had seen and to give it the name which it bears today. Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese mariner in the service of Spain, set sail from San Lucar in August, 1519, with five ships and a crew of two hundred and thirty-seven men "of many nationalities and varying degrees of rascality." Reaching the Brazilian coast, he made his way southwest and, after quelling a mutiny in his winter quarters on the bleak shores of Patagonia, entered the narrow strait (since called by his name) at the extremity of South America. A stormy passage of five weeks through the tortuous narrows brought him out on the calm waters of a sea to which, in grateful relief, he gave the name "Pacific." For a hundred days he sailed westward across the smiling but apparently interminable ocean, little dreaming that he had embarked on waters which cover nearly half the globe. Hunger grew to starvation, thirst to madness. When their moldy, maggoty biscuits were consumed the sailors ate rats, sawdust, and even the leather of the ship's rigging. Twice on the voyage of ten thousand miles land appeared to the eyes of the famished sailors, only to prove a barren, rocky island. At last the inhabited lands of the eastern coast of Asia were reached. Magellan himself was killed in a fight with the natives of the Philippine Islands; but one of his ships, the *Victoria*, got safely away from the Moluccas, crossed



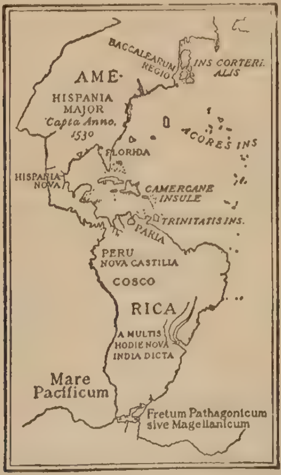
THE LENOX GLOBE (1510) SHOWING THE NEW WORLD AS AN ISLAND OFF THE COAST OF ASIA



FINÆUS'S MAP (1531) SHOWING THE NEW WORLD (AMERICA) AS A PENINSULA ATTACHED TO ASIA



MUNSTER'S MAP (1540) SHOWING LAND NORTH OF THE ISTHMUS ATTACHED TO THE NEW WORLD



MERCATOR'S MAP (1541) SHOWING THE NAME "AMERICA" FOR THE FIRST TIME APPLIED TO THE WHOLE CONTINENT the Indian Ocean, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and reached her starting point at San Lucar in September, 1522, with her crew of eighteen ghostlike men, who repaired forthwith "in shirts and barefoot, with tapers in hand, to visit the shrine of Santa Maria of Victory."

22. The Location of America. The voyage of the *Victoria* not only proved conclusively that the earth is a sphere and showed the vast preponderance of water over land, but it dispelled the false idea that the regions reached by Columbus, Vespucci, and other explorers who had crossed the Atlantic were anywhere near the coast of Asia. America was now shown to be neither an island off that coast nor a peninsula attached to it (maps, p. 22) but a continent set off by itself and separated from the old world of Cathay on the west by a far greater expanse of water than from the old world of Europe on the east. Many generations were to pass before the true shape and size of America were fully known, but its general location in respect to the continents and oceans of the world was now determined.

23. The Discovery of America an Incident in European Expansion. Only thirty-six years elapsed between the time when Bartholomew Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope and the day when the eighteen "ghostlike" survivors of Magellan's expedition marched barefoot, with tapers in hand, to pay their vows of thanksgiving to Saint Mary of Victory. Yet in those few years it might be said that not only America but the whole world was discovered. A young man of twenty who had sailed with Diaz might have accompanied Columbus six years later on the great voyage of 1492, and six years later still might have crossed the Indian Ocean with Vasco da Gama to India. The same man at thirty-five could have taken part in Vespucci's voyage into the South Atlantic, at forty-seven could have stood with Balboa "silent upon a peak in Darien" and gazed out upon the Pacific, and at fifty-six could have been one of the crew of Magellan's *Victoria* returning to Spain after circumnavigating the world. He would have participated in the discovery of the Western Hemisphere and in the first voyages across the world's three great oceans. Thus within the active years of one man's life was the knowledge of the world's geography widened from its medieval limit to include the main features of the earth as we know it today.

A Century of Exploration

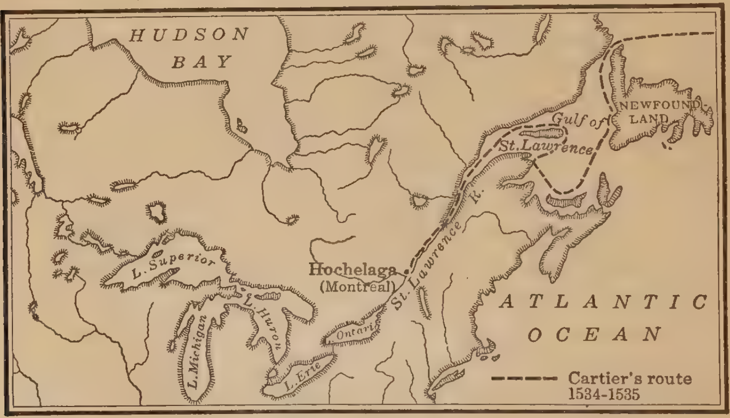
24. The Spirit of the Sixteenth-Century Explorers. From the death of Columbus (1506) to the planting of the first permanent English colony on the shores of America (1607) just a century elapsed, — a century filled with romantic voyages and thrilling tales of exploration and conquest. Nowadays men penetrate new regions for the scientific study of the native races or to develop the natural resources of the land and open up new markets for trade; but in the romantic sixteenth century Spanish noblemen tramped through the swamps and tangles of Florida to find the fountain of perpetual youth, or toiled a thousand miles over the Western deserts and climbed the snow-capped peaks of the Andes, lured by reports of realms of inexhaustible gold. Missionary zeal mingled with the thirst for treasure. The cross was planted in the wilderness and Spanish priests expounded the mystery of the Trinity to the baffled barbarian chieftains.

25. Cortez's Conquest of Mexico. Starting from Haiti as a base, the Spaniards had conquered and colonized Cuba and Porto Rico and had sent expeditions to the coast of Florida and to the mainland from Yucatan to Venezuela; but during the quarter of a century following Columbus's first voyage they had failed to accomplish either of their great objects — the discovery of fabulous wealth or the way to the East. Then suddenly came the realization of one of their dreams. Hernando Cortez, a Spanish nobleman, romantic, devout, and ruthless, sailed from Cuba in February, 1519, with eleven ships carrying twenty horses, artillery, and about five hundred soldiers, and reached a point near Vera Cruz on the Gulf of Mexico. His object was to conquer and plunder the empire of the Aztecs, rumors of whose wealth had reached the explorers of the coast to the south. The confederated tribes of the Aztecs represented the highest degree of culture among the Indians of the North American continent. They built beautiful stone palaces and temples, wore cotton clothing, were skilled in agriculture and engineering, and mined and worked the gold and silver which abounded in their country. Their customs, however, were barbarous and their altars reeked with the blood of human victims. One of their religious legends told of a fair-haired god of the sky who had been driven out to sea but who would return to rule over them in peace and plenty. And when they saw the Spaniards in their "white-winged towers" moving on the sea, they thought the "fair god" had come. Cortez was clever in taking advantage of their superstition. By a combination of guile and cruelty he gained entrance to their capital (Mexico City), which was built on an island in a lake with broad causeways leading to the mainland. Once inside, as the guest of the "emperor" Montezuma, he turned on his host, imprisoned him, and after desperate fighting got possession of the city and reduced the rich realm of the Aztecs to a dependency of Spain (1521). It was the first sure footing of the Spaniards on the American continent and served as a base for their further exploration and conquest.

26. Pizarro's Conquest of Peru. Ten years later another adventurer repeated Cortez's marauding expedition south of the Isthmus of Panama. Francisco Pizarro, who had been with Balboa at Darien and had heard of the riches of the south, sailed to the coast of Peru (a huge region extending for 2700 miles down the coast of South America) with two hundred men and thirty horses and, crossing the towering western ridge of the Andes, came upon a people even more advanced in civilization than the Aztecs and a land richer than Mexico in treasure. He seized the Inca, or ruler, and held him for a ransom of gold and silver implements, collected from the palaces and temples, sufficient to fill a large room from floor to ceiling. When he sent the king's fifth of the plunder to Spain "the customhouse at Seville overflowed with solid ingots of gold." Greed for the glittering spoils drew other adventurers to Peru, where for years a sordid struggle was waged between the rival claimants, resulting in the death of most of them, including Pizarro himself. But the Spaniards remained masters of Peru, and the wealth that continued to pour into the home country from the realm of the Incas and the Aztecs made Spain the richest country in Europe in the middle years of the sixteenth century. This "easy money," however, was rather a curse than a blessing to Spain, for it hindered the development of an industrious class of artisans, merchants, and farmers and was squandered in the support of unrighteous wars.

27. Explorations North of the Gulf of Mexico. Within the present limits of the United States the Spanish explorations of the sixteenth century were no less extensive than in the south. One adventurer follows another across the stage of romance and disillusion. Now it is the warrior Ponce de Leon, seeking the fountain of perpetual youth in Florida only to be slain by the arrow of a hostile native (1513–1521); now it is Cabeza de Vaca, survivor of a shipwreck in the Mexican gulf, making his way from tribe to tribe across the vast stretches of Texas and Mexico to the Gulf of California (1528–1536); now it is Hernando de Soto, with his train of six hundred knights "in doublets and cassocks of silk" and his priests in splendid vestments, all ready for a triumphant procession to kingdoms of gold and ivory, but doomed to toil through tangle and swamp from Georgia to Arkansas, and finally to leave his fever-stricken body at the bottom of the Mississippi, beneath the water "alwaies muddie, down which there came continually manie trees and timber" (1539–1542); now it is Coronado and his three hundred followers, intent on finding the seven fabled cities of Cibola, chasing the golden mirage of the western desert from the Pacific coast of Mexico to the present state of Kansas (1540–1542). But all this vast expenditure of energy and treasure was in vain. There were no Aztec or Inca realms of accumulated treasure north of Mexico, but only the squalid cane huts of the barbarian tribes of the Gulf states and the pueblos of the arid plains. Less than a century after Columbus's voyage the Spaniards had built up a great empire in the viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru, twenty times as large as the mother country, with elaborate political and commercial control, with rich and populous cities, with schools, churches, printing presses, and hospitals. Lima and Mexico City had universities attended by thousands of students. But north of the Gulf there was but the single small town of St. Augustine, Florida, — the first permanent settlement in the present United States (1565).

28. The Spanish Empire in America. It was not till the close of the nineteenth century that the Spanish empire in the New World came to an end, and even today the language and institutions of Spain remain the basis of the civilization of the Latin-American republics (except Portuguese Brazil) from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn. The government of the vast Spanish-American empire was a mixture of wisdom and folly. The "Council of the Indies," which dictated law and justice from its seat in Spain, was an exceedingly industrious board of "men of noble birth, pure lineage, and true faith," who exercised a rigid supervision over the officials in America. Though there was no self-government, no parliament or congress where the representatives of the people met to make laws, still there was a kind of court (*audiencia*) in which appeals from the viceroy's decision were heard. The policy of the home government toward the native Indians was just and humane: they were to be protected, civilized, and converted to Christianity.



FRENCH EXPLORATION ON THE ST. LAWRENCE

It was very difficult, however, to prevent the ruthless conquerors from committing acts of barbarous cruelty. These men often found themselves with but a few hundred armed followers in the midst of a whole people whom it was their purpose to subjugate and despoil. The home authorities were thousands of miles away and the gold and silver were near at hand. Terrorism was a quicker way to riches than justice. And it was hard to punish even a bloodstained conqueror who sent shiploads of precious metals to the royal treasury. In accordance with the general practice of the age, commerce with the colonial empire was permitted to Spaniards alone. It was a strict government monopoly controlled by the "India House" at Seville. Every year a convoyed government fleet went out to Vera Cruz or Porto Bello carrying the commodities which were to be exchanged for the gold, silver, jewels, drugs, and other tropical treasures brought in by pack trains of mules to the ports of rendezvous, to be carried back by the same convoyed fleet to the harbors of Cadiz and Seville — a tempting prize for the piratical sea-rovers of England.

29. The French Explorers. Compared with the extensive colonial empires established by Portugal in the East and by Spain in the New World, the overseas activities of the other European nations in the sixteenth century were feeble. Though Breton and Norman fishermen came early and often to the banks of Newfoundland to catch the fish for which the numerous fast days of the Catholic calendar provided a ready market in Europe, there was but little encouragement from the government of France to exploration and settlement in the New World. King Francis I (1515–1547) did indeed pause long enough in his European wars to ask sarcastically to be shown "Father Adam's will" bequeathing the world to Spain and Portugal, and to dispatch the Italian navigator Verrazano on a voyage to seek the Indies by the western route. Verrazano skirted our coast from North Carolina to Nova Scotia in the summer of 1524 but found no passage to the east. Ten years later Jacques Cartier, a master pilot of San Malo, Brittany, explored the Gulf of St. Lawrence and planted on a headland of Gaspé Bay a great wooden cross with the arms of France emblazoned on it. The next year (1535) he came again and sailed up the river to the Indian village of Hochlaga, surrounded by "goodly and large fields of corn," which he renamed Mont Royal (Montreal). Here he heard of great waters to the west on which "a man might travel for many moons in the same direction" and of far lands rich in silver and copper; but the rapids (later called Lachine, or "China," rapids) barred his further progress. He returned to the present site of Quebec, where his men spent a terrible winter contending with zero weather and the scurvy. In the spring his emaciated band was glad to return to France. For the remainder of the century French plans of colonization in the New World slept, while the home country was engaged in foreign and civil wars.[1] More than sixty years were to elapse after Cartier's voyage before the foundations were laid of that mighty French empire in North America which stretched from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico by way of the Great Lakes and the Mississippi (map, p. 97).

30. The Elizabethan "Sea-Dogs." Even before Columbus had touched the mainland of America (1498), another Italian mariner, John Cabot, in the service of King Henry VII of England, had reached the coast of either Labrador or Nova Scotia (1497) and, raising the cross of St. George, had taken possession of the wilderness in the name of his sovereign. This fruitless voyage was later made the basis of England's claim to the whole North American continent; but its immediate result was only to obtain from the niggardly king a gift of ten pounds to "Hym that founde the new Isle" and the permission to make what proved to be an equally fruitless voyage the next year. Nor could the lavish Henry VIII (1509–1547) be persuaded to divert from his contest with European rivals "the little cost, perill, or labour" to seek a way by the new-found America "to the regions of all the Tartarians, the Chinas and Cathay Orientall." Yet this same Henry VIII unwittingly laid the foundation for England's possession of the fairest parts of the New World; for he created the English navy. In his concern for the safety of the "Broade Ditch," or English Channel, he built docks and arsenals, promoted new methods of naval construction, founded schools of navigation, and created the office of the admiralty. He turned the minds of thousands of his subjects to the sea, and when in his daughter Elizabeth's reign the Spanish King Philip II attempted to check the growing maritime power of England and to reduce the heretical island to obedience to the Pope, the Elizabethan "sea-dogs" were straining at the leash to spring at the throat of Spain. They invaded the Spanish monopoly in the New World, forcing their cargoes upon the settlements of New Spain at the mouth of the cannon, and plundering Philip's treasure fleets on the high seas and even in the Spanish ports. The most renowned of the sea-dogs, Francis Drake, sailed with a fleet of five vessels and one hundred and fifty men in November, 1577, and, passing through the Strait of Magellan, swept up the western coast of South America, plundering the Spanish cities and seizing Spanish treasure ships. Four of Drake's vessels were sunk or dispersed in the storms of the southern sea, but he sailed on in his flagship the *Golden Hind*, loaded to the gunwales with Spanish gold, silver, and jewels. After refitting his ship on the California coast, Drake crossed the Pacific and returned to England (1580) by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, thus duplicating Magellan's voyage around the world [**21**]. The Spanish ambassador at London protested with fury against these piratical sea-raids, declaring that "matters would come to the cannon" if they were allowed to continue; and the wily Elizabeth gave orders that Drake's booty should be transferred to the Tower of London for restitution to Spain. But no restitution was made or intended. Instead, Elizabeth herself went down to the Thames and knighted Francis Drake on the quarter-deck of his vessel. Matters came to the cannon soon. His patience exhausted by these raids, by English aid to his revolting provinces of the Netherlands, and by the execution of

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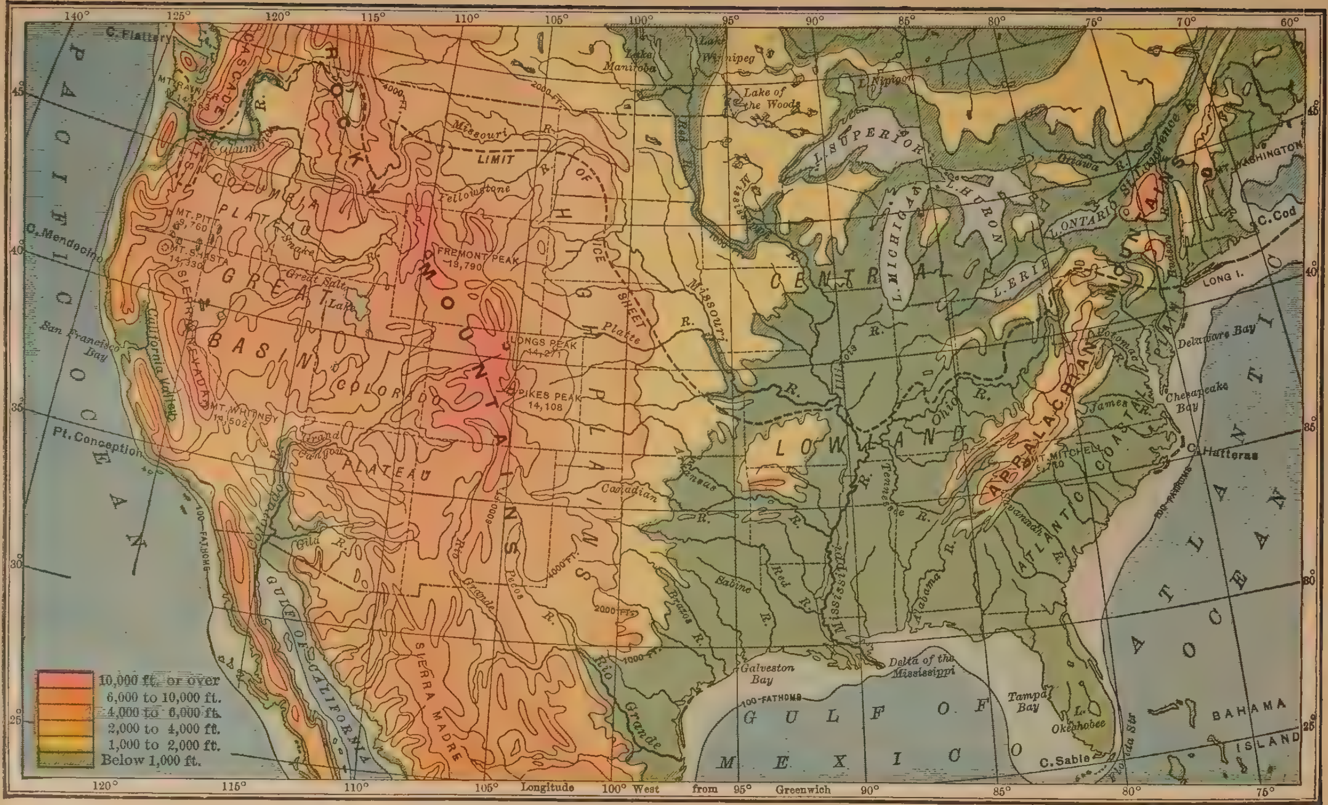
[1] The persecuted Huguenots, or French Protestants, made feeble attempts to establish colonies of refuge on the coast of Brazil and Florida in the second half of the sixteenth century; but they fell victims to the Portuguese and Spaniards, on whose territory they had encroached. The founding of the Spanish settlement of St. Augustine in 1565 [27] was an incident in the expulsion of the French Huguenots from Florida.

Mary Queen of Scots, the Catholic claimant to the English throne, Philip prepared his great Armada for the conquest of Elizabeth's realm. The complete destruction of Philip's fleet and plans at the hands of Lord Howard of Effingham, Hawkins, Drake, and the other sea-dogs, in the ten days' fight in the English Channel, in July, 1588, was an epochal event in the world's history. It gave England the mastery of the sea, shattering the Spanish monopoly of the routes of trade and opening the way for the establishment of the English colonial empire in the New World.

31. Gilbert and Raleigh. While Drake was crossing the Pacific, Sir Humphrey Gilbert was bound for the New World with a patent from Queen Elizabeth authorizing him to "inhabit and possess all remote and heathen lands not in the actual possession of any Christian prince." It was not till 1583, however, that Gilbert attempted a settlement as a base for the conquest of the Spanish empire in America. Mutiny and storm cost him three of his five ships and he was returning in disappointment to England when the tiny, overladen *Swallow* in which he was sailing foundered with all on board in a stormy night off the Azores. Gilbert's patent passed to his half brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, Elizabeth's favorite courtier. For three successive years, 1585–1587, Raleigh attempted to plant an enduring colony on Roanoke Island, off the coast of North Carolina, in the region which with Elizabeth's consent was named "Virginia" in honor of the Virgin Queen. The colonies, however, met with constant misfortune. The Indians were hostile, and the settlers preferred to seek for gold and explore the coast for a passage to China rather than cultivate the soil. Relief expeditions from England were ill timed, each successive colony arriving only to find that the previous one had returned to England or been massacred or absorbed by the Indians. Raleigh sank a private fortune equal to a million dollars in his efforts to colonize Virginia and finally was brought to prison and the executioner's block as a victim of Spanish vengeance in the reign of Elizabeth's unworthy successor, James Stuart. But he never lost his faith in the ultimate success of the colonization



PHYSICAL MAP OF THE UNITED STATES

of Virginia. "I shall yet live," he remarked to Lord Cecil, "to see it an Inglishe nation."

32. A Prophecy of our Country. The fairest portion of the continent of North America was destined to become the United States. It was blessed by nature with a variety of climate, abundant rainfall east of the Rocky Mountains, wonderfully fertile soil, and priceless deposits of coal and metals. It was destined in the third decade of the twentieth century to produce a quarter of the world's wheat, one half of its coal and iron, three fifths of its aluminum and copper, two thirds of its oil, and three quarters of its corn. The mines of South Africa and Mexico alone yield larger supplies of gold and silver. Some lands, like France and Italy, have for centuries had a highly civilized population, but have been relatively poor in natural resources; others, like Manchuria and Russia, have been marvelously endowed by nature, while their people have lacked the knowledge and enterprise necessary to exploit their wealth. But in the United States men and material have been admirably matched. As the tide of migration moved slowly westward, across the Alleghenies, across the Mississippi, across the great plains and the crests of the Rockies and the Sierras, an intelligent and energetic race of pioneers felled the forests, planted the rich river bottoms, and opened the veins of coal and iron.[1]

The process was slow. The early explorers and settlers on the Atlantic coast had no idea, of course, of the vast continent which lay before them. Even beyond the middle of the seventeenth century the French explorers believed that the Mississippi River emptied into the South Sea (the Pacific Ocean). The English settlers on the Atlantic coast did not begin to cross the Alleghenies till far into the eighteenth century. The Rockies were discovered in 1743, and within the next fifty years our Pacific coast was charted by explorers and traders. Finally, in 1805, an expedition sent out by the President of the United States reached the mouth of the Columbia River, linking together for the first time by the feet of white men our Atlantic and Pacific shores. That was more than three centuries after the voyages of Columbus and almost exactly two hundred years after the first permanent English settlement in America, to which we now turn.

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[1] For an account of the natural resources of the United States see Harold U. Faulkner's "American Economic History," pp. 11–24, or J. Russell Smith's "North America," pp. 13–19.

REFERENCES

Probably the most useful set of books for a high-school library of American history is the series of fifty small volumes entitled "The Chronicles of America" (in the moderately priced Roosevelt edition), edited by ALLEN JOHNSON (Yale University Press). Volumes I–IV cover the period of this chapter: ELLSWORTH HUNTINGTON'S *The Red Man's Continent*, I. B. RICHMAN'S *The Spanish Conquerors*, WILLIAM WOOD'S *Elizabethan Sea Dogs*, and W. B. MUNRO'S *Crusaders of New France*. The American Nation Series of twenty-eight volumes, edited by A. B. HART (Harper & Brothers), is a recognized standard: E. P. CHEYNEY'S *European Background of American History* (Vol. I), L. FARRAND'S *Basis of American History* (Vol. II), E. G. BOURNE'S *Spain in America* (Vol. III), L. G. TYLER'S *England in America* (Vol. IV), and R. G. THWAITES'S *France in America* (Vol. VII) treat the subjects contained in this chapter. EDWARD CHANNING'S *History of the United States* (The Macmillan Company), Vol. I, chaps. i–v, and E. B. GREENE'S *Foundations of American Nationality* (American Book Company) contain excellent briefer accounts. Easily available collections of source material are the American History Leaflets, the Old South Leaflets, A. B. HART'S *American History told by Contemporaries* (4 vols.), and MUZZEY'S *Readings in American History.*

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3. **De Soto's Journey to the Mississippi:** HODGE and LEWIS, *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States* (Original Narratives), pp. 127–272; E. G. BOURNE, *De Soto* (Trail Makers Series); W. LOWERY, *Spanish Settlements*, pp. 213–252; CHANNING, Vol. I, pp. 67–71; MUZZEY, *Readings*, pp. 15–18.

4. **Raleigh's Attempt to found a Colony in Virginia:** H. S. BURRAGE, *Early English and French Voyagers* (Original Narratives), pp. 225–323; W. WOOD, *Elizabethan Sea Dogs*, chap. ix; Old South Leaflets, Nos. 92, 119; HART, Vol. I, No. 32; MUZZEY, *Readings*, pp. 20–23.

Questions for Review

1. What important events are marked by the dates 1453, 1492, 1498, 1519, 1565, 1577, 1588? **2.** What effects did the Crusades have upon the social state of Europe? **3.** Why were the scholars of the Renaissance called "Humanists"? **4.** What influence did the invention of printing have upon the discovery and settlement of America? **5.** Did the invention of printing have any evil effects? **6.** What inventions encouraged navigation in the fifteenth century? **7.** Why did cities on the Atlantic front, like Lisbon, London, and Antwerp, succeed Venice and Genoa as the great centers of trade? **8.** Why did Columbus mistake Haiti for Japan? **9.** Why did Columbus seem to be a failure and Vasco da Gama a success in 1500? **10.** Is it fair to use the adjective "American" to apply to the United States alone? Would Venezuela have a better claim to appropriate the adjective? **11.** Why did Balboa call the Pacific the South Sea, while we call it the western ocean? **12.** What new geographical knowledge was furnished by the voyage of Vespucius? of Magellan? **13.** Why was the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 an important event for colonial history? **14.** What regions of the present United States were explored in the sixteenth century by the Spaniards? by the French? by the English? **15.** Why was North America shown much narrower than it really is in the early maps?

CHAPTER II

THE ENGLISH SETTLEMENT

The Old Dominion

33. England the Motherland. For more than three centuries the tide of immigration has been flowing from Europe to America, and today more than one third of the inhabitants of the United States are either foreign-born or the children of foreign-born parents. These immigrants, coming from every quarter of Europe, have landed on our shores with little, if any, knowledge of our language, laws, customs, and ideals, yet the great mass of them have been eager and proud to become Americans in order to enjoy the protection of our laws and the opportunities here for the improvement of their economic condition. In 1776 Thomas Paine in his "Common Sense," written to urge the immediate separation of the American Colonies from Great Britain, said, "Europe, not England, is the parent country of America." From the point of view of population alone, Paine was right. For even at that early date almost a quarter of the inhabitants of the colonies were of non-English descent (Germans, Scotch, Dutch, French, Irish); but from the point of view of institutions he was wrong. Our courts of justice, our common law, our code of manners, our standards of culture, our language and literature, were English. We severed our political connection with England by the Revolution, but we did not lay aside the culture or destroy the institutions in which our fathers had been trained for generations. Therefore, since the colonies established in the seventeenth century along the Atlantic seaboard, which developed into the thirteen original United States and gradually expanded to the shores of the Pacific, were (with the exception of temporary New Amsterdam on the Hudson and New Sweden on the Delaware) planted by the English, it is in the England of three centuries and more ago that we must find the bases of our own colonial history.

34. Motives for English Colonization. There was no indication at the opening of the seventeenth century that England was destined to become the greatest colonizing power of the world. When the last of the Tudor sovereigns, Queen Elizabeth, died in 1603, leaving the throne to her cousin, James Stuart of Scotland,[1] there was not a single English colony in any quarter of the globe. Yet events had occurred in England during the Tudor period which prepared the way for a great migration of Englishmen in the seventeenth century. In the first place, there was a revolution in economic conditions. The vast influx into Europe of the precious metals from Mexico and Peru caused a sharp rise in prices, which made it difficult for men living on fixed incomes to maintain their station. Increased rents made it impossible for many of the farmer tenants to make both ends meet. Furthermore, the confiscation of the monastic lands by Henry VIII had put an end to the charitable relief dispensed by the monasteries and substituted exacting, businesslike landlords for the easy-going religious proprietors. The widening wool market had tempted the wool growers to turn large tracts of land into sheep pastures, where a man and dog could take care of acres which had given employment to hundreds of laborers. Thus many men were thrown out of work, and the country began to swarm with "valiant rogues and sturdy beggars" whom the government tried to compel by the whipping post and the jail to accept wages which were not sufficient to keep body and soul together. There was material enough, then, from the pinched lord of the manor down to the dispossessed tenant and laborer, to furnish passengers for the emigrant ships.

35. The New Commercial Class. On the other hand, there was accumulating in the hands of a new merchant class, enriched by trade and plunder of the Spanish treasure ships, the capital needed to finance colonization. From the middle of the sixteenth century on, commercial companies had been formed: the Muskovy (1555) for trade with Russia, the Eastland (1579) for the Baltic trade, the Levant or Turkey Company (1581) for trade with Venice and the Near East, and finally (1600) the great East India Company to exploit the lands of jewels and spices in the Orient. England had broken away from the Church of Rome and paid no heed to the Pope's Bull of Demarcation, which had bestowed the monopoly of the Indies upon Spain and Portugal [**17**]. She was at war with Spain for the preservation of her throne and her very existence during a good part of Elizabeth's reign. Patriotism, piety, and the hope of profits, therefore, all entered into the plan for breaking down the monopoly of Spain in the New World. Enthusiastic writers were urging upon the queen and the nation that the time had come to enlist the capital and the energy of England in the cause of American colonization. The Reverend Richard Hakluyt, in his "Discourse on Western Planting," written in 1584 at the request of Raleigh, listed more than twenty reasons why the queen should "take in hande the voyadge" to America. Not only would the English merchants obtain thereby all the commodities which now they had to import into the realm with the payment of heavy duties, but they might also "easily, quickly, and perfectly search out the passage to China and enlarge the glory of the gospel by planting sincere religion in America." Above all, they would "abate the pride of Spain and pull King Philip down in equallitie with his neighbor princes," for, said Hakluyt, "if you touch him in the Indies you touch him in the apple of his eye: take away his treasure which he hath almost out of his West Indies, and his bands of soldiers will soon be dissolved, his purposes defeated and his tyrannie utterly suppressed."

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[1] Since the names of the Stuart kings, under whom all the American colonies except Georgia were founded, will appear often in this chapter, the student would do well to review the main facts of the rule of the Stuart dynasty, which can be found in E. P. Cheyney's "Short History of England," chaps. xiv–xvii, or more briefly in J. H. Robinson's "History of Western Europe," Vol. I, chap. xix.

36. The London and Plymouth Companies. It was more than twenty years after Hakluyt's "Discourse," however, that the first companies were chartered for the "planting" of America. In 1604 James I made peace with Spain, but that did not prevent him two years later from granting to certain "knights, gentlemen, merchants and other adventurers" charters to establish colonies on the coast of North America within the limits of the Spanish claims. To a London Company he gave exclusive rights of settlement in a region of southern Virginia, and to a Plymouth Company in northern Virginia, with a neutral zone between, open on certain conditions to both companies.[1] A council of thirteen resident in England was to have general control of the whole, while local councils in each of the American colonies were to have ample powers of government — to coin money for the Indian trade, to expel invaders, to collect taxes, and to punish evildoers. Two points deserve to be especially noted. First, English colonization was undertaken by private individuals or groups, and not, like the Spanish and Portuguese colonization, at the expense and under the authority of the crown; secondly, the charters granted to the settlers in the English colonies "the same liberties, franchises and immunities as if they had been abiding and born within this our realm of England." The Plymouth Company started a settlement at the mouth of the Kennebec River in Maine, but after enduring the rigors of one northern winter (1607–1608) gave up the attempt, "their former hopes frozen to death." The London Company, however, after harrowing experiences which threatened more than once to end in a similar abandonment of the enterprise, succeeded in maintaining the first permanent English settlement in America — the germ cell of the United States.

37. Jamestown. On May 6, 1607, three small ships with one hundred and four colonists, of whom a large part were "gentlemen" unused to labor, arrived at the capes guarding the entrance to Chesapeake Bay. Their instructions were to choose a healthful place on a navigable river, by which they might arrive at "some spring which runs the contrary way toward the East India Sea," to avoid giving offense to the Indians, and to conduct themselves "for the good of your country and your own." But in disregard of this excellent advice, they picked out a low-lying, heavily wooded, fever-stricken peninsula for their settlement, and their leaders quarreled constantly with one another for honor and power. The instructions further provided that the settlers should have no lands of their own, but all should work for a "common store," which at the end of five years should be divided up among the stockholders. This communistic régime naturally encouraged shirking among the lazy and resentment among the diligent. Moreover, the colonists' supplies had been almost exhausted during the four and a half months' voyage from England, and they neglected the necessary planting of corn for the search for gold and the passage to the Indies. Indeed, had it not been for the supplies obtained from the Indians, the colony could hardly have lasted through the first winter. As it was, more than half the settlers died of fever from the malarial air and the brackish water of the James. The survivors owed their life, probably, to the energy and resourcefulness of one man, John Smith, a seasoned veteran of many a war in Europe and the hero, in his own tales, of hair-raising adventures among the Turks and the Russians. Smith was a braggart and a martinet, but he made the men work, kept the Indians in awe by a combination of boldness and cleverness, and obtained frequent supplies of corn. In the summer of 1609 he was wounded by an explosion of gunpowder and forced to return to England. The story of his exploits in Virginia, embodied in his "Trewe Relaycion" (1608) and his "Generall Historie" (1624), shows that he had no intention of leaving it to posterity to discover his merit.

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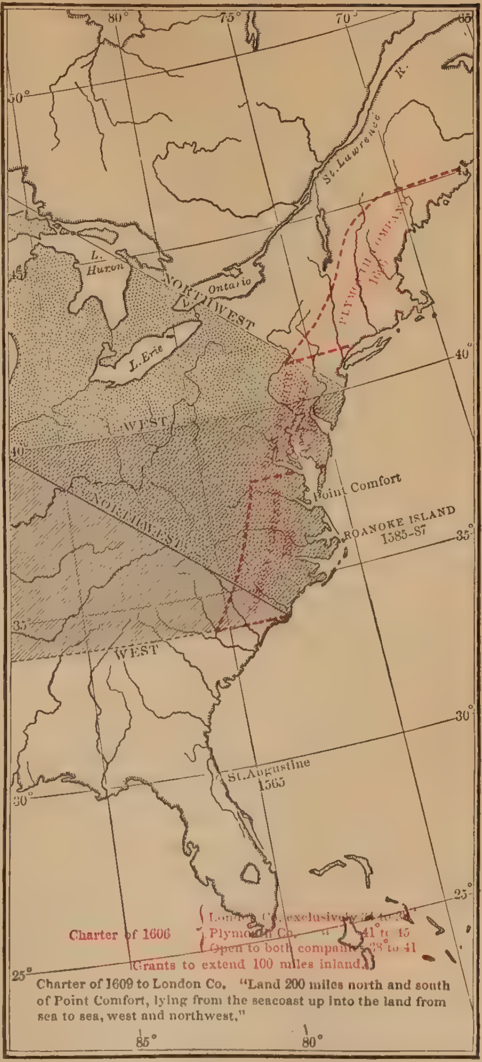
[1] The grants are shown in red on map, p. 41. Virginia was the name applied to the whole Atlantic coast from Nova Scotia to Florida, claimed by the English as a result of Cabot's voyage. The same stretch of coast was claimed by the Spaniards under the name of Florida.

38. The Company Reorganized. It was evident that if the colony at Jamestown were to live, more capital and a better organization must be provided. Therefore, the company was enlarged in 1609. Glowing prospectuses of the wealth and promise of Virginia were circulated, and shares in the new company were taken by more than six hundred and fifty subscribers, including peers, knights, gentlemen, and common folk, together with fifty-six of the industrial guilds of London. The first head (Treasurer) of the company was Sir Thomas Smythe, a great financier of the day, while fourteen members of the House of Lords and twice as many of the House of Commons were on the governing council. The land granted by the new charter included the coast from a point two hundred miles north to a point two hundred miles south of Point Comfort, and extended "up into the land from sea to sea, west and northwest." How this vague language might be interpreted is shown by the shaded portion of the map on this page. The quarreling council in Virginia was replaced by a "sole and absolute governor." When the new company sent out seven ships in the summer of 1609, with five hundred new settlers who had the promise of food and clothing with a house and garden and a hundred acres of land apiece, it looked as though the trials of the Jamestown colony were over; but the


80°
75°
70°
65
50°
45
40°
35°
30°
25°
85°
St. Lawrence R.
L. Huron
Ontario
L. Erie
NORTHWEST
WEST
PLYMOUTH COMPANY 1606
Point Comfort
ROANOKE ISLAND 1585-87
St. Augustine 1565
Charter of 1606
London Co. exclusively 34° to 38°
Plymouth Co. " 41° to 45
Open to both companies 38° to 41
Grants to extend 100 miles inland.
Charter of 1609 to London Co. "Land 200 miles north and south of Point Comfort, lying from the seacoast up into the land from sea to sea, west and northwest."

THE VIRGINIA GRANTS OF 1606 AND 1609

worst was yet to come. The governor's ship was wrecked on the island of Bermuda, where he was marooned for ten months before two small vessels were built out of the wreckage to take him on to Jamestown. There he found, instead of a flourishing colony, in the midst of smiling fields and gardens, only sixty survivors of the disease and destitution which had swept away men, women, and children during the awful "starving time" of the winter of 1609–1610. The survivors decided to abandon the colony and were already on their way down the river in their four small vessels when they espied ships flying the king's colors. It was the fleet of Lord de la Warre (Delaware), the new governor, bringing men and supplies; and together they returned to the abandoned houses to make a fresh start. Thus narrowly did the Jamestown colony escape the fate of Raleigh's settlement [**31**].

39. The Growth of the Colony. During the second decade of the seventeenth century the permanence of the colony was assured. De la Warre's deputy, Sir Thomas Dale, an old soldier of the Netherland wars, ruled with a rod of iron (1611–1616). Settlers and supplies continued to arrive. Individual holdings of land were parceled out to the colonists. A young planter named Rolfe found a way of curing tobacco so as to make it a profitable article of export and thus laid the basis for the industrial prosperity of Virginia through the whole colonial period. In the spring of 1619 Sir Edwin Sandys, a liberal member of Parliament, became treasurer of the company, and forthwith a governor was dispatched to Jamestown with orders to summon an assembly consisting of two members elected from each of the eleven "cities," or "hundreds," of the colony. This little group of twenty-two "burgesses," the first representative assembly in America, and the germ of all our legislatures, local, state, and national, met on July 30, 1619, with the governor and his council, in the log church at Jamestown, and after a few days' session, devoted to the settling of land claims and the passage of laws for the punishment of idleness, gambling, drunkenness, Sabbath breaking, and "excess in apparel," adjourned "by reason of extream heat both paste and likely to ensue."

40. Virginia becomes a Royal Province, 1624. By 1624 there were about a thousand persons in the colony (though more than five times that number had been sent out from England since the first settlement). Glass and iron works were established and some sixty thousand pounds of tobacco were being exported annually. Yet the results were disappointing. It must be remembered that the colony was not started as an experiment in democracy or a refuge from oppression, but as a business venture. The stockholders were looking for returns on their investment. Hundreds of thousands of dollars had been put into the enterprise and the returns were ridiculously small. Moreover, since his opponents in Parliament had got control of the company in 1619, King James regarded it with growing suspicion. His suspicions were nourished by the court party and by the Spanish ambassador, who whispered in his ear that the meetings of the company were "hot-beds of sedition" against the royal prerogative. An Indian massacre in 1622, which cost the colony three hundred and forty-seven lives, was a good pretext for declaring the government by the company a failure, and two years later James had the charter annulled by the royal judges and took the government into his own hands. The House of Burgesses narrowly escaped destruction, too. For four years the governor called no session. But then Charles I, meditating the indefinite suspension of his troublesome Parliament at home, and looking about for sources of income to support his "personal rule," allowed the Virginia burgesses to meet again in the hope that they would confer on him a monopoly of the tobacco trade. So Virginia furnished the pattern which sooner or later nearly all the American colonies reproduced: namely, that of a governor with a small council of Americans appointed by the king and a lawmaking body elected by the people of the colony. The royal rule in Virginia lasted until the American Revolution.

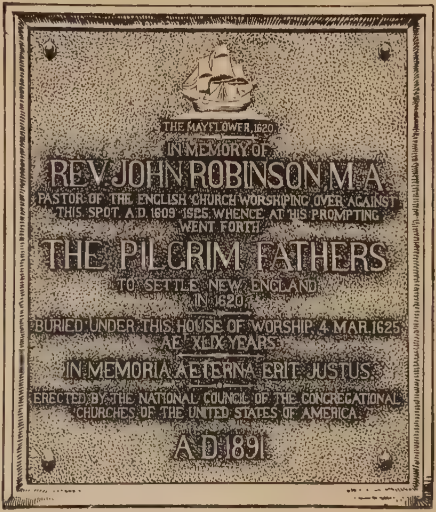
41. The Old Dominion. The colony prospered under royal control. In fifty years the population increased fortyfold. Land was easily acquired, and the great plantations of hundreds and even thousands of acres which became characteristic of the South began to be developed. By 1685 it was said that a group of Virginia planters and merchants no more numerous than a London parish owned an acreage larger than the whole of England. Though negro slaves had been brought to the colony as early as 1619, their numbers were few in the seventeenth century. The laboring class was composed partly of vagrants kidnaped in the streets or alehouses of London, offenders against the barbarous criminal laws of England, who were mercifully sentenced to transportation by the judges rather than delivered to the executioner for stealing a sheep; and, most numerous of all, the so-called "indentured servants," or men who sold their services for a term of years in payment of their passage to the new land of opportunity. The people of Virginia were very loyal to the Stuarts. When the quarrel between king and Parliament in England reached the stage of civil war (1642), and Charles I was driven from his throne and beheaded (1649), many of his supporters in England, who were called Cavaliers, emigrated to Virginia, giving the colony a decidedly aristocratic character. And when Charles II was restored to his father's throne in 1660, the Virginian burgesses recognized his authority so promptly and enthusiastically that he called them "the best of his distant children." He even elevated Virginia to the proud position of a "dominion," by quartering its arms (the old seal of the Virginia Company) on his royal shield with the arms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The burgesses were very proud of this distinction and, remembering that they were the oldest as well as the most faithful of the Stuart settlements in America, adopted the name of "The Old Dominion."

42. Bacon's Rebellion. Though there were actually many occasions of dispute between the governors and the burgesses, only one incident of prime importance occurred to disturb the peaceful history of the Old Dominion under its royal masters. In 1675 the Susquehannock Indians were harassing the upper settlements of the colony, and Governor William Berkeley, who was profiting largely by his private interest in the fur trade, refused to send a force of militia to punish them. He was supported by an "old and rotten" assembly, which he had kept in office, doing his bidding, for fourteen years. A young and popular planter named Nathaniel Bacon, who had seen one of his overseers murdered by the Indians, put himself at the head of three hundred volunteers and demanded an officer's commission of Governor Berkeley. Berkeley refused, and Bacon marched against the Indians without any commission, utterly routing them and saving the colony from tomahawk and firebrand. The governor proclaimed Bacon a rebel and set a price upon his head. In the distressing civil war which followed, the governor was driven from his capital and Jamestown was burned by the "rebels." But Bacon died of fever (or poison) at the moment of his victory, and his party, being made up only of his personal following, fell to pieces. Berkeley returned and took grim vengeance on Bacon's supporters until the burgesses petitioned him to "spill no more blood." The rebellion forced the dissolution of the "old and rotten" assembly and the recall of Governor Berkeley. It showed that the people of the Old Dominion, though faithful to their king, would not tamely submit to despotic rule.

The Founding of New England

43. The Anglican Church. The Jamestown colony was planted by a chartered trading company whose chief objects were to break the Spanish monopoly of commerce in the New World, to discover gold and other precious commodities, to find a passage to the Indies, and to afford relief to those who were hard pressed by the rising rents and prices in England. To be sure, the planting of "true religion" in the wilderness figured among the various motives of the colonists of Virginia, but it did not bulk large. In the founding of New England, on the other hand, the religious motive was first in importance, and to understand this motive we must take note of the religious situation in England. In the year 1534 King Henry VIII repudiated the authority of the Pope and got his obedient Parliament to pass the Act of Supremacy, which declared him to be the supreme head of the Church of England. Henceforth the bishops and clergy owed obedience to the king and not to the Pope in matters of faith, worship, and discipline. In rejecting the Pope, however, Henry had no idea of exchanging Catholic doctrines for those of the Protestant Reformation. The old forms of worship continued almost unchanged. But under Henry's three children, who ruled in succession after him, the pendulum of religion oscillated violently. In the reign of his young son Edward VI (1547–1553) it swung far toward the Protestant doctrine of Martin Luther; under his older daughter, Mary (1553–1558), it swung back to a complete submission to the Pope; and with his younger daughter, Elizabeth (1558–1603), it returned to the middle position of Henry VIII. Under Elizabeth the Anglican Church was firmly established by law, but the rapid changes had produced great confusion in the religion of the people of England. The exiles who had fled from Mary's severe persecutions returned with their radical ideas acquired in Geneva, Frankfurt, and other continental centers of Protestantism. Elizabeth, whose interests were not religious, like her half sister's, but nationalistic, insisted on obedience and conformity in the Church, because her throne was threatened by her Catholic rival, Mary Queen of Scots, and the very independence of England by her Catholic enemy, Philip II of Spain [**30**].

44. The Puritans. But uniformity in religion is impossible of enforcement by law. The Anglican Church was a symbol and pledge of national unity for Queen Elizabeth. For the Roman Catholics, who plotted against her throne and rejoiced in her excommunication by the Pope, it was a wicked, heretical institution. For the radical reformers, it was no less wicked, not because it rejected the Pope, but because it kept so much of the old Catholic (or "Papist") worship, such as the priestly vestments, the altar, and the sign of the cross in baptism. They were nicknamed "Puritans" because they wished to purify the Church of these "remnants of idolatry," and looked to the Bible rather than to the rulers for their authority in matters of conscience. Some of the Puritans went so far, even, as to withdraw from the Church entirely, denying the authority of the bishops and setting up their own little Separatist, or Independent, congregations. A law of Elizabeth (1593) punished with imprisonment, exile, and loss of goods any person who persistently refused to attend the services of the Anglican Church. Elizabeth's successor, James, though he had been brought up by the Presbyterians in Scotland, proved to be even more zealous against the Puritans, or Nonconformists. He would make them conform, he said, or "harry them out of the land." In ten years more than a thousand persons were arrested in Middlesex County alone for refusing to attend the services of the Church of England.



THE MAYFLOWER 1620
IN MEMORY OF
REV. JOHN ROBINSON M.A.
PASTOR OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH WORSHIPING OVER AGAINST
THIS SPOT A.D. 1609-1625 WHENCE AT HIS PROMPTING
WENT FORTH
THE PILGRIM FATHERS
TO SETTLE NEW ENGLAND
IN 1620
BURIED UNDER THIS HOUSE OF WORSHIP 4 MAR. 1625
AE. XLIX YEARS
IN MEMORIA AETERNA ERIT JUSTUS
ERECTED BY THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CONGREGATIONAL
CHURCHES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
A.D. 1891

THE PILGRIM TABLET IN LEYDEN, HOLLAND

45. The Pilgrims. One little congregation of Separatists at Scrooby, in the eastern part of England, after having their houses "besett and watcht night and day" and some of their numbers "taken and clapt up in prison" by the authorities of the Church, decided to escape into Holland, where religious dissent was tolerated. As it was unlawful for them to take their goods out of England without permission, they had to go by stealth; and it was only after several attempts that they finally eluded the officials and got away to the Dutch shore. They were about a hundred in number when they assembled at Amsterdam in the autumn of 1608. The next year they moved to Leyden, where they remained for more than a decade under their beloved pastor, John Robinson. But they grew more and more discontented with their surroundings and fortunes. Being a simple farming folk, they found it hard to adapt themselves to the industrial life of the city, and they saw with dismay their children growing up to intermarry with the Dutch, forget their native speech, and relax their strict Puritan morals. After all, they had nothing in common with their land of self-chosen exile. They were but "pilgrims and strangers" there. The "major parte" of them, therefore, decided to seek a new home in America and sent two delegates to England to obtain from the Virginia Company a tract of land in the New World. London merchants financed the migration. The terms were hard, for the colonists had to bind themselves for seven years to turn the products of their fishing, farming, and fur trading into a common store for the joint benefit of the capitalists and themselves. King James agreed not to molest them "provided they carried themselves peaceably," and on the sixth of September, 1620, they set sail from Plymouth, England, in the *Mayflower*. It was their intention to land in Virginia, but their pilot brought them to Cape Cod, where, after exploring the shores of the bay for about a month, they finally chose Plymouth for their settlement (December 20, 1620).

46. The "*Mayflower* Compact" and the Plymouth Colony. As the settlers of Plymouth had no charter from the king, they were without the legal right to establish a government, and, as they had landed far north of the limits of Virginia, their patent, or grant, of land was not valid. Yet they were troubled by neither of these things. Before landing, the Pilgrims gathered in the cabin of the *Mayflower* and signed a compact acknowledging their allegiance to the king and pledging their obedience to such "just and equal laws as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony." The "*Mayflower* Compact" was the first instance of complete "self-determination" in our history; for the assembly of burgesses which had met at Jamestown the year before the Pilgrims landed was called together by orders from the Virginia Company in England. The winter of 1620–1621 on the "stern and rock-bound coast" of New England cost the lives of half the colonists. "It pleased God," wrote Bradford, their governor and historian, "to vissite us with death dayly and with so generall a disease that the living were scarcely able to burie the dead." Yet when the *Mayflower* returned to England the next spring, not one of the survivors went with her. They had made America their home. At the end of seven years they secured their independence from the agents who had financed them by the payment of £1800. By 1640 the colony comprised ten small towns, and when the terrible war with the Narragansett chief, King Philip, broke out in 1675 the little colony saw half its towns destroyed.[1] But the Plymouth Colony did not play a significant rôle in the political history of New England in the seventeenth century, being overshadowed by its powerful neighbor of Massachusetts Bay, by which it was finally absorbed in 1691. The Pilgrim Fathers are held in reverent memory because they were courageous pioneers in the establishment of a refuge in the wilderness where they could worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience.

47. Massachusetts Bay Colony. In the same year that the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth, King James granted the vast territory from the present site of Philadelphia to the mouth of the St. Lawrence River, and extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, to a group of men known as the Council for New England. This council, in 1628, gave to John Endicott and five associates who formed the Massachusetts Bay Company, interested in fishing and fur trading, a patent to the land from a point three miles north of the Merrimac River to a point three miles south of the Charles (map p. 53). Endicott took a small colony to Salem on the Massachusetts shore. In 1629 the Massachusetts Bay Company, enlarged to twenty-six members, secured a charter from Charles I, constituting it a political body ruled by a governor and eighteen "assistants" of its own choice.

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[1] King Philip's War was only the fiercest of many Indian attacks on the westward-moving frontier of the English settlements in the seventeenth century. We have already noticed the attack of the Susquehannocks on the Virginian frontier in 1675–1676 [**42**]. King Philip's War in New England was crushed by a combination of troops from the Massachusetts, the Connecticut, and the Plymouth colonies, but not until half of the eighty or ninety towns of those colonies had been ravaged by fire, some hundred thousand pounds sterling of their treasure spent, and one out of every ten of their fighting men killed or captured.

The charter did not specify (as the Virginia charter did) that the headquarters of the company must be in England. Consequently when the king suspended Parliament (1629) and entered on his despotic "personal rule," the members of the company, who were Puritans, decided to emigrate to America and take their charter with them. In the year 1630 seventeen vessels carried about two thousand colonists to the shores of Boston Harbor, thus inaugurating the largest and most important of the English settlements in America.

48. The Government of Massachusetts. The large emigration to Massachusetts relieved the colony of immediate fear of attacks by the Indians.[1] It also led to a representative form of government. The freemen increased so rapidly that they could not come together in a body to make their laws; and after trying for a short time the experiment of leaving this power to the eighteen "assistants," the towns demanded the privilege of sending their own elected representatives to help the assistants make the laws (1634). The main object of the Massachusetts Puritans was to establish a colony in which they could enjoy a worship purified of what they called "the idolatrous remnants of popery" in the English Church. They had no intention of opening a refuge for *freedom* of worship. To keep their community holy and undefiled they refused to admit as "freemen" (that is, participants in the government) any but members of their own church. Others might live in the colony so long as they did not resist the authorities, molest the ministers, or bring discredit on the Puritan system of worship and government; but they had to contribute to the support of the Church and submit to its controlling oversight of both public and private life. The more liberal spirits of the colony protested against the narrowing of the suffrage to the "freemen" alone, but the Puritan leaders were firm in their determination to keep out of the government all who were suspected of heresy in belief or laxity in morals. "A democracy" (that is, the rule of all the people) "is no fit government either for Church or for commonwealth," declared John Cotton; and even the tolerant John Winthrop, for many years governor of the colony, defended the exclusive Puritan system in a letter to a protesting friend by the remark: "The best part is always the least, and of that best part the wiser part is always the lesser." During the decade 1630–1640 the growing tyranny of King Charles and the persecutions of the zealous Archbishop Laud of Canterbury drove several thousand refugees to the new colony. "God sifted a nation," wrote a Massachusetts governor a half century later, "in order that he might send choice grain to this wilderness"; but Archbishop Laud called the Puritans whom he drove into exile "swine which rooted out God's vineyard."

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[1] It must be added that the danger to both the Plymouth and the Massachusetts colonies in their early years from Indian attacks was much lessened by a terrible plague which had swept over eastern New England three years before the Pilgrims landed, and destroyed perhaps one half of the Indians from Maine to Rhode Island.

49. The Rhode Island Colony. The exclusive Puritan system led to both voluntary and enforced exile from Massachusetts. Roger Williams was pastor of the church in Salem. He taught that the land on which the colonists had settled belonged to the Indians, in spite of the king's charter, and that the state had no control over a man's conscience. The civil authorities drove Williams from the colony in 1636. Making his difficult way southward in midwinter through the forests, from one Indian tribe to another, he arrived at the head of Narragansett Bay and, purchasing a tract of land from the Indians, began a settlement which he called, in recognition of God's guidance, "Providence." Other dissenters from Massachusetts followed, and soon four towns were established on the mainland about Narragansett Bay and on Rhode Island proper. The little colony of "Rhode Island and Providence Plantations" so established was remarkable for two things, — democracy and religious freedom. Election "by papers" (ballots) was introduced, and the government was "held by free and voluntary consent of all the free inhabitants." All men might "walk as their conscience persuaded them, every one in the name of his God." Church and State were completely separated. The scornful orthodox brethren in Massachusetts called Rhode Island's population "the

Lord's débris," while the facetious said that "if a man had lost his religion, he would be sure to find it in some Rhode Island village." The colony prospered, however, and in 1663 received a royal charter from Charles II. For his heroic devotion to principles of freedom, far in advance of his age, Roger Williams deserves to be honored as one of the noblest figures in our colonial history.

50. The Connecticut Settlements. The same year that Massachusetts drove out Williams the magistrates gave permission to "divers loving ffriends, neighbors, and ffreemen of Newetown (Cambridge), Dorchester, Watertown and other places, to transport themselves and their estates unto the Ryver of Conecticott, there to reside and inhabit." These emigrants, led by their pastor, Thomas Hooker, tramped across the wilderness between the Charles and the Connecticut, driving their cattle before them and carrying their household goods in wagons, — the first heralds of that mighty westward movement which was to continue through two centuries to the Pacific Ocean. The Connecticut emigrants founded the towns of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield on the "long river." In 1639 they adopted their "Fundamental Orders," — the first constitution drawn up in America, and the first in modern history composed by the free founders of a state.[1] They did not require a man to be a church member in order to vote, and their clergymen exercised far less influence over political life than those of the mother colony. After the extermination of the dangerous Pequot Indians in 1637 the colony enjoyed peace and prosperity. In 1662 it was granted a charter by Charles II, extending its territory westward to the South Sea (the Pacific).

51. The Puritan Colony of New Haven. John Davenport, a stern Puritan divine, founded a third seceding colony from Massachusetts when he took his congregation from Boston to the shores of Long Island Sound and started the settlement of New Haven (1638). The colony, which soon expanded into several towns, was even more strictly Puritan and "theocratic" (God-ruled) than Massachusetts. The founders hoped to add worldly prosperity to their piety by making New Haven a great commercial port, but the proximity of the unrivaled harbor of New York (then called New Amsterdam) rendered any such hope vain from the beginning. Instead of becoming an independent commercial colony, New Haven and her sister towns found themselves, to their disgust, included in the limits of Connecticut by the royal charter of 1662. They protested valiantly against the consolidation, but were forced in the end to yield. Thus the New Haven colony ceased to exist in 1665.

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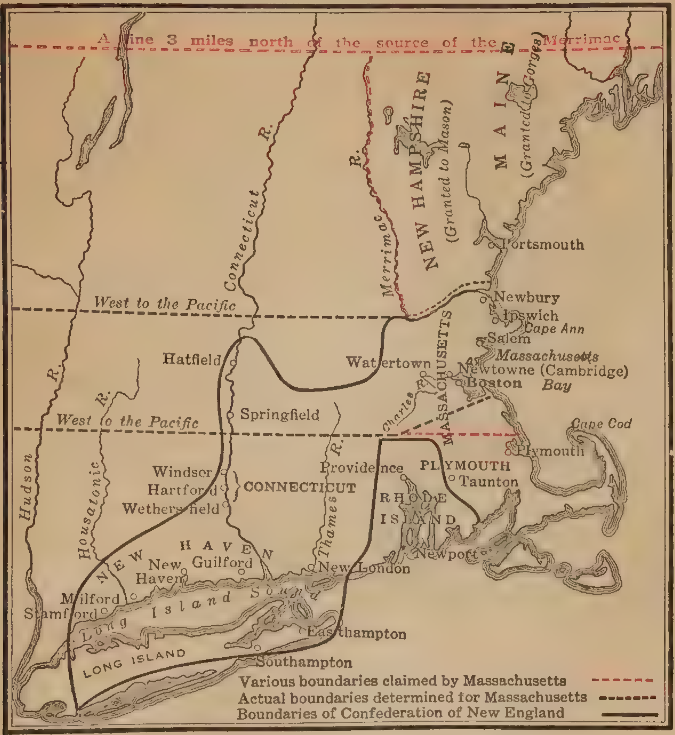
[1] The *Mayflower* agreement of 1620 was hardly a constitution, as it did not provide for a *form* of government, but only pledged its signers to obey the government which they should establish.



THE NEW ENGLAND SETTLEMENTS

52. The Spirit of the Massachusetts Colony. The ascendancy of Massachusetts over the other New England colonies was complete. She far surpassed them all in men and wealth. She absorbed the settlements started to north of her, in New Hampshire and Maine, by the Episcopalian courtiers John Mason and Sir Ferdinando Gorges.[1] The New England Confederation, formed in 1643 by Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, chiefly for defense against the Indians and the Dutch, was theoretically a league of four equal states; each had two members with equal voice in the governing council. But the opposition of Massachusetts kept Rhode Island out of the confederation, and in the question of declaring war on the Dutch colony of New Netherland in 1653 the two Massachusetts councilors vetoed the unanimous vote of the other six. The second half of the seventeenth century exhibited the character of the colony in its most uncompromising and unlovely aspects. The large-minded, courteous Winthrop died in 1649, and was succeeded in the governorship by a bigoted Puritan "saint," John Endicott. Faithfulness to Puritan ideals reached a point

THE PURITAN

By Augustus Saint-Gaudens. Photograph by Ewing Galloway of fanatic cruelty. Quakers were hanged in 1660 on Boston Common for the crime of testifying to the "inner light," or special divine revelation (which of course made Church and clergy superfluous). Again, in 1692, nineteen persons, mostly women, were hanged in Salem village for witchcraft, or secret alliance with Satan, on the most unfair evidence of excited children and hysterical women.

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[1] Charles II, incensed at these transactions and jealous of the growing independence of Massachusetts, made New Hampshire a province under a royal governor (1679). But Maine remained a part of Massachusetts until 1820.

On its political side the increasing power of the magistrates of Massachusetts aroused the suspicions of the king. The colony banished Episcopalians, coined money, omitted the king's name in its legal forms, and broke his laws for the regulation of their trade. When he sent commissioners in 1664 to investigate these conditions, they were insulted by a constable in a Boston tavern. Their chairman wrote back, "Our time is lost upon men puffed up with the spirit of independence." Edward Randolph, sent over a few years later as a collector of revenues, complained that "the king's letters are of no more account in Massachusetts than an old number of the London *Gazette*." Finally, Charles II, provoked beyond patience, had the Massachusetts charter annulled in his court (1684), and the colony became a royal province.

53. Sir Edmund Andros in Boston. But before the great Puritan colony entered on its checkered career of the eighteenth century under royal governors, it bore a conspicuous part in the overthrow of that tyranny which the last Stuart king, James II, made unendurable for free-born Englishmen. In 1686 James united New York, New Jersey, and all New England into one great province, which should be a solid bulwark against the danger of French and Indian invasion from the north, where his governor should rule absolutely, unhampered by colonial charters or assemblies. He sent over Sir Edmund Andros as governor of this huge province extending from Delaware Bay to Nova Scotia. Andros was a faithful servant and an upright man, but a harsh, narrow, unbending governor, determined that the instructions of his royal master should be carried out to the letter. He attempted to seize the charters of Connecticut and Rhode Island, but was baffled by the local patriots in both colonies. Exasperated by resistance, Andros made his hand doubly heavy upon Massachusetts. He dismissed the assembly, abolished the colonial courts, dispensed justice himself, charging exorbitant fees, established a strict censorship of the press, introduced the Episcopal worship in Boston, denied the colonists fair and speedy trials, and levied a land tax on them without the consent of their deputies. He was even accused, though unjustly, of plotting to betray New England to the French.

54. The "Glorious Revolution." The patience of the colony was about exhausted when the welcome news arrived, in April, 1689, that James II had been driven from the English throne. The inhabitants of Boston immediately responded by a popular rising against James's odious servant. Andros tried, like his master, to flee from the vengeance of the people he had so grievously provoked, but he was seized and imprisoned, and in February, 1690, sent back to England. The town meeting of Boston assumed the government, appointed a committee of safety, and sent envoys to London to learn the will of the new king, William of Orange. William granted a new charter to Massachusetts in 1691, while Connecticut and Rhode Island quietly resumed government under their old charters, retaining them as state constitutions well into the nineteenth century. The new Massachusetts charter provided for the union of Plymouth and Maine with the Bay colony under a royal governor and broke down the old Puritan régime by guaranteeing freedom of worship to all Protestant sects and making the possession of property instead of membership in the church the basis of political rights. Under this charter the Massachusetts colony lived until the American Revolution.

THE PROPRIETARY PROVINCES

55. The Nature of a Proprietary Province. Of the thirteen colonies which were later to form the American nation, all except Virginia and the New England settlements were founded as proprietorships. These were royal grants of large territories, together with ample powers of government, to individuals or a small group of men often favorites at the court. The proprietors did not generally reside in their provinces but sent governors to rule for them. They established courts of justice, appointed councils, called assemblies to make laws, and granted land on favorable terms to attract settlers; for, like the earlier trading companies, they were engaged on a business venture and wished to make their provinces pay as farms for the export of agricultural products, furs, fish, timber, tobacco, potash, and many other commodities. Although the proprietorship was the earliest form of grant under which English settlements were undertaken in America (as the patents of Queen Elizabeth to Gilbert and Raleigh show [**31**]), there was actually but one successful proprietary colony (Maryland) established here before the restitution of Charles II to the English throne (1660).

56. The Colony of Maryland. In 1632 a Roman Catholic, George Calvert, first Baron of Baltimore in the Irish peerage, was granted by Charles I the territory between 40° north latitude and the southern bank of the Potomac (map, p. 63), with a very liberal charter. No tax was to be levied by the crown on persons or goods within the colony. Laws were to be made "by the proprietor with the advice . . . of the freemen." George Calvert died before the king's seal was affixed to the charter, but in 1634 his son Cecilius sent a colony of about three hundred gentlemen and laborers to St. Marys, on the shore of Chesapeake Bay. The second Lord Baltimore needed all his tact and courage to meet the difficulties with which he had to struggle. The territory of Maryland lay within the boundaries of the Virginia Company (map, p. 41), and it came to war before Virginian fur traders were dislodged from Kent Island in Chesapeake Bay. Again, Lord Baltimore interpreted his charter to mean that the proprietor was to frame the laws and the freemen to accept them; but the very first assembly in Maryland took the opposite view, insisting that the proprietor had the right only of approving or vetoing laws which it had passed. Baltimore tactfully yielded.

57. The Maryland Act of Toleration. Lord Baltimore had founded his colony chiefly as an asylum for the persecuted Catholics of England, who were regarded as idolaters both by the New England Puritans and by the Virginia Episcopalians. To have the Mass celebrated at St. Marys was, in the eyes of the Protestants, to pollute the soil of America. As Baltimore tolerated all Christian sects in his province, the Protestants flooded out the Catholics of Maryland. Eight years after the establishment of the colony, the Catholics formed less than 25 per cent of the inhabitants. In 1649, therefore, the proprietor was obliged to protect his fellow religionists in Maryland by getting the assembly to pass the famous Toleration Act, providing that "no person in this province *professing to believe in Jesus Christ* shall be in any ways troubled, molested, or discountenanced for his or her religion . . . so that they be not unfaithful to the lord proprietary or molest or conspire against the civil government established." Although this is the first act of religious toleration on the statute books of the American colonies, we should remember that Roger Williams, thirteen years earlier, had founded Rhode Island on principles of religious toleration more complete than those of the Maryland Act; for, by the italicized words of the latter, Jews or freethinkers would be excluded from Baltimore's domain. The strife between Catholic and Protestant in Maryland continued until the English Revolution of 1688 overthrew James II. Then Maryland was taken away from the Baltimores and put under a royal governor. The Anglican Church was established and the Catholics, who comprised less than 10 per cent of the population then, were stripped of their political rights. However, when the fifth Lord Baltimore became a Protestant the colony was restored to the family (1715) and Maryland remained a province of the Baltimores until the outbreak of the American Revolution.

58. The Carolinas. Charles II, who took a great interest in the colonies in the early years of his reign, granted to a group of eight courtiers, in 1663, the huge tract of land between Virginia and the Spanish settlement of Florida, extending westward to the "South Sea." The charter gave the proprietors powers as ample as Lord Baltimore's in Maryland. But the board of proprietors were not equal to Lord Baltimore in energy, tact, and wisdom. The initial mistake was the attempt to enforce a ridiculously elaborate constitution, "the Grand Model," composed by the celebrated English philosopher John Locke, and utterly unfit for a sparse and struggling settlement. A small community had already grown up on the Chowan River, founded by malcontents from Virginia. Another group, consisting of planters from the island of Barbados, came to the shore of the Ashley River, three hundred miles to the south (1670). Ten years later this settlement was transferred to the site of the modern city of Charleston, South Carolina. The two widely separated settlements developed into North and South Carolina respectively. The names are used as early as 1691, but the colonies were not provided with separate governors until 1729. The Carolinas during the sixty and more years of proprietary control were turbulent. The assemblies and the governors quarreled over religion, taxes, elections, and land titles. The Spaniards incited the Indians to attack the colony from the south, and pirates swarmed in the harbors and creeks of the coast. Finally, the assembly of South Carolina, burdened by an enormous debt from the Spanish-Indian wars, offered the lands of the province for sale to settlers. The proprietors vetoed this action, which invaded their chartered rights. Then the assembly renounced obedience to the proprietors and petitioned King George to be taken under his protection as a royal province (1719). It was the only case in our colonial history of a proprietary government overthrown by its own assembly. Ten years later the proprietors sold their rights and interests in both Carolinas to the crown for £50,000.

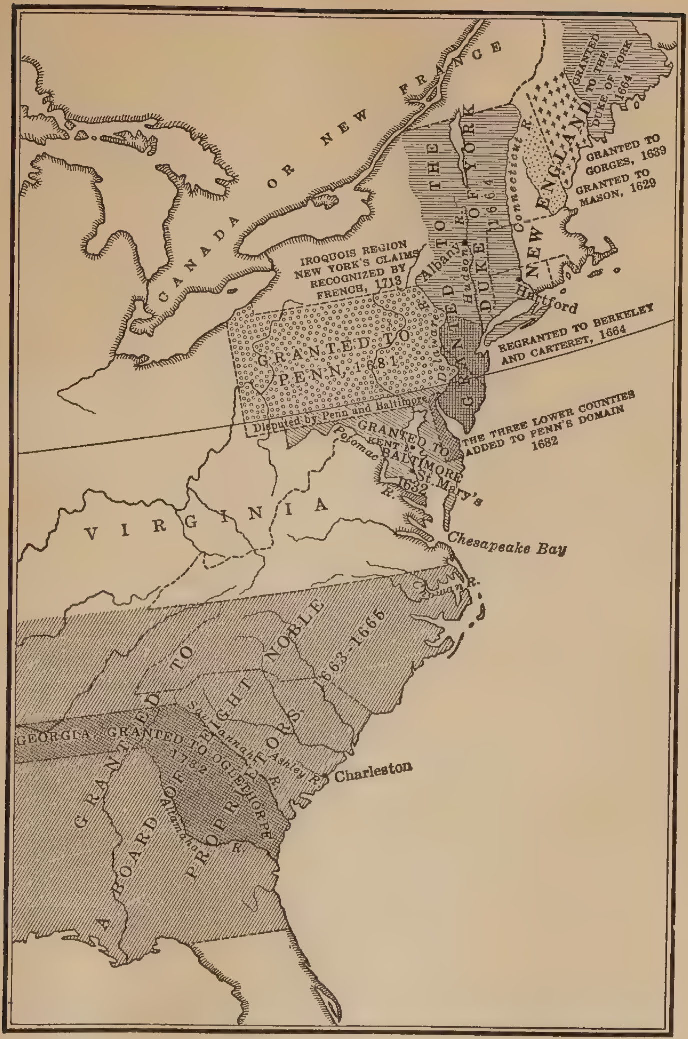
59. The Dutch on the Hudson. In the late summer of 1609, when as yet the struggling little colony of Jamestown was the only English settlement in America, Henry Hudson, an Englishman in the service of the Dutch East India Company, sailed up the river which now bears his name, in search of a passage to Cathay. Instead he found only painted Indians, who were glad to exchange their beaver and otter skins for trinkets, liquor, and firearms. Other traders followed Hudson, and soon the river was a scene of lively barter. A fort was established in 1614 near the present site of Albany. In 1621 the States-General of Holland chartered the West India Company, which proceeded to organize the colony on the Hudson. The *Niew Nederlandt* arrived at Manhattan in 1623 with the first governor (or director general) of New Netherland. And in 1626 the third director general, Peter Minuit, bought from the Indians the island on which the Empire City of our country stands today for sixty Dutch gilders ($24), or about one tenth of a cent an acre. Interested less in the establishment of a colony than in the profits of the fur trade, the company turned over the work of settlement to a few wealthy proprietors, or "patroons." Each patroon who brought fifty or more settlers to the colony was granted a domain extending for either sixteen miles on one bank or eight miles on both banks of the river with the privileges of a feudal lord. Besides charging his tenants a substantial rent for their land, he could require of them dues in the shape of a tenth of their farm products, supplies of cut firewood, and a certain number of days' service with horses and wagons. The people of the colony fretted under the economic control of the patroons and the political despotism of the governor at New Amsterdam. When a convention of the settlers from towns on Long Island and the mainland met in 1653 and drew up a "Remonstrance and Petition," complaining of the inefficiency of the defense against the Indians, the large grants of land made to favored individuals, and the "uncertainty of laws made by the director and his council without the approbation of the country," the crusty old despot, Peter Stuyvesant, refused to hear their plea for self-government and dispersed the convention with the defiant words: "We derive our authority from God and the Company, not from a few ignorant subjects, and we alone can call the inhabitants together."

60. The Dutch clash with their Neighbors. Not only were the Dutch trespassing on territory granted by James I to the Plymouth Company in 1606, but they also claimed the land on the Connecticut and Delaware rivers. They had built Fort Good Hope on the Connecticut near the present site of Hartford, which they tried to hold against the emigrants from Massachusetts. Finally, unable to defend their position against the growing numbers of the English, they agreed to a treaty (1650) by which they surrendered the Connecticut valley. To the south, however, they were more successful. The Swedes, without any claims by virtue of discovery or exploration in the New World, had established a number of trading posts on the Delaware between 1638 and 1647. As Sweden was fighting in the great Thirty Years' War on the Protestant side, on whose success the independence of the Dutch hung, the Swedish settlements on the Delaware were left unmolested for a while; but when the war was over and the freedom of the Netherlands was acknowledged Stuyvesant sailed from New Amsterdam to the Delaware with a force of several hundred men and easily compelled the surrender of the Swedish posts (1655).

61. New Amsterdam becomes New York. Every year the English government realized more clearly the necessity of getting rid of this alien colony, which lay like a wedge between New England and the Southern plantations, controlling the valuable fur trade of the Hudson valley and, by its encouragement of smuggling and piracy, making the enforcement of the trade laws in America impossible. In 1664, therefore, Charles II, on the verge of a commercial war with Holland, granted to his brother, the Duke of York, the territory between the Connecticut and Delaware rivers as a proprietary province. The first the astonished burghers of New Amsterdam knew of this transaction was the appearance of the duke's fleet in the harbor, with the curt summons to surrender the fort. Director General Stuyvesant fumed and stormed, declaring that he would never surrender, but resistance was hopeless. The burghers persuaded the irate governor to yield, although his gunners had their fuses already lighted. New Netherland fell without a blow, and the English flag waved over an unbroken coast from Canada to the Carolinas.

62. Absolute Rule in New York. There are still many traces in New York of its fifty years' occupancy by the Dutch. The names of the old Knickerbocker families remind us of the patroons' estates; and from the car windows one gets glimpses of the high Dutch stoops and quaint market places in the villages along the Hudson, or sees a group of men at sundown rolling the favorite old Dutch game of bowls, which Rip van Winkle found the dwarfs playing in the Catskills. But a far more significant bequest of New Netherland to New York was the spirit of absolute government. Under Dutch rule the colony had no representative assembly, and it was not till 1683 that the new English proprietor yielded to pressure from his people to grant one. Two years later, on coming to the throne as James II, he revoked this grant and made New York the pattern of absolute government to which he tried to make all the English colonies north of Maryland conform. What success his viceroy Andros had in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut we have already seen [**53**]. In New York the deputy governor, Nicholson, deserted his post when James II was overthrown, and sailed back to England, leaving the fort in the possession of a certain Jacob Leisler. Leisler was a rather hot-headed German merchant and a determined Protestant, who proclaimed William and Mary as sovereigns. Puffed up by his own importance, he refused to surrender the fort on the Battery to King William's accredited agent before the arrival of the new governor. For this obstinate conduct Leisler was hanged as a traitor, though he protested that his only purpose had been to prevent the Catholics in the colony from betraying the people to the French in Canada. He had really done nothing more "treasonable" than had the leaders of the "glorious revolution" in Massachusetts. Within a few years the English government acknowledged the injustice of his execution by restoring his estates to his family.

63. The Colonial History of New Jersey. Even before the Duke of York had ousted the Dutch from his new province he had granted the lower part of it from the Hudson to the Delaware to two of his friends, Lord Berkeley, brother of the irritable governor of Virginia, and Sir George Carteret, former governor of the island of Jersey in the English Channel. In honor of Carteret the region was named New Jersey. The proprietors of New Jersey immediately published "Concessions" for their colony — a liberal constitution granting religious liberty and a


CANADA OR NEW FRANCE
GRANTED TO THE DUKE OF YORK 1664
GRANTED TO GORGES, 1639
GRANTED TO MASON, 1629
NEW ENGLAND
Connecticut R.
Albany
Hudson R.
Delaware R.
Hartford
IROQUOIS REGION NEW YORK'S CLAIMS RECOGNIZED BY FRENCH, 1713
GRANTED TO PENN, 1681
REGRANTED TO BERKELEY AND CARTERET, 1664
Disputed by Penn and Baltimore
GRANTED TO BALTIMORE 1632
KENT I.
Potomac R.
St. Mary's
THE THREE LOWER COUNTIES ADDED TO PENN'S DOMAIN 1682
VIRGINIA
Chesapeake Bay
Chowan R.
GRANTED TO EIGHT NOBLE PROPRIETORS, 1663-1665
GEORGIA, GRANTED TO OGLETHORPE 1732
Savannah R.
Ashley R.
Charleston
Altamaha R.
GRANTED TO A BOARD OF

PROPRIETARY GRANTS MADE BY THE STUART KINGS

Showing how seven eighths of the Atlantic seaboard was granted to court favorites between 1632 and 1682 popular assembly with the control of taxation. In 1674 the proprietors divided their province into East and West Jersey, and from that date to the end of the century the Jerseys had a turbulent history, despite the fact that both parts of the colony came eventually under the control of the peace-loving sect of Friends, or Quakers.[1] New Jersey was put under the royal governor of New York in 1702 and separated again in 1738. There were constant quarrels between the proprietors, the governors, and the legislators until New Jersey revolted with the rest of the American colonies from the rule of Great Britain.

64. The Founding of Pennsylvania. One of the Quaker proprietors of West Jersey in the early days was William Penn, a young man high in favor with the Stuarts on account of the services of his father, Admiral Penn, to their cause. When the old admiral died he left a claim for some £16,000 against King Charles II, and William Penn, desirous of founding a Quaker settlement in the New World, accepted from the king in payment of the debt an immense region west of the Delaware River, which he named "Sylvania" (Woodland), but which the king in honor of the admiral insisted on calling Pennsylvania (1681).[2] Charles II, in the midst of the quarrel with the stiff-necked colony of Massachusetts [**52**], was no longer willing to grant the almost unlimited powers which he had bestowed upon Lord Baltimore and the Carolina proprietors. The Penn charter contained provisions that the colony must always keep an agent in London, that the Church of England must be tolerated, that appeals to England from the decision of the colony courts must be allowed, that the king might veto any act of the assembly within five years of its passage, and that taxes might be laid on the colony "by act of Parliament in England." Penn persuaded the Duke of York in 1682 to release to him the land which Stuyvesant had wrested from the Swedes on the Delaware in 1655 and which, in spite of Baltimore's protest, had been held as part of New York ever since the English conquest of New Netherland (1664). This territory, called the "Three Lower Counties," Penn governed by a deputy. The lower counties were separated from Pennsylvania in 1702 and, as the colony of Delaware, were given their own legislature; but they remained under Penn's governors and a part of the proprietary domain of the Penn family until the American Revolution.

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[1] The Friends, or Quakers, were a religious sect founded in England by George Fox in the middle of the seventeenth century. They believed that the "inner light," or the illumination of the Divine Spirit in each man's conscience, was a sufficient guide for conduct and worship. They were extreme "democrats," refusing to remove their hats in the presence of any magistrate. The Quakers had begun to come to America as early as 1653 to preach their doctrines of religious and political independence. We have already seen how cruelly they were persecuted by the Puritan authorities of Massachusetts [**52**]. In every colony except Rhode Island they were oppressed, until William Penn realized the dream of their founder and established a Quaker colony in the New World.

[2] According to the charter Penn's grant was bounded on the south "by a circle drawne at twelve miles distant from Newcastle, Northward and Westward unto the beginning of the 40th degree of Northern latitude." This confusing language is made all the more unintelligible by the fact that a circle drawn at a radius distance of twelve miles from Newcastle does not touch the fortieth parallel of latitude. Lord Baltimore's charter of 1632 gave him all the land "which lyeth under the 40th degree." The heirs of Penn and Baltimore quarreled over the boundary line until, in 1764–1767, two English surveyors, Mason and Dixon, ran the present boundary line (at 39°43′26″). For the disputed territory see map, p. 63.

65. Penn's "Holy Experiment." William Penn was the greatest of the founders of the American colonies. He had all the liberality of Roger Williams without his impatience, all the fervor of John Winthrop without a trace of intolerance, and all the tact of Lord Baltimore with still greater industry and zeal. He was far in advance of his age in humanity. At a time when scores of offenses were punishable by death in England, he made murder and treason the only capital crimes in his colony. Instead of filthy dungeons, Penn made his prisons workhouses for the education and correction of malefactors. His province was the first to raise its voice against slavery (in the Germantown protest of 1688), and his scrupulous and fair dealing with the Indians saved the colony from the horrors of savage raids and massacres. Penn called his undertaking a "holy experiment" — believing that a peaceful and prosperous society could exist under a humane government, welcoming men of various nationalities, and tolerating the worship of various creeds. Although only Christians were allowed to participate in the government, no person who acknowledged "one Almighty and Eternal God" to be the "Creator, Upholder, and Ruler of the World" should be molested if he conducted himself peacefully and refrained from work on Sunday. But Penn had an eye to business as well as to philanthropy. He advertised his province by attractive pamphlets published in England and on the continent, offering lands for sale on easy terms. Those too poor to buy could rent land at a penny an acre. Penn visited the province in the autumn of 1682, publishing a Frame of Government, which provided for a council and an elective assembly. He laid out his city of Philadelphia "to resemble a green and open country town." By the summer of 1683 more than four thousand "industrious husbandmen, carpenters, masons, weavers and other mechanics" had come to Pennsylvania, and before the close of the decade the number had grown to twelve thousand. "They have improved

THE OLD PENN HOUSE IN PHILADELPHIA

tilledge to that degree," wrote an English customs official in 1700, "that they have made bread, flower, and beer a drugg in all the markets in the West Indies." Evidently the "holy experiment" was a worldly success.

66. Politics in Pennsylvania. Nevertheless there were inevitable causes of discontent and wrangling, due partly to the high degree of freedom and prosperity in the province and partly to the diversity of races and creeds represented. Penn himself once wrote to the colony "for the love of God, me, and the poor country, be not so governmentish, so noisy and open in your dissatisfaction"; and his successors in the eighteenth century were often at odds with the governors and people of the colony. As the Scotch-Irish and Germans began to fill up the western lands, there were the usual quarrels between the new frontier and the old seaboard region over the division of political power; for the five frontier counties of Pennsylvania had only ten members in the assembly as against twenty-six members from the three original counties near the Delaware. Another source of continual friction was the exemption of the proprietor's enormous tracts of land from taxation. And still another was the dominance of the assembly by the Quakers, whose principles forbade them to fight or to support war. This threatened to be a very serious matter when the French and Indian War at the middle of the eighteenth century struck the province, and the belligerent Scotch-Irish on the frontier found themselves thwarted by the pacifist Quakers, who controlled the legislature. But in the end the patriotism of the Quakers overcame their scruples. In some cases they voluntarily retired from the assembly and in others they voted grants to the government without inquiring too closely what was done with the money. On one occasion they voted £4000 for "bread, beef, pork, flour, wheat, and other grains." The governor, interpreting "other grains" liberally, used a large part of the money to buy grains of *gunpowder*, and the Quakers did not protest. The liberal influence of William Penn was lasting, and his family remained in honored possession of the province down to the outbreak of the American Revolution. Even then the new

TABLE OF ENGLISH COLONIES

NAME (the thirteen original states in italic)	FOUNDED BY	DATE	CHARTER	ASSEMBLY	MADE ROYAL	STATUS IN 1775	REMARKS
Virginia	London Company	1607	1606–1609–1612	1619	1624	Royal	.
Plymouth	Separatists	1620		1639	1691		Merged with Massachusetts in 1691
Massachusetts . .	Puritans of the Mass. Bay Co.	1628	1629	1634	1684	Royal	Only royal colony to have its charter restored (1691)
Maryland	Lord Baltimore	1634	1632	1634		Proprietary	A royal province, 1690–1715
Rhode Island . .	Roger Williams	1636	1663	1647		Self-governing	Frustrated Andros's attempt to take away charters, 1686–1687
Connecticut . . .	Emigrants from Massachusetts	1636	1662	1637		Self-governing	
New Haven . . .	Emigrants from Massachusetts	1638		1643			Merged with Connecticut, 1662
Maine	F. Gorges	1641	1639		1691		Bought by Massachusetts, 1677
North Carolina .	Eight nobles	1663	1663	1669	N. 1729	Royal	Informally separated, 1691; formally separated with different governors, 1729
South Carolina .					S. 1729	Royal	
New York	(Duke of York)	1664	1664	1683–1685	1685	Royal	Dutch colony of New Netherland, 1622–1664
New Hampshire .	John Mason		1639	1680	1679	Royal	Towns absorbed by Massachusetts, 1641–1679
New Jersey . . .	Berkeley and Carteret	1664		1664	1702	Royal	Under the governor of New York till 1738
Pennsylvania . . .	William Penn	1681	1680	1681		Proprietary	A royal province, 1692–1694
Delaware	Swedes	1638		1702		Proprietary	Conquered by Dutch, 1655; by English, 1664 Merged with Pennsylvania, 1682 Separate governor (1691) and assembly (1702)
Georgia	Jas. Oglethorpe	1732	1732	1733	1752	Royal	

state of Pennsylvania allowed the Penn family to retain the ownership of most of their landed property.

67. The Colony of Georgia. For the sake of completeness we must mention among these proprietorships the colony of Georgia, though it was founded long after the Stuart dynasty had given place to the House of Hanover on the English throne. In the year that George Washington was born (1732) James Oglethorpe obtained a charter from the king granting to a body of trustees for twenty-one years the unsettled part of the old Carolina territory lying between the Savannah and Altamaha rivers (map, p. 63). Oglethorpe wished to provide an opportunity for poor debtors and criminals to work out their salvation in the New World. The Church was anxious for the conversion of the Indians on the Carolina borders; capitalists expected to make profits out of the silk and wine industries introduced into the province; and the government, drifting toward a war with Spain, was glad to have the English frontier extended southward to Spanish Florida. So Parliament, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the Bank of England, and many private citizens contributed toward the new colony which was established on the banks of the Savannah in 1733 and named Georgia after the reigning king, George II. Slavery was forbidden in the new colony, also the traffic in rum. But the convicts were poor workers, and the industries started were unsuited to the land. Not wine and silk, but rice, indigo, and cotton were destined to be the foundation of Georgia's prosperity. In spite of Oglethorpe's zeal and his victories over the Spaniards by land and sea, he had not made a success of the colony when the time came to surrender the charter to the king (1753). The founder of the last American colony lived to see the United States acknowledged by Great Britain and the other powers of Europe as an independent nation.

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2. **Bacon's Rebellion:** FISKE, *Old Virginia and her Neighbors*, Vol. II, pp. 58–107; MARY JOHNSTON, *Pioneers of the Old South*, pp. 161–190; H. L. OSGOOD, *The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century*, Vol. III, pp. 258–278; HART, *Contemporaries*, Vol. I, No. 71; MUZZEY, *Readings*, pp. 30–34.

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4. **The Pilgrims in England and Holland:** CHANNING, Vol. I, pp. 293–304; W. E. GRIFFIS, *The Pilgrims in their Three Homes*; JUSTIN WINSOR, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Vol. III, pp. 257–265 (with illustrations); HART, *Contemporaries*, Vol. I, Nos. 49, 55, 97–99.

5. **Quakers:** FISKE, *Dutch and Quaker Colonies*, Vol. II, pp. 108–114; CHANNING, Vol. II, pp. 94–126; OSGOOD, Vol. I, 269–289; Old South Leaflets, Nos. 95, 171; HART, *Contemporaries*, Vol. I, Nos. 140–142, Vol. II, Nos. 98, 106; MUZZEY, *Readings*, pp. 63–67.

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. What important events are associated with the dates 1607, 1619, 1620, 1624, 1664, 1675, 1680, 1689, 1691? **2.** In what respects is England the "parent country" of America? **3.** What region did the name Virginia cover in 1607? **4.** Compare the services of John Smith, John Rolfe, and Sir Edwin Sandys to Virginia. **5.** Why did Charles I allow the Virginia Company to keep its assembly? **6.** What was the difference between the Puritans and the Separatists? **7.** Why did Queen Elizabeth wish to make her subjects worship alike? **8.** Why did the people of Massachusetts establish colonies in other parts of New England? **9.** What was the difference between the *Mayflower* Compact and the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut? **10.** When and how did the colony of Plymouth come to an end? of New Haven? **11.** How did Massachusetts lack democracy? **12.** Why was Sir Edmund Andros unpopular in New England? **13.** Why was New York superior to Boston as a center of the fur trade? **14.** Why did the Puritans persecute the Quakers? **15.** How does Bacon's Rebellion illustrate the conflict between the frontier and the tidewater region in Virginia? **16.** What illustration of this conflict do you find in Pennsylvania? **17.** What region was in dispute between the Dutch and the English? **18.** Why were the New England settlements more free from the Indian danger in the early years than Virginia was? **19.** Why did the assembly of South Carolina ask the king to take the colony into his power? **20.** What is meant by Penn's "holy experiment"? **21.** When and by whom was the last English colony in America founded?

CHAPTER III

COLONIAL AMERICA

Political and Industrial Development

68. English Authority in the Colonies. The colonies which were established on the American mainland in the seventeenth century became the United States of America toward the close of the eighteenth century. But there was no thought of such a development in the mind either of the English king who granted the charters or of the colonists themselves. The shiploads of emigrants that were brought to Virginia or Massachusetts, to the mouth of the Hudson, the Delaware, and the Savannah rivers, did not consider that they dropped their allegiance to England into the waters of the Atlantic. The foreigners who came here were subject to the authority of the colonies and these in turn were subject to the authority of England. "The King did not grant away his soveraigntie over you when he made you a corporation," said the royal commissioner to Massachusetts Bay in 1664; "when His Majestie gave you power to make wholesome lawes and to administer justice he parted not with his right of judging whether those laws are wholesome or whether justice was administered accordingly or no. When His Majestie gave you authoritie over such of his subjects as live within the limits of your jurisdiction, he made them not your subjects nor you their supream authority." Nevertheless, the first two Stuart kings were so occupied in strife with their Parliaments and subjects at home that they paid only occasional attention to the colonies. Consequently, Massachusetts, with its charter safely in Boston, grew so accustomed through thirty years to managing its own affairs that it resented the arrival of a royal commission of investigation and even the Virginia assembly did not hesitate to depose a royal governor and send him home to England (1634).

69. A New Colonial Policy. The restoration of Charles II to the English throne, however, in 1660, which marked the end of the period of civil war in England, marked the beginning of a real colonial policy for America. We have seen how the new king granted charters for the establishment of several proprietary colonies and took New Netherland away from the Dutch. In addition to extending English settlements in the New World he sought also to tighten English control and to bring the colonies into "a more certain and civille and uniforme waie of government." To this end he created a committee in his privy council to deal with the government and commerce of the colony and sent commissioners to America to investigate how faithfully the king's authority was being recognized there. In a word, England seemed to wake to the fact that the colonies were too valuable to neglect. They must no longer be allowed to consider themselves as separate little states intent on their local problems of religion, politics, and trade, but must be part and parcel of the whole colonial system, including the American mainland, the West Indian islands, and the factories in the Far East, and must submit to direction from headquarters in London.

70. The Mercantile Theory of Trade. It was a commonly accepted doctrine among the nations of Europe that wealth consisted in the amount of gold and silver which they had in their treasuries. Hence they were anxious to have a "favorable balance of trade," that is, a kind of commerce that would bring more money into the country than it took out. The colonies played an important part in this scheme; for it is obvious that if the mother country could get from its colonies such materials as it could not produce itself, without having to pay duties on them, and if it could have prosperous and populous colonies to buy its own manufactured goods, it would amass money. More than this, it would avoid being dependent upon a foreign country (which at any time might become an enemy country) for such food and raw materials as it needed to import. Finally, by building up a flourishing trade with its own colonies it would be providing ships and training seamen for the strengthening of the navy in time of war. Therefore each of the maritime nations (England, Holland, Spain, France) was anxious to have a self-sufficing colonial empire closed to the rest of the world and furnishing the products of furs, lumber, naval stores, sugar, spices, silk, oil, wine, etc., which it could not supply at home. As colonial rivalry increased in the seventeenth century and commercial wars replaced the religious wars of the sixteenth century, this "mercantile theory of trade" became more firmly established in the minds of the statesmen and the merchants. The matter was brought to a head in England in 1652, when a commercial war broke out with the Dutch, who were threatening to absorb the "carrying trade" of the seas by shipping goods from all parts of the world to England and her colonies.

71. The Acts of Trade. The first move, therefore, of Charles II's restoration government was a series of laws of Parliament to regulate the shipping trade in the interests of England and her colonies as against her maritime rivals. These laws consisted of Navigation Acts, which applied to the ships and the sailors, and Acts of Trade, which dealt with the commodities carried in the ships. The Navigation Act of 1660 provided that only English-owned ships of which the master and three fourths of the crew should be English subjects could carry the products of Asia, Africa, or America (that is, colonial products) to any part of the English dominions. The act of 1660 also provided that certain goods called "enumerated commodities," including tobacco, sugar, cotton, wool, indigo, ginger, and dyes, could be exported from the colonies only to English ports. The object of this act was to prevent England's colonies from furnishing products to her rival countries in Europe and, except for tobacco (which was the only product of the American continental colonies on the enumerated list), the act was not disadvantageous to the colonies. England furnished a good market for the enumerated commodities and even gave bounties to encourage the production of some of them. A further act, in 1663, provided that all goods imported into the colonies must first be landed in England and pay duty there. Although these duties were remitted, or "drawn back," in the case that goods which did not compete with English production were reshipped to the colonies, the act of 1663 nevertheless was a real hardship for the colonies. Suppose, for example, that a Philadelphia merchant shipped a cargo of wheat to Sicily. If he took on a cargo of lemons there he could not return to Philadelphia directly but had to sail to an English port, have his cargo landed and taxed, and then reship it for Philadelphia. Even though the duty collected in England was paid back to him, he had been obliged to sail many hundred miles out of his course and to incur the expense of reshipping his cargo.

72. Measures for Enforcing the Acts of Trade. The commerce of the colonies grew rapidly in the closing years of the seventeenth century, and with growing prosperity the temptation to evade the Acts of Trade increased. When the planters of Virginia and Maryland could make at least 25 per cent more by selling their tobacco directly to European countries than by taking it to England and having it reëxported to Europe, and when the same planters could save another 25 per cent by bringing their return cargo back directly from a European port to the shores of Chesapeake Bay, it is no wonder that their ships often neglected to visit England on either the outward or the homeward voyage. The commissioners who came to America in these years reported widespread smuggling and evasion of the laws in all the colonies from Massachusetts to the Carolinas. The attempt of England to enforce the acts led to further legislation, which caused further discontent. Especially to prevent the smuggling of tobacco into Europe, Parliament passed an act in 1692, providing that the duty on enumerated commodities loaded in the colonies by shipmasters who had not given a bond to land their cargo in England must be paid in the colonies at such places and to such men as the commissioners of customs in England might designate. Collectors were designated in Massachusetts, New York, Virginia, and the Carolinas. This act was the first attempt of England to levy duties in the colonies, and it was followed in 1696 by a very drastic act for the organization of the machinery for enforcing the laws. This meant the presence in America of various officials armed with the power of searching ships, wharves, and warehouses for suspected goods, and of special courts for the trying of offenders. Except for the royal governors of Virginia (since 1624) there was not a single official in the American colonies appointed by or directly responsible to the crown until the attempt to enforce the Navigation Acts began to bring collectors, surveyors, searchers, and judges. Many of the most prominent colonial merchants resented being spied on and punished for evading the laws which reduced the profit on their own particular line of trade, however much such laws might contribute to the prosperity of English commerce as a whole.

73. Effect on the Colonies. This commercial policy of England, called the "Old Colonial System," was the most important factor in the relations between the mother country and the colonies and one of the chief causes of the American Revolution, because commerce was the very life of the colonies. England kept extending the list of "enumerated commodities," adding molasses and rice in 1705, naval stores, copper, and furs in 1722. She also forbade the colonies to develop manufactures because they competed with the industry of England. But no laws or orders could prevent the colonies from commercial enterprise. Land was too abundant, labor too scarce, machinery too expensive, for the colonists to engage in intensive manufacture. Where the soil was rocky (glaciated) in New England, the forests and fisheries provided material for shipbuilding and export, while agriculture was confined to petty farming. South of the Hudson, where the soil was fertile, the "bread colonies" raised large quantities of wheat for export. And still further south the tobacco, indigo, and rice fields produced staple crops which had to seek markets abroad. All the colonies with rivers reaching into the interior to tap the Indian fur trade exported the valuable beaver, mink, otter, sable, and deer skins to satisfy the growing demands of Europe. To interfere with the commerce of the colonies was to touch them in their tenderest spot.

74. The Sugar and Molasses Act of 1733. How a part of the colonial empire could be injured by trade laws intended to benefit the whole is illustrated by the Sugar and Molasses Act. The sugar planters of the British West Indies had a powerful "lobby" in Parliament and secured the passage of an act in 1733 to protect them against the competition of the French and Dutch islands. The act put heavy duties on rum, molasses, and sugar exported from the foreign West Indian islands to the mainland colonies of America, and if enforced would have ruined the trade of the Northern colonies and, as the New York assembly said, "have reduced us to Nakedness or to make our own Cloathing." For, in the first place, it was on the trade with the West Indies that the Northern colonies depended for the molasses of their distillery and the money to pay for the manufactures which they imported from England. And, in the second place, the British West Indies alone did not begin to furnish an adequate market for the breadstuffs, fish, barrel staves, and lumber which the Northern colonies exported to the Caribbean. The act was not enforced, but it remained on the statute books as a menace to the colonies, and its revival in 1764 was one of the first steps in the new British policy which led to the American Revolution.

75. The Prosperity of the Colonies. The remarkable growth in the population and prosperity of the colonies in the eighteenth century is sufficient proof that their industrial development was not seriously retarded by the measures of the home government. The following table shows the population as nearly as it can be estimated in the days before a careful census was compiled.

DATE	NEW ENGLAND	MIDDLE COLONIES	SOUTHERN COLONIES	TOTAL
1689	79,000	42,000	83,000	204,000
1760	473,000	405,000	718,000[1]	1,596,000

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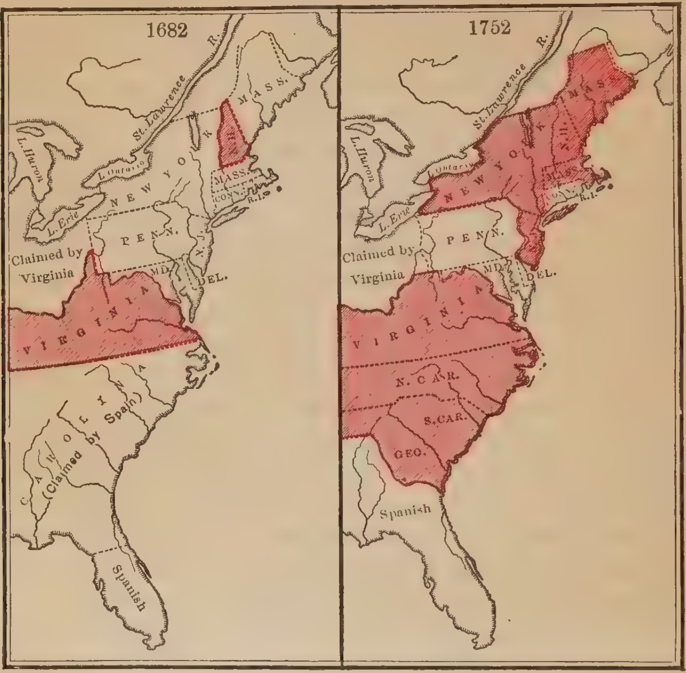
[1] Of this number 299,000 were negro slaves (who did not begin to come to the colonies in large numbers until the eighteenth century). Professor Channing has made the interesting observation that the proportion of white inhabitants in the colonies south of Mason and Dixon's line to the inhabitants of the Northern colonies in 1760 was almost exactly the same as the proportion of the white inhabitants in the states south of the Mason and Dixon line to the inhabitants of the Northern states in 1860.

These figures of nearly 700 per cent increase in population in seventy years are a more eloquent description of the prosperity of the colonies than any words could furnish; for they show a growth far more rapid than the natural increase of even the large families of those days, and testify to the attractiveness of cheap and abundant land, industrial independence, general religious liberty, and social opportunity for tens of thousands of the victims of oppression and persecution in the Old World. It was this multiplying population that made an unbroken band of settlements down the Atlantic coast and reaching back to the Appalachian Mountains. It provided the men of the lumber camps, the fisheries, the wheat fields, the tobacco plantations, and the trader's pack trains. It produced a mounting surplus of raw material for export and a widening market for the manufactures and even the luxuries of the Old World. In 1700 the total import and export trade of the continental colonies with England was £635,000, which was less than one half the volume of trade between England and the West Indies. Indeed, the commerce of the island of Jamaica alone was larger than that of New England and the middle colonies combined. But by 1760 the foreign trade of the continental colonies had increased to over £3,000,000, and the imports of the Northern colonies from England were double those of the West Indian islands. It was hardly to be expected that communities as prosperous as these should consider their commercial interests as subordinate to those of the British Empire in general, much less of the West Indies in particular. "If the King of England were encamped on Boston Common with 20,000 men," said James Otis, "he could not enforce these laws."

76. The Political Character of the Colonies. The political as well as the industrial history of the colonies in the eighteenth century shows a growing spirit of independence, in spite of repeated professions of loyalty to Great Britain. It would be impossible, of course, to describe here the details of political development in each of the colonies, but considering them as a whole we can follow the main currents of their policy; for the points in which the colonies resembled each other were more important than those in which they differed. They were all based on English precedents and examples and all used the English speech, the English common law, English forms of justice, and English organs of government. In all of them the laws were made by assemblies elected by the people. Connecticut and Rhode Island elected their own governors also, but in the rest of the colonies the governor was appointed either by the proprietor or by the king. After 1696 the governors appointed by the proprietors had to be approved by the king. The fact that in all the colonies the legislative power was in the hands of an elected assembly while in all but two of the colonies the executive power was in the hands of men appointed from England, was of great importance in colonial history. For the assemblies considered themselves little parliaments, while the governors considered themselves the representatives of English sovereignty in the colonies and looked on the assemblies only as bodies of men allowed to meet to make the laws necessary for executing the governors' instructions. The result was an almost uninterrupted quarrel between the assemblies and the royal governors, especially as the governors were dependent on the assemblies for their salaries. The accompanying map shows how the number of royal provinces increased during just that period when the colonies, increasing in population and prosperity, were growing to feel more and more able to take care of themselves.

77. The Long Truce. Bills were introduced into Parliament several times in the earlier years of the eighteenth century to take away all the charters and put every colony, even Rhode Island and Connecticut, under direct royal control. Had it not been for two circumstances the authority of England in America might have been asserted in a way either to reduce the colonies to complete submission or to provoke them to open resistance many years before the American Revolution occurred. One of these circumstances was the policy of "salutary neglect" followed by the Whig ministers, Walpole and Newcastle, who believed that it was better to preserve peace by not insisting on the enforcement of the acts for the control of the American commerce and governments. The other was the fact that from the accession of William of Orange in 1689 England became involved in a series of wars with France, waged in America as well as in the Old World, and she needed to stand shoulder to shoulder with the colonies in defending their borders against the French and their Indian allies. So the first sixty years of the eighteenth century were a kind of long truce during which the colonies grew in prosperity and self-reliance. Peter Kalm, a Swedish scientist traveling in the American colonies from 1748 to 1751, wrote that they were "likely in thirty or fifty years to form a state by themselves"; but it was only twenty-five years until his prophecy was fulfilled.



MAP ILLUSTRATING THE GROWTH IN THE NUMBER OF ROYAL PROVINCES FROM 1682 TO 1752

The royal provinces are colored red

Social Conditions in the Colonies

78. The People. The earliest emigrants to the colonies were almost all Englishmen, but from the closing years of the seventeenth century America began to be the "melting pot" of the nations. It was chiefly the chance to begin life anew in a country where land was abundant that attracted the newcomers. Still, migration was hastened by religious and political persecution in Europe. Louis XIV's revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 drove tens of thousands of Huguenots out of France, and the devastation of the Rhenish Palatinate by his armies a few years later made tens of thousands of Germans homeless. The defeat of the Scotch supporters of the Stuart cause in 1715 and 1745 drove many Highlanders to seek new homes. The American colonies were a land of promise for all who could afford the passage money and even those who were penniless could come as "redemptioners," by selling their services for a term of years after their arrival to pay their passage over. Most of the foreign immigrants went to the colonies south of New England. New York had its English Clintons, Scotch Livingstons, and French De Lanceys following the old Dutch Knickerbocker families. Germans came to Penn's colony at the rate of about two thousand a year from 1727 to 1754 and constituted a third of its population at the time of the American Revolution. Scotch-Irish also came by the tens of thousands until there were some three hundred and eighty-five thousand of them in the frontier lands of the colonies at the time of the Revolution. Their sons founded our first states west of the Alleghenies. The Huguenots were numerous in South Carolina. Indeed, in all the colonies from Maine to Georgia the names of families and towns remind us of the contribution made by the foreigners to American civilization. They made up more than a quarter of the white population at the time of the American Revolution.

79. Social Classes. There was no titled aristocracy in America at one end of the social scale, nor was there a mass of oppressed peasants at the other end, gaining a bare existence off the land of the nobles. The great manufacturing plants with their demands for armies of laborers did not exist in the colonial days. There were as yet no huge cities where luxury and destitution lived side by side. There were, to be sure, wealthy merchants and planters who lived in fine mansions of brick, furnished with imported mahogany, silver plate, and costly china, who rode in elegant coaches, and expected and received the deference of the "common people"; but the great mass of inhabitants were farmers, shopkeepers, or small manufacturers living in simple comfort and never straying far from their own doors. Servants, or "hired help," were rare. The diligent housewives with the help of their daughters fed and clothed the family, while the men and boys attended to the outdoor chores. When more hands were needed for husking the corn or raising a new barn the neighbors turned out to help. The indentured servants who came to America all through the colonial period generally acquired a farm for themselves when their term of service was over. A less numerous and less desirable class of emigrants were the inmates of almshouses and jails sent to the colonies to relieve the English communities from their care. Finally, there were negro slaves in all the colonies. Ships from the West Indies brought negroes to seaport towns like Boston, Newport, New York, and Philadelphia, where they were fairly numerous. However, in 1760, three hundred thousand of the three hundred and eighty-five thousand negroes were in the colonies south of Mason and Dixon's line. They constituted about half the population in Maryland, Virginia, and Georgia and outnumbered the whites more than two to one in South Carolina.

80. Colonial Occupations. The farm, the forest, and the sea furnished the means of support for the great majority of the colonists. In New England, where the soil was rocky and the rivers mostly unnavigable, men took to the sea. The forests provided splendid material for shipbuilding, which became one of the chief industries of the section, and the inexhaustible fishing banks off the Newfoundland coast attracted thousands of New England sailors every year. In the middle and Southern colonies small farms were not lacking, especially in the frontier regions, but large estates and plantations were more common.

People nowadays think of their wants in terms of money. They go to the shops to procure the necessities and luxuries of life and call upon the plumber, the carpenter, and the painter for the simplest of services. Comparatively few persons in our age of highly specialized occupations provide directly for their wants, and many are unable to drive a nail straight or darn a stocking. But most of our colonial forefathers and foremothers had to learn to take care of themselves and their families. They clipped, carded, spun, and wove the wool for their clothing, made much of their own rude furniture and farm implements, molded their candles of tallow or bayberry, built their barns, painted and repaired their houses. As the eighteenth century advanced signs of wealth became more noticeable in the growing commercial centers and complaints of "launching into finery" were made against the "quality folk," who displayed their costly garments and jewels and rode to balls and routs in gilded coaches. One visitor on the eve of the Revolution saw "little difference in the manner of a wealthy colonial and a wealthy Britton."

A COLONIAL INTERIOR. THE WAYSIDE INN, SUDBURY, MASS.

81. Communication and Commerce. The political map represents the colonies as a continuous strip of settlement from Massachusetts to Georgia, but a social map would show patches of population separated by long stretches of forests, marsh, and waste lands. The eighteenth century saw a partial linkage of the settlements. Still the roads were incredibly poor, most of the rivers were unbridged, and the inns were few and uncomfortable. The only practical means of land travel through the greater part of the colonies was by horseback. It was not till the middle of the eighteenth century that one could go all the way from Portsmouth to Philadelphia by coach, over very rough and stony roads, with the interruption of numerous ferries. A postal system was organized in 1710, but it took weeks for letters to come from the Carolinas to New England in the saddlebags of the postriders. The sea and not the land was the colonial highway. In spite of the small ships and the uncomfortable quarters, the long voyage across the Atlantic seemed less of a hardship than a two-hundred-mile journey in a springless, lurching coach through the wilderness. Commerce was almost wholly seaborne. There was a lively trade all up and down the coast employing hundreds of schooners, sloops, and shallops. The Southern colonies with their staple crops of tobacco, rice, and indigo, their furs and naval stores, found their market in England and (so far as the Navigation Acts permitted) in the countries of Europe. But the New England and middle colonies, with their fish, lumber, live stock, and wheat, were in competition with the commerce of the Old World and hence found their best market in the West Indies, which had long been given over to the exclusive production of sugar, molasses, and rum [**74**].

82. Colonial Currency. Like all pioneers going to a new land, the early colonists carried with them plenty of energy and courage, but very little cash. Nor would they have had use for much cash if they had had it. A few shining saucepans, a string of cheap beads, a piece of brightly colored cloth, or a gallon of fire-water would persuade the Indians to part with furs of many times the value of the trinkets received. And the sale of these furs, with the products of the colonists' industry on the fishing banks and the farms, paid for the great variety of manufactured goods sent over from the mother country. The balance of trade was against the colonies, which means that they owed more money to Europe than their exports were worth. By the middle of the eighteenth century they were becoming indebted to England at the rate of about £200,000 a year. If they had been allowed to trade directly with Europe in all commodities, they believed that they could easily meet this debt. The fact that most of the actual money in the colonies was Spanish, Portuguese, French, or Dutch shows that England could not have been paid at all if she had not been paid out of the receipts of the colonies' illegal trade with the foreign West Indies. When the colonies tried to increase the volume of currency by printing paper money, or by establishing land banks which issued currency based on farm mortgages, Parliament stepped in and forbade the practice. In the scarcity of money the colonies resorted to various commodities, or "country pay," as a substitute. In Virginia, for example, the clergy were regularly paid in tobacco. In Pennsylvania wheat certificates were sometimes used for money. The country lads might pay their tuition at Harvard College in farm products, and the assembly of New Hampshire specified twenty kinds of commodities which the treasurer was authorized to receive in payment of taxes.

83. Education. In 1743 Benjamin Franklin, the leading citizen of America and already famous in Europe for his scientific discoveries, wrote: "The first drudgery of settling new colonies is pretty well over, and there are many in every colony in circumstances which set them at ease to cultivate the finer arts and improve the common stock of knowledge." So far as the higher institutions of learning were concerned, Franklin's words were truly prophetic. For while in 1743 there were only three colleges in the colonies, namely, Harvard (1636), William and Mary (1693), and Yale (1701), the next twenty-one years saw the founding of the colleges of New Jersey, now Princeton (1746), Philadelphia, now the University of Pennsylvania (1749), Kings, now Columbia (1754), and Rhode Island, now Brown

(1764). However, free public schools built and supported by taxes on the people at large were not common in the colonies, because our present democratic idea of education for all did not prevail. An early law (1649) in Massachusetts required every town of fifty families to support an elementary school and every town of a hundred families a grammar or college-preparatory school, "in order that learning might not be buried in the graves of the fathers." The other New England colonies, except Rhode Island, also made early provisions for public schools. The motive, however, was to encourage religion not democracy; for in the Puritan scheme the individual had to find the way to salvation through the study of the Scriptures. Other religious bodies, like the Dutch Reformed in New York, the Quakers in Pennsylvania and Delaware, the Catholics in Maryland, and the Anglicans in the Southern colonies, established schools. Sometimes well-to-do families clubbed together to support private schools, as they do the "country day schools" of our own times; and many families, especially in the Southern colonies, either sent their sons to English schools to be educated or hired private tutors. So that while public schools were rare in the middle and Southern colonies, it by no means signifies that education was

HARVARD COLLEGE IN 1726

neglected — at least for the upper classes. Almost no schools existed for the education of girls in the colonial period. They were expected to stay at home and learn how to sew, cook, and keep house, or in the families which could afford it they might have private lessons in painting, dancing, and French.

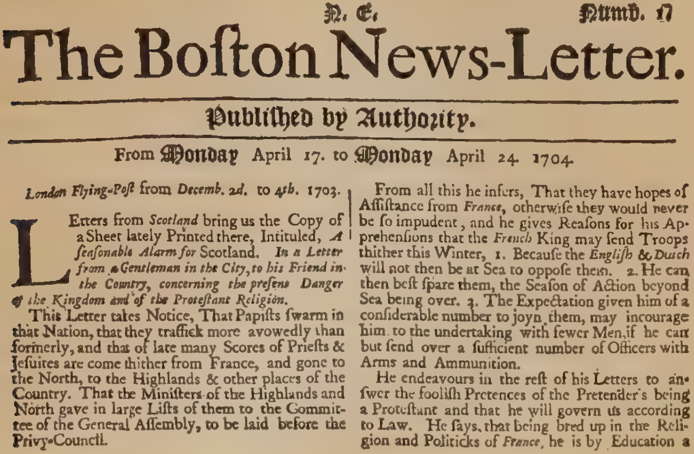
84. The Professions. Until the establishment of the Academy of Philadelphia in the middle of the eighteenth century, dedicated under the broad-minded Benjamin Franklin to the study of the arts and sciences, the colleges had been interested in little else than the training of men for the ministry. Harvard, Yale, and Princeton were all founded for this purpose. Although William and Mary turned out some good lawyers, most of the leading men of the bar in the Southern colonies got their education in England. Those who wished to study any of the fine arts had to go abroad for instruction. There were few professional architects of America even at the close of the colonial period. Faneuil Hall, "the cradle of liberty," in Boston, was designed by a man who kept a paint shop; and Monticello, the most beautiful of all colonial mansions, was planned and

A COLONIAL MANSION IN THE SOUTH

Thomas Jefferson's home at Monticello, Charlottesville, Virginia built by its versatile proprietor, Thomas Jefferson. As there was no medical school in the colonies before the Revolution, the only way in which a man could become proficient in medicine, anatomy, or surgery was by studying abroad in London, Paris, Edinburgh, or Leyden — a privilege open, of course, to only a few. The general practitioner of medicine had to get his education from observation of the work of an older physician in his office or on his round of calls. Indeed, in none of the arts of life do our colonial forefathers seem more benighted than in the art of preserving life itself. Sanitation and disinfection were unknown. Says Professor Andrews: "The human system was dosed and physicked until it could hold no more. Dismal herbs dispensed by Indian doctors and popular concoctions were taken in large doses by credulous people. Nostrums, quack remedies, and proprietary medicines made by a secret formula were very prominent." George Washington's life was sacrificed to medical ignorance in 1799. He was "bled" three times by the leeches and then, after the loss of two quarts of blood, was "dosed to nausea and blistered to rawness." Even Washington's stout constitution could not stand this heroic treatment.

REPLICA OF FRANKLIN'S "PRINTE SHOP"

85. Books and Newspapers. The tens of thousands of books turned out by our printing presses every year and the stacks of newspapers and magazines piled on our news-stands every day would have bewildered our colonial forefathers; for, except for a comparatively few families whose bookshelves were well stocked with the English classics, or for the clergymen and lawyers who gathered a library of ponderous theological and legal works, the American colonists had neither the time nor the taste for much reading. "Some few towns excepted," wrote John Dickinson on the eve of the Revolution, "we are all tillers of the soil from Nova Scotia to West Florida." Thousands of back-country folk could neither read nor write; other thousands could only laboriously con the family Bible or the Farmer's Almanac. Scarcely anything that could be dignified by the name of literature was produced in the colonies in the one hundred and fifty years following the settlements at Jamestown and Plymouth. There were no great novelists, playwrights, essayists, or poets. As late as 1827 an Englishman scornfully asked "Who reads an American book?" Benjamin Franklin founded a Library Association in Philadelphia in 1731, and the private circulating library became quite common in the colonies. The free public libraries, however, which are the pride of our cities and towns today, were unknown in the colonial period. In 1704 the *Boston News-Letter* appeared and in the next half



N. E. Numb. 1

The Boſton News-Letter.

Publiſhed by Authority.

From Monday April 17. to Monday April 24. 1704.

London Flying-Poſt from *Decemb. 2d.* to *4th.* 1703.

LEtters from *Scotland* bring us the Copy of a Sheet lately Printed there, Intituled, *A ſeaſonable Alarm for* Scotland. *In a Letter from a Gentleman in the City, to his Friend in the Country, concerning the preſent Danger of the Kingdom and of the Proteſtant Religion.*

This Letter takes Notice, That Papiſts ſwarm in that Nation, that they traffick more avowedly than formerly, and that of late many Scores of Prieſts & Jeſuites are come thither from France, and gone to the North, to the Highlands & other places of the Country. That the Miniſters of the Highlands and North gave in large Liſts of them to the Committee of the General Aſſembly, to be laid before the Privy-Council.

From all this he infers, That they have hopes of Aſſiſtance from *France*, otherwiſe they would never be ſo impudent, and he gives Reaſons for his Apprehenſions that the *French* King may ſend Troops thither this Winter, 1. Becauſe the *Engliſh* & *Dutch* will not then be at Sea to oppoſe them. 2. He can then beſt ſpare them, the Seaſon of Action beyond Sea being over. 3. The Expectation given him of a conſiderable number to joyn them, may incourage him to the undertaking with fewer Men, if he can but ſend over a ſufficient number of Officers with Arms and Ammunition.

He endeavours in the reſt of his Letters to anſwer the fooliſh Pretences of the Pretender's being a Proteſtant and that he will govern us according to Law. He ſays, that being bred up in the Religion and Politicks of *France*, he is by Education a

FACSIMILE OF THE EARLIEST SUCCESSFUL NEWSPAPER IN AMERICA century all the colonies except New Jersey, Delaware, and Georgia were publishing their *Gazettes* or *Chronicles*. But the newspapers of colonial days bore little resemblance to the great metropolitan dailies of our own time. They were more like a high-school paper. In their four small pages would be found a few paragraphs of stale news brought by the latest packet from London, a letter from a citizen who was traveling abroad, a protest against some measure of local misgovernment, and sundry advertisements for the sale of Indian bitters or the recovery of a stray horse or a runaway slave. It was not until the controversy with Great Britain over the enforcement of her authority in the colonies grew keen that America really began to find its voice. Then the articles, pamphlets, and public papers dealing with the crisis won the praise of men on both sides of the Atlantic.

86. The Zenger Case. Small and dull as the colonial newspaper was, it rendered one great service to the cause of freedom. In 1733 a German immigrant by the name of Peter Zenger began to publish a small newspaper called the *New York Weekly Journal*. Two years later he was haled to court on a charge of libel for printing articles criticizing Governor Cosby for high-handed conduct in interfering with the procedure of the courts. It was a question of whether or not the press should be free to discuss and criticize the acts of public officials. Zenger's trial aroused an interest that extended far beyond the city and province of New York. The aged Andrew Hamilton, one of the foremost lawyers in the colonies, journeyed from Philadelphia to New York to volunteer his services in Zenger's behalf. In his plea to the jury he declared that it was not alone the case of a poor printer that he was defending but the cause of liberty itself — "the liberty both of exposing and opposing arbitrary power . . . by speaking and writing the truth." As a result of Hamilton's speech the jury returned a verdict of not guilty, which was received with hearty cheers by the crowded court room. Gouverneur Morris later spoke of the Zenger trial as "the morning star of that liberty which subsequently revolutionized America."

87. Amusements and Recreation. In the early colonial days there was little leisure or money for amusements. Nor did the severe conditions of life in a frontier land attract the providers and patrons of the drama, music, lectures, social clubs, and organized sport. The rigid Puritans of New England and the staid Quakers of the middle colonies frowned upon amusements as frivolous indulgence. The eighteenth century was half over before a theater company was allowed to produce a play in Philadelphia, the chief town in the colonies, though New York, Williamsburg, and Charleston had been entertained by amateur companies for some years. An attempt to give "The Orphan" in a Boston Coffee House, in 1750, was prohibited by the town authorities as "tending to discourage industry and frugality and greatly to increase impiety." There was no religious prejudice against amusements in the Southern colonies, where the Church of England was predominant, and Charleston was in season probably the gayest town in America, with its ballrooms and theatres, its race tracks and fairs. Fishing and hunting furnished abundant sport in all the colonies. In general the contrast between the colonial days and our own in respect to recreation was as marked as the contrast in respect to the more serious concerns of life. Our colonial forefathers did much more for themselves and had much less done for them than we. They worked for themselves; they amused themselves. The age of commercialized entertainment furnished by theater syndicates, managed concert and lecture tours, prize-ring promoters, and big-league managers was as remote as the age of highly specialized industry.

88. Manners and Morals. Still, in spite of the pleasing picture of innocent amusements like corn husking, spelling bees, and country fairs, we should make a great mistake in idealizing the colonists as living lives of idyllic and high-minded simplicity. With all the nervous tension of our own driven life today, standards of taste and morals are higher than they were in the eighteenth century. There was a crudeness and coarseness in the life of even the "respectable classes" then that would not be tolerated today. Gentlemen would spend days at the race track and nights by the cockpit. Cruel sports like "gouging" (pressing out an opponent's eyeball with the thumb in a wrestling match) would attract crowds of onlookers. Gambling was common. There was almost no objection to intoxicating drink either as an injury to health or an offense against morals, and large quantities of hard liquor were consumed. Whisky, rum, and brandy were expected to flow freely not only on festive occasions like weddings, house raisings, ship launchings, and political rallies, but even at solemn functions like funerals. While appreciating the many admirable traits of our colonial forefathers — their courage, their thrift, their zeal for education, their sturdy spirit of self-determination — we should also realize that the modern age has brought both a refinement of manners and an improvement in morals.

89. The Family. Early marriages and large families were common in colonial times. Growing boys and girls were valuable assets on the farm, tending the stock, getting in the crops, preserving the fruits, molding the candles, and spinning the wool. Infant mortality was large owing to the crudeness of medical science; and in the absence of such elaborate health precautions as we have today, epidemics of various sorts made frightful ravages in the population. There were few families in which there were not faces bearing the marks of smallpox. Parental authority was strict, based generally on a stern religious creed which was impressed upon the children at a very early age. In Puritan New England any manifestation of youthful happiness or craving for the joy of life was likely to be attributed to the temptation of Satan; and children were quite often made to serve as pallbearers at funerals in order that they might realize the brevity and uncertainty of life. The families of wealthy merchants and planters could afford luxuries, though they often lacked the conveniences and comforts which science has made possible for people of very moderate means today. As for life in the frontier regions, it was both toilsome and dangerous. Charles W. Eliot wrote: "Generations of colonial women cooked, carried water, washed and mended clothes, bore children in lonely peril and tried to bring them up safely through all sorts of physical exposure without medical or surgical help, lived themselves in terror of savages, in terror of the wilderness, and under the burden of a sad and cruel creed, and at last sank into nameless graves without any vision of the grateful day when millions of their descendants should rise up and call them blessed."

The Expulsion of the French

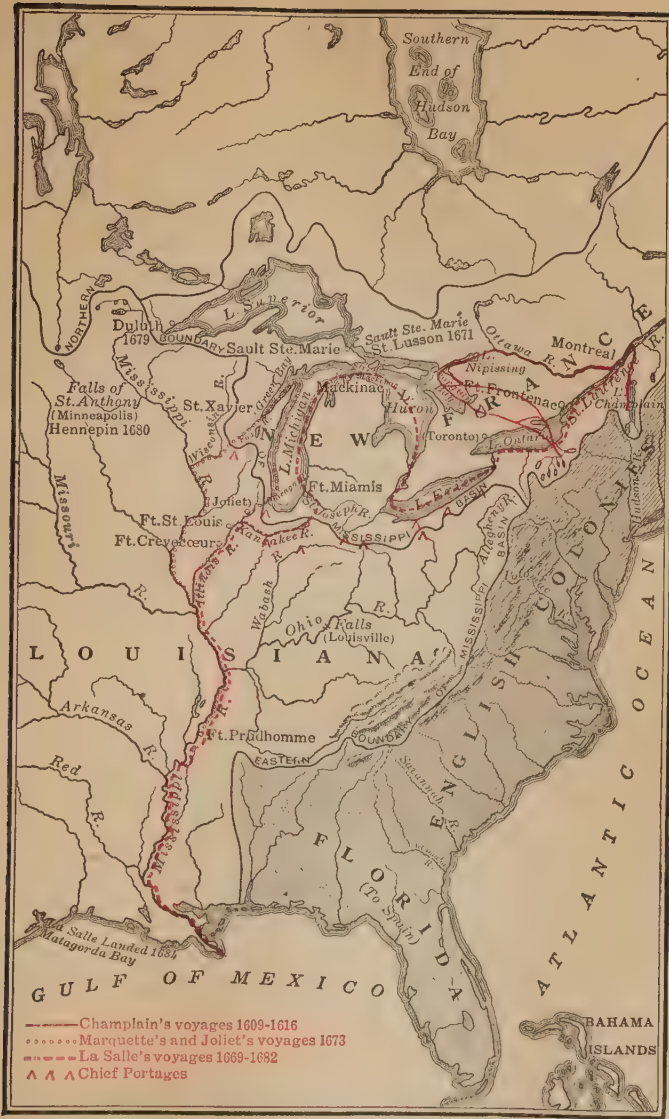
90. Champlain the Father of New France. We have already seen [29] how the French explorer, Jacques Cartier, discovered the St. Lawrence River and spent a terrible winter on its bleak shores (1535). The savages remained for seventy years more in undisturbed possession of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes which it drains, until the founder of the French empire in Canada, Samuel de Champlain, established a settlement on the mighty rock of Quebec in 1608. Champlain's object was threefold: to establish a base from which to explore the long-sought passage to China and Japan, to control the trade in furs with the Indians farther up the river, and to convert to the true faith the savage tribes "in bondage to Satan"; "for the saving of the soul," he wrote, "is worth more than the conquest of an empire." Again and again Champlain crossed the Atlantic to keep the court, the church, the nobles, and the merchants of France interested in his struggling colony. He discovered the beautiful lake which bears his name, explored the Ottawa River, and crossed Lake Ontario in an attempt to chastise the Iroquois, whose five tribes, or "nations," were the strongest and best organized of all the American Indians (map, p. 97). When Champlain died in 1635, after twenty-seven years of continuous labor, the colony of Quebec was firmly established. More than a generation, however, was to pass before Champlain's dream of a great French power in America was realized.

91. La Salle opens the Mississippi Valley. The tireless French explorers, with the missionaries at their side, pressed westward. In 1671 St. Lusson, standing at Sault Ste. Marie, where the emerald flood of Lake Superior rushes to join the darker waters of Lake Huron, took possession, with great pomp and pageant, of the vast Northwest for his sovereign, Louis XIV. In 1673 Louis Joliet, a fur trader, and Père Marquette, priest of a Jesuit mission at the northern end of Lake Michigan, discovered the Mississippi by way of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers and descended the stream as far as the mouth of the Arkansas, where, becoming convinced that the great river emptied into the Gulf of Mexico and not into the "South Sea," they turned their canoes back to the Lakes. The greatest of all the French explorers was Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, who left his estate in Normandy at the age of twenty-three to devote his fortune and his life to building up the power of France in the New World. It was not enough for him that New France should be a mission for the conversion of Indian souls or a market for the fur trade. It was not enough that it should control the St. Lawrence valley and the Great Lakes. He dreamed of an empire which should embrace a continent. The Indians of the great valley on both sides of the Mississippi were to be vassals of the French. The Spaniards were to be driven from the shores of the Gulf, and eventually even the English settlements were to be absorbed by the encircling power of France. La Salle

LA SALLE AT THE MOUTH OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER labored twelve years in the face of jealousy at home, treachery in his own ranks, bankruptcy, shipwreck, and massacre, enduring physical hardship and forest travel which exhausted even his Indian guides, before he actually guided his canoes out of the Illinois into the broad stream of the Mississippi (February 6, 1682). On the ninth of April he planted the lilies of France on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, naming the huge valley of the Mississippi "Louisiana" in honor of King Louis XIV. For a brief moment fortune smiled on La Salle. He was enthusiastically received at the court and furnished with ships, supplies, and colonists for his grand project of establishing a settlement on the Gulf of Mexico. But the misfortune that dogged his footsteps soon overtook him. His fleet missed the mouth of the Mississippi (1685) and his colony was landed far to the westward on the barren shores of Texas. The intrepid leader himself was assassinated by a traitor of his own band while seeking his way back to the Great Lakes (1687). It was reserved for Le Moyne d'Iberville to establish the first permanent French settlement on the Gulf at Biloxi (Mississippi) in 1699. New Orleans was founded in 1718.

92. French Ideas of Colonization. In spite of the patronage of the king; in spite of the imperial plans of the greatest of the governors of Canada, Count Frontenac (1672–1682, 1689–1698); in spite of the line of forts and trading posts that extended in a huge arc of twenty-five hundred miles from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Mississippi; in spite of the devotion of the Ursuline nuns and the martyrdom of the Jesuit missionaries, — the French empire in America contained only eighteen thousand inhabitants at the close of the seventeenth century, while the English colonists in the narrow strip along the Atlantic seaboard had increased to twelve times that number. The reason for this discrepancy lay chiefly in the repressive character of the French colonial policy. None but Frenchmen and Roman Catholics were allowed in the colony. The land was all in the hands of great proprietors, who rented strips for cultivation along the river banks in exchange for labor on their big estates or payment in produce. There was no representative assembly or local government, and during the century and a half of French rule not a single newspaper was published in Canada. Justice was dispensed by the feudal lords or the royal magistrates without trial by jury. Absolutism in government was accompanied by a "paternal" system of social control which treated the inhabitants of the province like irresponsible children and kept them in perpetual leading strings. They were directed by the government not only what taxes to pay, with what ports to trade, what laws to obey, what worship to perform, but also what tools to use, what seeds to plant, and at what age to marry. This absolute and paternal rule, while it promoted military efficiency, did not attract a numerous population of middle-class citizens who were free to better their fortunes by their own industry and to shape their political destinies in their own representative assemblies.

93. The Fur Trade. The economic life of New France was based on the fur trade. Every year the Indians came down through the regions about the Great Lakes to Montreal in hundreds of canoes to barter the skins of the beaver, the otter, and the moose for guns, powder, knives, cloth, trinkets, and brandy. The traffic in brandy caused bitter strife in the province between the bishops and the civil authorities. The Church forbade the debauching of the savages, but the Intendant, who was in charge of the business affairs of Canada, encouraged it because the drunken Indians would part with furs of priceless value for a few gewgaws and more liquor. The fur trade was a strict government monopoly, but the law was defied by bold woodrangers (*coureurs de bois*), who penetrated the wilderness for private gain. Sometimes these outlaws would sacrifice their native tongue, their religion, even their very civilization itself, to join the Indian tribes, marrying squaws, eating boiled dog and mush, daubing their naked bodies with greasy war paint, and leading the hideous dance or the murderous raid. The fur trade was profitable (so long as the market in Europe was not glutted), but the absorption of the whole colony's energy in it was an economic misfortune. It tended to draw away the better young men from the farms and to discourage diversified in-



FRENCH EXPLORATIONS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ABOUT THE GREAT LAKES AND THE MISSISSIPPI dustries by which talent is nourished and prosperity is widely distributed through a country.

94. The Clash between the French and the English. For about three quarters of a century after the founding of Jamestown and Quebec there was little friction between the English and the French. They were not in each other's way. The English had no interest in the cold valley of the St. Lawrence, and the strip of land between the Atlantic coast and the Alleghenies offered ample room for their slow expansion. About the time of La Salle's great exploit, however, the English began to awake to the "inconvenience," as Governor Dongan of New York phrased it, "of having the French running all along from our lakes by the back of Virginia and Carolina to the bay of Mexico." And when the long series of wars (the "second Hundred Years' War") between England and France broke out with the accession of William of Orange to the English throne in 1689 [**77**], they were fought in America as King William's War (1690–1697), Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), and King George's War (1744–1748). These wars, consisting chiefly of Indian raids,[1] resulted in only one important gain for the English in America. By the Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, the French surrendered their claim to Acadia (Nova Scotia), Newfoundland, and the Hudson Bay region to England and recognized the English protectorate over the Iroquois Indians. By the same treaty Spain gave England the exclusive right to transport negro slaves from Africa to America and allowed one English ship a year to engage in trade with Spanish America. This treaty marked the ascendancy of England in sea power — the power which was destined to win the colonial supremacy of the world.

95. The Rivalry for the Ohio Valley. By the middle of the eighteenth century the English had become fully aware of the menace of the French west of the Alleghenies. The ink was hardly dry on the treaty which ended King George's War (1748) before both nations were moving to secure control of the Ohio valley, the natural highway to the West. In 1749 a French expedition under Céleron de Blainville went down the Ohio, nailing signs to the trees and burying lead plates along the river banks, proclaiming the land to be the domain of Louis XV; and Christopher Gist, the agent of the Ohio Company (founded by Virginia planters and English capitalists), followed Blainville's track (1750), prospecting for sites for new settlements, and determined "to go quite down to the Mississippi rather than take mean and broken lands." The Indians along the river banks listened in turn to the blandishments of the French and the threats of the English, drank their brandy and rum, and accepted their gifts with stolid impartiality, little dreaming that they were participating in the opening of a tremendous contest between the two leading states of the world, not only for the control of the Ohio valley, but for the domination of North America, of India, and of the sea routes of the world.

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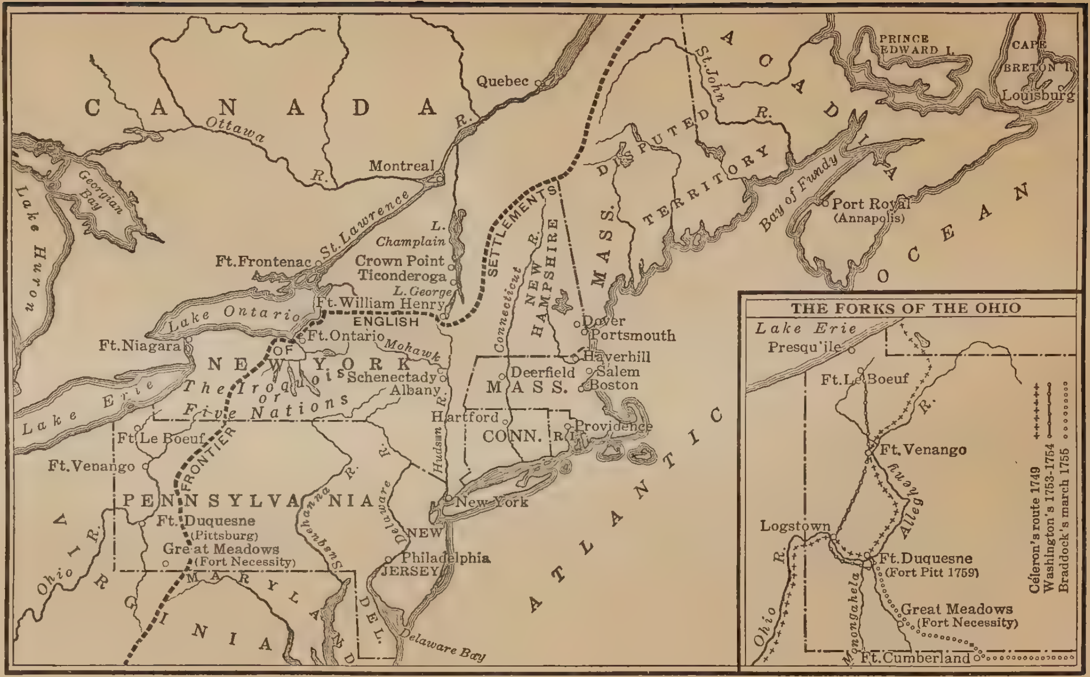
[1] In King George's War (1745) the colonial troops, supported by the British fleet, captured the imposing fortress of Louisburg on Cape Breton Island, guarding the mouth of the St. Lawrence. Colonel William Pepperrell of Maine was in command of the expedition, and his army consisted almost wholly of troops voted by the New England legislatures. The restoration of the fortress to France by the peace of 1748 created bitter feelings in the breasts of the New England yeomen, who thought that the mother country underrated their sacrifice and courage.

96. George Washington opens the Great French War. The opening act of the contest for the Ohio valley is of special interest as introducing George Washington on the stage of American history. When the French began to construct a chain of forts to connect Lake Erie with the Ohio River (map, p. 101), Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia sent Washington, a major in the militia, thoroughly familiar with the hardships of forest travel, to warn the French off of territory "so notoriously known to be the property of the crown of Great Britain." Washington faithfully delivered his message to the French commanders at Venango and Fort Le Bœuf in the wilds of northwestern Pennsylvania and was sent again the next year (1754) to anticipate the French in seizing the important position where the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers join to form the Ohio. He clashed with a detachment of French and Indians at Great Meadows, and there the first shot was fired in the great war which was to disturb three continents. The French had secured the "forks of the Ohio" with Fort Duquesne, but

Washington erected Fort Necessity close by to assert the claims of England to the region. His garrison was not strong enough, however, to hold the fort, and he was forced to surrender on the Fourth of July, — a day which through his own devotion and courage, a quarter of a century later, was to become forever glorious in our history.

97. The Albany Plan of Colonial Union. Farseeing men like Governors Dinwiddie of Virginia and Shirley of Massachusetts tried to effect some sort of union of the colonies in the face of the imminent danger from the French. The very summer that the first shots of the war were fired (1754) a congress representing seven of the colonies was sitting at Albany for the discussion of better intercolonial relations and the cementing of the Iroquois alliance. At that congress Benjamin Franklin proposed the scheme of union known as the Albany Plan. A grand council of forty-eight members, chosen by the colonial legislatures, was to meet annually to regulate Indian affairs, maintain a colonial army, control public lands, pass laws affecting the general good of the colonies, and levy taxes for the expenses of common undertakings. A President General chosen by the king was to have the executive powers of appointing high officials and of nominating the military commanders. He might also veto the acts of the council. Franklin's wise plan, however, found favor neither with the colonial legislatures nor with the royal governors. To each of them it seemed a sacrifice of their rightful authority; so the colonies were left without a central directing power, to coöperate or not with the king's officers, as selfish interests prompted.

98. Braddock's Defeat. The war that opened with the skirmish at Great Meadows in 1754 went badly for the English in the early years. The first regular British troops sent over, under the command of the brave but rash General Braddock, to take Fort Duquesne, were surprised and almost annihilated in the Pennsylvania forests (July, 1755). Their French and Indian opponents fought behind rocks, trees, and bushes, in a kind of warfare utterly strange to the European veterans, who were used to beaten roads and wide fields of battle. In the

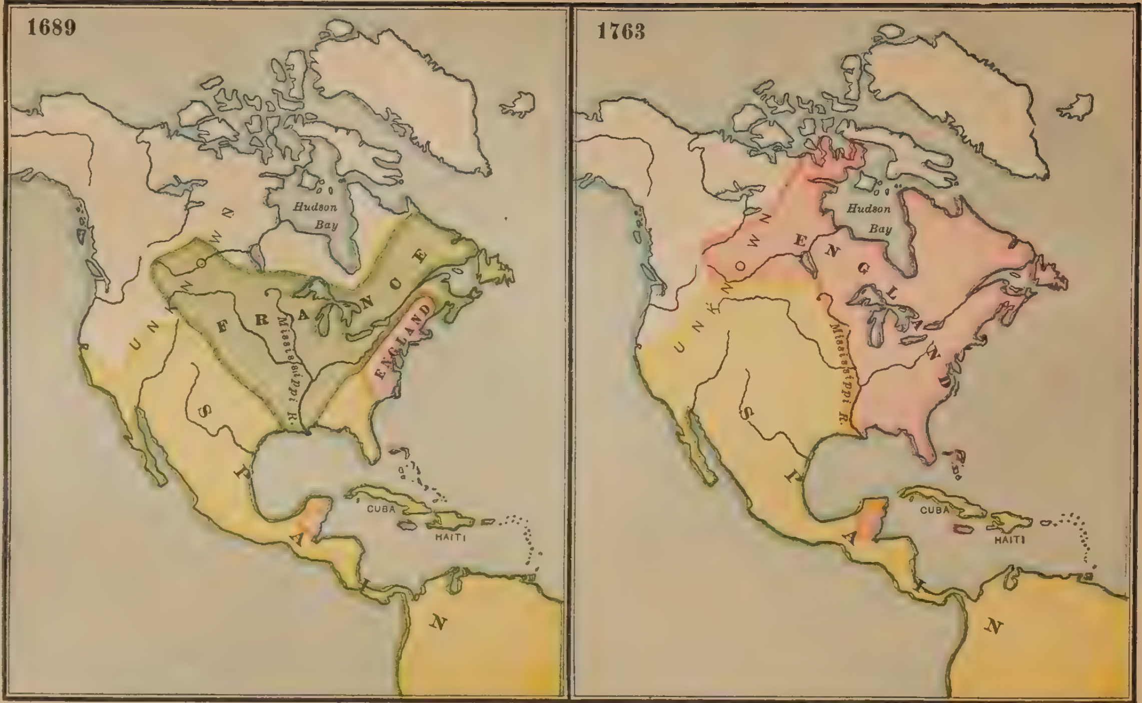


MAP OF FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS

awful confusion Braddock fell with nearly a thousand of his soldiers. The gallant conduct of the young Washington, whose horse was shot under him twice and whose uniform was pierced with bullets, was a prime factor in saving the retreat from utter rout and panic.

99. William Pitt and the Turn of the War. For the first two years the war went badly for the English. But in 1757 William Pitt, the greatest English statesman of the eighteenth century and the greatest war minister in all England's history, came into power. Pitt was incorruptible and indefatigable, full of confidence in England's destiny as the supreme world power. He immediately infused new life into the British armies and fleets spread over half the globe. Incompetent commanders were removed, discipline was stiffened, official thieving was stopped, and colonial officers, who had been despised by Braddock and the other English generals, were given their due rank. An army of 22,000 Britishers was raised for the war in America, where the colonies, catching the infection of Pitt's tremendous energy, voted money and troops with lavish generosity. In all, about 50,000 troops were ready for the fourfold campaign of 1758 against the forts of Louisburg, Ticonderoga, Duquesne, and Niagara. Except for a bad defeat at Ticonderoga, the British and colonial troops were successful. In 1758 Louisburg and Fort Duquesne were taken and the latter was rechristened Fort Pitt (Pittsburgh) in honor of the incomparable war minister. The next year Niagara and the lake ports fell.

100. The Fall of Quebec. Then came the crisis. Generals Wolfe and Amherst, the heroes of Louisburg, closed in upon the heart of New France, Wolfe leading a fleet up the St. Lawrence to attack Quebec, and Amherst approaching Montreal by the Hudson valley. After a summer of apparent military failure, Wolfe conceived and executed a brilliant strategic movement. On September 12, 1759, under cover of a black midnight, he embarked about five thousand picked men in small boats and with muffled oars dropped down the river past the French sentries to a deserted spot on the bank a little above the city. Before dawn his men, in single file, were clamber-



ENGLAND'S ACQUISITIONS IN AMERICA IN THE FRENCH WARS, 1689–1763

ing up the wooded path of a ravine in the precipitous bank to the heights above the river, where they easily overpowered the feeble guard. When morning broke, the astonished French commander, Marquis Montcalm, saw the red coats of the British soldiers moving on the Plains of Abraham in front of the city and hastened to the attack. The battle was over in less than half an hour, and the British entered the gates of Quebec in triumph. Both Wolfe and Montcalm were slain.

THE WOLFE-MONTCALM MONUMENT[1]

101. The Peace of Paris. Amherst took Montreal in 1760, and in the next two years English fleets completed the downfall of France and her ally Spain by seizing the rich sugar islands of the West Indies and capturing Havana in Cuba and Manila in the Philippines. Peace was signed at Paris in 1763. By its terms France ceded to England all of Canada and the region east of the Mississippi (except the Island of New Orleans), retaining only the two insignificant islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon (never to be fortified) on the coast of Newfoundland for drying their fish. To her ally Spain, France ceded New Orleans and the country west of the Mississippi. England gave back to France most of the islands of the West Indies; and, while retaining Florida, restored Havana and Manila to Spain, under whose authority they were destined to remain until the Spanish-American War of 1898. The Peace of Paris was of immense importance to France, England, and America. For France it meant (except for a brief revival in Napoleon's day) the abandonment of the idea of a colonial empire in North America. For England it marked the acme of colonial power and gave the promise of undisturbed empire in the New World. For Canada it meant the eventual substitution of free institutions, trial by jury, religious toleration, and individual enterprise in place of the paternal absolutism of the Bourbons. Finally, for the American colonies it meant the removal of the French and Indian menace and, therewith, the end of further need of dependence on England for defense. "With the triumph of Wolfe on the Heights of Abraham," says J. R. Green, "began the history of the United States."

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[1] In the governor's garden in Quebec stands the monument dedicated to these two noble commanders. The inscription which it bears is perhaps the most beautiful expression of commemorative sentiment in the world:

MORTEM VIRTUS COMMUNEM
FAMAM HISTORIA
MONUMENTUM POSTERITAS
DEDIT.
WOLFE MONTCALM

("Valor gave them a common death, history a common fame, and posterity a common monument.")

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1. **A Typical American Colonial Figure:** BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S *Autobiography*.
2. **The British Acts of Trade:** FAULKNER, pp. 105–113, 140–148; CHANNING, Vol. II, pp. 7–13, 230–279; G. L. BEER, *The Commercial Policy of England toward the American Colonies* (Columbia University Studies, Vol. III, No. 2); HART, *Contemporaries*, Vol. II, Nos. 45, 46, 85, 87; MUZZEY, *Readings*, pp. 72–74.

3. **George Washington's Embassy to the French Forts:** Muzzey, *Readings*, pp. 98–104; Thwaites, pp. 157–165; Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, Vol. I, pp. 128–161; Old South Leaflets, No. 187; A. B. Hulbert, *Washington's Road* (in Historic Highways Series), pp. 85–119.

4. **Paternal Government in Canada:** Parkman, *The Old Régime in Canada*, pp. 257–281; Greene, chaps. iii–viii, xi; Thwaites, *France in America*, pp. 124–143, and Jesuit Relations, Vol. I, pp. 131–147; W. B. Munro, *Crusaders of New France* (Chronicles of America, Vol. IV), pp. 139–154, 180–227.

5. **Some Aspects of Social Life in the Colonies:** C. M. Andrews, *Colonial Folkways*; Edward Eggleston, *The Transit of Civilization*; one of Alice Morse Earle's volumes on colonial manners and customs: *Child Life in Colonial Days*, *Customs and Fashions in Old New England*, *The Sabbath in Puritan New England*, *Colonial Dames and Goodwives*, *Home Life in Colonial Days*, *Stage Coach and Tavern Days*.

Questions for Review

1. Why did the first two Stuart kings pay less attention to the colonies than did the last two? **2.** What does a "favorable balance of trade" mean? **3.** Define the terms "carrying trade," "enumerated commodities," "drawback," "lobby," "salutary neglect." **4.** Why did the colonies break the Acts of Trade? **5.** How did the act of 1696 bring England into closer contact with the colonies? **6.** Why was England's interference with commerce more aggravating to the colonies than her interference with manufactures? **7.** Explain why the New England colonies objected to the Sugar and Molasses Act of 1733. **8.** What change occurred between 1700 and 1760 in the relative volume of trade between England and the West Indies and England and the mainland colonies? **9.** How do you account for the rapid growth of the colonies in the eighteenth century? **10.** What were the causes of dispute between the colonial governors and the assemblies? **11.** How did the accession of William III affect the colonies? **12.** What people sought a refuge in America from religious persecution? **13.** Why was travel by water more common than travel by land in the colonies? **14.** Describe the social classes in the colonies. **15.** What substitutes for money were used by the colonists? **16.** How did the education of girls in colonial times differ from their education today? **17.** Why did the people of New England insist on popular education? **18.** Name four colleges founded in the eighteenth century. Were there any in the seventeenth century? **19.** Compare a colonial newspaper with a modern one. **20.** What were some of the hardships of frontier life in the colonies? **21.** How did a man get a medical education in the colonies? **22.** Why did the French colonies in America grow so much more slowly than the English? **23.** Where and why did the French and English clash in America? **24.** Compare the Albany Plan of Union with the New England Confederation [52]. **25.** What were the terms of the Peace of Paris of 1763? **26.** Explain Green's remark, "With the triumph of Wolfe on the Heights of Abraham began the history of the United States."

CHAPTER IV

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Loyalty or Liberty

102. The Complex Nature of the Revolution. The curtain had hardly fallen on the first act of American history — the establishment and triumph of the English race in the New World — when it rose on a second act, short but intense; namely, the American Revolution. This great event cannot be explained by any such simple phrase as "British tyranny" or "taxation without representation" or "the agitation of demagogues" or "the natural rights of man," though all these things played their part in it. The roots of the Revolution were deep and they grew out of a soil prepared for generations by the relation of the colonies to the mother country. John Adams at the age of eighty wrote that the causes of the Revolution were "to be traced back for two hundred years and sought in the history of the country from the first plantation in America." We have seen how the colonists cherished their chartered privileges, how they resented laws of Parliament which interfered with their commerce, and how they resisted the attempts of royal governors to control their elected assemblies. And now, as we study the succession of events which led directly to the break with England, we shall realize that it was not a sudden spirit of rebellion that animated the colonies but a deep-seated determination to defend age-long liberties which they saw threatened.

103. A Crisis in Colonial History. When the French wars came to an end it seemed as though an era of prosperity and harmony had dawned for Britain. The American colonies rejoiced with the rest of the Empire in the victory. They erected statues to William Pitt in various towns, and the people of Massachusetts placed a monument in Westminster Abbey to

General Howe, who had fallen in the battle of Fort Ticonderoga. Benjamin Franklin, who was in London during the closing years of the war, thought that the relations between England and the colonies had never been so "happy." He ridiculed the idea that if the British took Canada it would tempt the colonies to plot independence, and he believed that a glorious era of peace was at hand. Yet thirteen years after the Peace of Paris had been signed Great Britain and the colonies were at war; the continental army had driven the soldiers of another General Howe, the brother of the man whose monument the people of the colony had erected in Westminster Abbey, out of Boston; and Benjamin Franklin had affixed his name to the Declaration of American Independence. The cause of this remarkable change in affairs was a series of acts passed by the British Parliament which inaugurated a new policy in dealing with the American colonies and which led from protest and petition on the part of the colonies to disobedience, defiance, armed resistance, and finally independence.

104. George III and the British Empire. The new policy of the British government was due partly to the new king who had come to the throne in 1760, and partly to the new problems which the French wars had brought to the British Empire. The young king, George III, had neither the disposition nor the ability to be a "tyrant." He was too poorly educated to be a statesman, but he was a diligent politician, determined in his obstinate way to control the whole machinery of government. He believed that a king should *rule* as well as *reign*. Of course he could not abolish Parliament. But in an age noted for political corruption and faction he could manage Parliament by buying seats, bribing members with pensions and offices, and choosing ministers who would do his bidding. "He spent a long life," says a modern English historian, "in obstinately resisting measures which are now almost universally admitted to be good and in supporting measures which are now almost universally admitted to have been bad." It was an evil day for America when this headstrong young man came to the throne. But the war itself had created problems for the greatly expanded

British Empire which even a wise king and Parliament would have found difficult to handle. The public debt had been increased from £70,000,000 to £140,000,000, and the great landholders were paying a tax of four shillings in the pound, or 20 per cent. The merchants and the West India planters were clamoring for the enforcement of the Navigation Acts, which the colonies had been violating ever since they had been passed [**72**]. The Indians of the West, incited against their new masters by the French, who told them that the English were planning to seize all their lands, rose in rebellion under the great Ottawa chieftain Pontiac in the summer of 1763 and captured every fort beyond the Alleghenies except Detroit, Niagara, and Pittsburgh. The "burden of empire" must be shouldered. A large part of the burden had been incurred in defense of the American colonies. They were growing rapidly in population and wealth. Why should they not be made to bear their proper share of the burden?[1]

105. The Royal Proclamation of 1763. Before any plan was matured for making the colonies pay their contribution, the British government turned its attention to the new territory in America ceded by France and Spain [**101**]. By a royal proclamation of October, 1763, the three provinces of Quebec, East Florida, and West Florida were organized. What to do with the great region between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi was a problem. Pontiac's War showed the need for a strong, unified policy with the Indians. They must not be left to the rival encroachments of fur traders and land speculators from the separate colonies. Therefore, the whole region was made "for the present" an Indian protectorate. A line was drawn along the crests of the Alleghenies and the colonists were forbidden to plant any settlements west of the line. This policy seemed to the colonies like an attempt to confine them to the narrow strip on the Atlantic. The western land was all included in their charters, and they regarded it as their natural outlet for expansion. Adventurous pioneers were already turning their steps westward. The proclamation line was not respected. Half a dozen years after it was drawn there were settlements on both sides of the Upper Tennessee River, and Daniel Boone, the greatest of the American pioneers, had already penetrated to the forests of Kentucky.

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[1] Some of the colonies had already borne more than their share of the burden of the French wars both in men and in money, and had been reimbursed to the amount of £200,000 by Parliament. Massachusetts, for example, had incurred a debt of £818,000, and John Hancock, a rich merchant of Boston, declared that he was taxed more heavily than any man in England. Virginia's debt was £385,000; Pennsylvania's, £313,000; New York's, £291,000; Connecticut's, £259,000—sums far in excess of England's reimbursements. Still the colonies had not acted together and some of them had contributed nothing to the common defense. Some of the colonies had even aided the enemy during the war by their illicit trade with the French West Indies. Admiral Hawkes told the Board of Trade that he "certainly would have taken Martinique if it had not been for the provisions which the North American vessels to the knowledge of every Captain in his squadron supplied to the French islands." William Pitt, who was the friend of America, was so indignant at this "treasonable" violation of the Navigation Acts that he gave orders for the use of the British navy to suppress the traffic.

106. The Grenville Program. In the parliamentary session of 1763–1764 George Grenville, the British prime minister, proposed three measures, — commercial, military, and financial: (1) the Acts of Trade were to be strictly enforced and the collectors of customs must be at their posts in the colonies and not loafing in England; (2) a standing army of ten thousand men was to be kept in America and one third of its cost was to be met by the revenue from the colonies; (3) duties were levied on coffee, wine, silks, calicoes, and other commodities, and at the same time the new Sugar Act of 1764 cut the duty on foreign molasses in half in order to discourage the smuggling which had gone on under the old Molasses Act of 1733 [**74**]. Furthermore, since the duties on imports to the colonies would provide only about one seventh of the revenue necessary to defray the expenses of the military establishments, it was clear that new taxes must be levied. Grenville realized that taxing the Americans was a somewhat embarrassing if not dangerous proceeding. Duties on imports were a part of the general system of commerce of the Empire which the colonists had conceded Parliament's right to regulate, however much they had evaded or violated the Acts of Trade; but taxes, in the English mind, were a free grant from the representatives of the people to the crown. Grenville believed that Parliament as the supreme legislative body representing the whole of the British Empire had a right to lay taxes on any part of the Empire. Still he wished to have the taxes laid in a form that would be acceptable to the Americans. He therefore "suggested" in 1764 a stamp tax on newspapers, pamphlets, bonds, deeds, wills, mortgages, and other documents, postponing action for a year in order that the colonies might make a counter suggestion of a form of taxation that would please them better.

107. Effect on the Colonies. No part of the Grenville program was acceptable to the Americans. The northern colonies, which traded largely with the foreign West Indies, saw ruin to their commerce if the Sugar Act were enforced. They resented the presence of a swarm of customs officials, whom they regarded as little better than spies, employing the hated Writs of Assistance in their search for smuggled goods.[1] Why should an army of ten thousand men be sent to America just at the moment when the French had been conquered? Surely these troops were not necessary for protection against the Indians, with whom the colonial militia had shown itself able to deal for generations. Were the troops to be used, perhaps, to awe the colonists themselves? Finally, if Parliament could levy a tax on the business of the colonies by stamp duties, what was to prevent it from levying taxes on their lands, houses, farms, crops, furniture, and other possessions? And what would be left to the colonists of the privileges and rights of British freemen if the chief privilege of voting taxes in the assemblies where their responsible representatives sat were thus taken away from them? These were serious questions, and there were members of the British Parliament like Pitt, Burke, Fox, Shelburne, Camden, Conway, and Barré who understood the situation and opposed taxing America. But these men were outvoted and hooted down by the "King's Friends," who controlled the government.

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[1] The Writs of Assistance were general warrants allowing customs officials to enter any man's premises in search of smuggled goods. They invaded the old English doctrine that "a man's house is his castle." Against these writs the Boston lawyer, James Otis, had pleaded so vehemently three years earlier that John Adams called his speech the opening act of the American Revolution.

108. The Stamp Act. The colonists, through their agents in England, protested against the proposed Stamp Act, but they suggested no alternative form of taxation for the good reason that they opposed taxation in any form. Therefore Parliament, in a listless session in March, 1765, passed the Stamp Act by a large majority, to go into effect the first of November. The stamps were prepared and sent over to America, and distributors were appointed in the colonies. No trouble was apprehended. Benjamin Franklin, who was opposed to the tax, thought that there was nothing to be done about it except to bear it with patience. The colonies, he said, could no more prevent the act from going into effect than they could prevent the sun from setting. He even recommended one of his friends in Pennsylvania for the position of stamp distributor, and Richard Henry Lee of Virginia, who was to make the motion for the independence of the American colonies eleven years later, also sought the office of distributor.

A BRITISH STAMP

109. Resistance and Repeal. It was somewhat of a surprise, therefore, when immediate opposition to the Stamp Act showed itself in the colonies. Practically all the distributors were forced to resign their offices before the stamps arrived. The merchants of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia agreed not to import British goods. A young lawyer named Patrick Henry, gifted with marvelous eloquence, who had lately been elected from one of the "backwoods" counties to the Virginia House of Burgesses, defended the right of the colonial assembly to assess its own taxes in a speech with such menacing allusions to George III as to call forth the cry of "Treason!" from the more conservative members. His eloquence secured the passage of a set of resolutions which were circulated in an exaggerated form through the colonies and which served as a stimulus to violence. Rioting and wanton destruction of property occurred. For example, the magnificent mansion of Lieutenant Governor Hutchinson of Massachusetts was sacked,[1] and the gilded coach of Governor Colden of New York, which, as Professor Becker says, "was certainly never designed to carry the stamps," was burned. Most important of all the forms of protest was the meeting of twenty-seven delegates from nine colonies in the Stamp Act Congress at New York in October, 1765, to draw up a declaration of rights and grievances and to present to the king and Parliament a petition against the act as "having a manifest tendency to subvert the rights and liberties of the colonies." It was the first example of united colonial action — which the danger of the French and Indian Wars had not been able to accomplish. Influenced by the protests of the Americans and the complaints of British merchants whose trade was being "hurt," Parliament repealed the Stamp Act in the spring of 1766. The colonists hailed the repeal with rejoicing as if it were

THE FUNERAL PROCESSION OF THE STAMP ACT

From an old print

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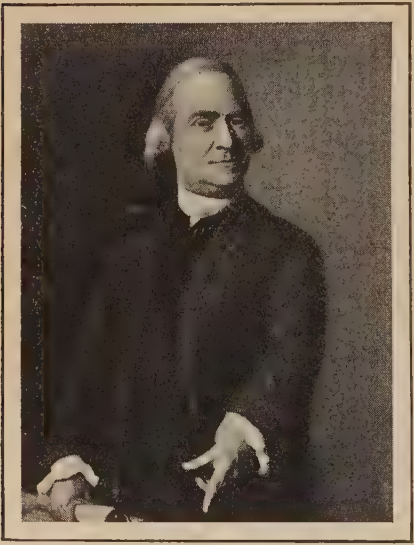
[1] Hutchinson was an outspoken opponent of the Stamp Act, but he was unpopular on account of his defense of the Writs of Assistance as chief justice of the province. His valuable library was thrown into the streets by the mob; the manuscript of his "History of Massachusetts" may be seen in the State House at Boston with the mud stains still on its edges.

the acknowledgment of their claim to be exempt from taxation. But Parliament made it clear that the repeal was only a concession to unexpected resistance and not a surrender of principle, for it accompanied the repeal by a Declaratory Act stating that Parliament had "full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the colonies and people of *America*, subjects of the crown of *Great Britain*, in all cases whatsoever."

110. The Townshend Duties. The joy in America over the repeal of the Stamp Act should have shown the British ministry and Parliament the only way in which the allegiance of the colonies could be secured. William Pitt said that "nothing gave him greater satisfaction in his life" than the repeal of the Stamp Act. The next year Pitt (now Earl of Chatham) became prime minister, but illness removed him from the councils of the cabinet. In the absence of his chief, Charles Townshend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, a very aggressive and persuasive man, who delighted the House with his wit and eloquence, assumed the leading rôle in the ministry. Townshend had no understanding of the American question. He had voted for the Stamp Act and for its repeal with equal complacency. He was greatly interested, however, in increasing his popularity by relieving the great landowners of their heavy taxes [**104**], and he jauntily promised to find plenty of revenue in America. He thought the distinction between duties and direct taxation "perfect nonsense," nevertheless he was willing to rely on the former alone. Therefore the Townshend Acts, passed in the summer of 1767, laid considerable duties upon glass, lead, painter's colors, paper, and tea imported into the colony. The worst thing about the Townshend Acts was not the amount of the duties, but the provisions for their collection and use. The hated Writs of Assistance were authorized, and a board of customs commissioners was established at Boston with jurisdiction extending from Labrador to Florida. Out of the revenue the salaries of the colonial governors and judges were to be paid, thus freeing these officers of the crown from dependence upon the colonial assemblies for their support.

111. Sam Adams's Regiments. Under the Townshend Acts the revenue from the colonies increased rapidly, but opposition in the colonies increased more rapidly still. The new commissioners were greeted with insults when they arrived in Boston and were soon appealing to the home government for warships and troops to enforce the law against smuggling. The Massachusetts legislature sent a circular letter prepared by Samuel Adams to the sister colonies, inviting united protest. When Governor Bernard ordered the legislature to rescind the letter and make apologies, they refused by a vote of 92 to 17. At Bernard's request, two regiments of troops were sent from Halifax to protect the British officials in executing the customs acts. But the legislature refused to provide quarters for the soldiers or to appropriate funds for their food. Benjamin Franklin had told Parliament the year before that if an army was sent to the colonies to enforce obedience it would not find a rebellion there but might very well create one. Now the presence of the redcoats in Boston was a constant irritation to the inhabitants. The rougher element insulted the soldiers with cries of "Lobster!" and "Bloody-back!" and sometimes pelted them with brickbats. The inevitable clash came on March 5, 1770, when some British soldiers on guard fired into a crowd of men and boys, killing four men and wounding several more. The town and the neighboring country were greatly excited by this "Boston Massacre." Samuel Adams waited on acting



SAMUEL ADAMS

Courtesy of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Governor Hutchinson and in a dramatic scene demanded the immediate withdrawal of the troops from the town. Hutchinson hesitated, but he finally yielded. When the news of these events in Boston reached Parliament, "the King's Friends" condemned Governor Hutchinson's "cowardly surrender" and sneeringly alluded to the royal troops as "Sam Adams's regiments."

BUTCHERS HALL
Engrav'd Printed & Sold by PAUL REVERE BOSTON

THE BOSTON MASSACRE

From Paul Revere's engraving

112. The Boston Tea Party. The very day of the Boston Massacre, Lord North, the new prime minister, proposed the repeal of all the Townshend duties except the threepenny tax on tea; for King George was determined "that there must be always *one* tax to keep up the right." A period of calm followed the repeal. Colonial imports from Great Britain rose from £1,684,000 in 1769 to £4,200,000 in 1771. Radical leaders like Patrick

Henry, Thomas Jefferson, and, above all, Samuel Adams feared that the colonists were being lulled into indifference to their rights in the years 1770 to 1773. "The flame of liberty was burning low." However, even Samuel Adams, by his persistent quarrels with Governor Hutchinson, and Thomas Jefferson, with his plan of intercolonial committees of correspondence, might not have been able to revive the "flame of liberty" had it not been for a fresh act of folly on the part of the British ministry. The great East India Company had a monopoly of the importation of tea into England, on which it paid a duty of a shilling a pound. In 1773 the Company was in financial straits. It had seventeen million pounds of tea stored in England, which could not be sold there till the duty was paid. Why not let the Company sell its surplus tea directly to America and be relieved of the shilling duty? Three objects could be accomplished by this clever device: (1) the Company would find an ample market for its tea; (2) relieved of the duty, the Company could sell its tea in America at a lower price than the colonists paid for the tea which they smuggled from Holland; and (3) the duty of threepenny a pound would bring a tidy revenue into the British treasury. Late in 1773 the cargoes of tea began to arrive at American ports. At Philadelphia and New York the captains were persuaded to return to England without unloading. In Charleston the tea was stored in the cellar of the Exchange and later sold at auction for the Revolutionary cause. In Boston, as usual, came the trouble. The customs officials would not allow the ship to return without unloading. The consignees (among whom were Governor Hutchinson's sons) would not resign. The governor would not grant a pass for the ships to depart without a clearance from the port authorities. The people were determined that the tea should not be landed. To end the deadlock a band of citizens disguised as Indians boarded the ships on the evening of December 16, 1773, ripped open the three hundred and forty-two chests of tea, valued at about $90,000, and threw the contents into the harbor.

113. The Punishment of Massachusetts. Hitherto the measures of the British government had been prompted by the desire to bring the colonies into a closer union with the mother country, not to alienate them further by harsh treatment. The violation of the king's laws, the defiance of the king's officers, and even the destruction of the king's property[1] in America had gone unpunished. But the colonies were still the "children" of Great Britain, however "unhappy and deluded" they might be; and, like children, they should be treated with firmness, tempered by indulgence. When the news of the destruction of the tea arrived, however, Parliament decided that the time for indulgence was over. Massachusetts must be severely punished as an example to the other colonies. Accordingly Parliament passed a series of acts early in 1774, closing the port of Boston until the tea should be paid for, forbidding town meetings (except for the regular election of officers) without the governor's permission, and otherwise curtailing the rights of self-government in the colony. These measures were called the "Intolerable Acts" in America.[2] Parliament thought that it was punishing a province, but found that it had aroused the resistance of a nation. Expressions of sympathy and wagon-loads of food came to Boston from every colony. Governor Hutchinson returned to England and was replaced by General Gage, who quartered an army of five thousand men in Boston. Gage was for dealing severely with the colonies. "They will be lyons while we are lambs," he wrote. And George III agreed with him. The king was ready to "try the case in America."

114. The Continental Congress. The Americans, too, were ready to try the case. Their argument was being drawn up in a number of pamphlets discussing their liberties and their responsibilities. Committees of correspondence, colonial assemblies, and town meetings were calling for a general congress to voice the protest of a united America. In spite of the efforts of the royal governors to prevent the elections, delegates were chosen in all the colonies except Georgia. It was a notable gathering of fifty-five members that met in Carpenter's Hall at Philadelphia on September 5, 1774. George Washington, Patrick Henry, and Richard Lee were in the Virginia delegation. John and Samuel Adams attended from Massachusetts, John Dickinson and Joseph Galloway from Pennsylvania, John Jay and Philip Livingston from New York, Roger Sherman from Connecticut, Christopher Gadsden and the Rutledges from South Carolina. The very fact that these men, mostly strangers to each other, had come together "to deliberate and determine upon wise and proper measures for the recovery of their just rights and liberties" in the days when New Hampshire was as remote from South Carolina as either is from Constantinople today, was of the utmost significance. One might say that the Continental Congress was the birth of the American nation. The conservative Galloway proposed a plan (somewhat like Franklin's Albany Plan of twenty years earlier [**97**]) for a permanent colonial Congress at Philadelphia, with power to confer with Parliament in legislation affecting America. But the majority of the colonists were unwilling to allow Parliament to have even a share in legislating for America. They rejected Galloway's plan and wiped the record of it from their journal. They drew up a declaration of rights specifying a dozen vexatious laws passed since the Grenville administration to which they "could not submit." They also sent a petition to the king and published addresses to the people of England, the inhabitants of Canada, and the thirteen American colonies. Finally, in order to bring pressure to bear upon Parliament to repeal the Intolerable Acts, they adopted an agreement, called "the American Association," to suspend all trade with Britain. Then Congress adjourned in October, 1774, to meet again in the following May in case their grievances were not remedied.

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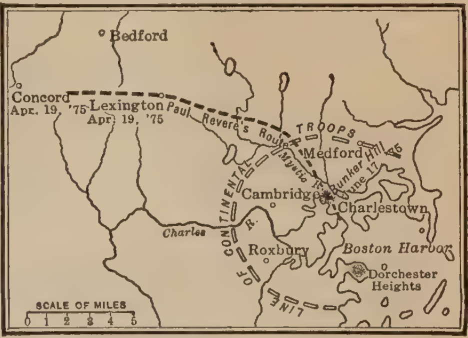
[1] For example, on the night of June 9, 1772, a group of Rhode Islanders had forcibly boarded the British revenue vessel *Gaspée*, which had run aground on a sand spit in Narragansett Bay, and had burned her to the water's edge.

[2] At the same time Parliament passed an act recognizing the Roman Catholic religion in Quebec and extending the boundary of that province southward to the Ohio River. The religious clause of this act was only the fulfillment of a promise made to the Canadians at the time of the peace of 1763. And the extension of the boundaries of Quebec had nothing to do with the punishment of Massachusetts. Nevertheless, the Quebec Act was interpreted as a measure of hostility of England against the New England colonies.

115. The Appeal to Arms. But before the second Continental Congress convened the British regiments and the rustic colonial militia had met on the field of battle. The Massachusetts patriots had taken affairs in their own hands, appointing Committees of Safety and Supply, collecting powder and arms, and training bands of "minutemen" to be ready to meet any aggressive British movements. On the night of April 18, 1775, Gage sent a thousand troops to seize the powder which the province had collected at Concord and Acton and to arrest John Hancock and Samuel Adams, who had taken refuge with Parson Jonas Clark at Lexington. The Boston patriots had learned of the expedition and had sent William Dawes and Paul Revere galloping ahead to arouse the countryside. When, therefore, the British reached Lexington at dawn, they found a company of about seventy minutemen drawn up on the village green under Captain Parker. The British Major Pitcairn, riding in front of his troops, ordered "the rebels" to lay down their arms and disperse. A shot was fired by an "unknown soldier." Then came a volley from the redcoats, answered by scattered shots from the minutemen, and the British column marched on to Concord, leaving eight of the patriots dead or dying on the green. At Concord bridge Pitcairn's troops were turned back and began their long retreat to Boston, harassed by a deadly fire from behind stone walls and apple trees. When they finally reached the British lines at Charlestown they had lost 273 men, or three times as many as the colonists had. The militia for miles around now closed in upon Boston sixteen thousand strong and held Gage besieged in the town.



PAUL REVERE'S ROUTE, APRIL 19, 1775

116. Bunker Hill. On the night of June 16 the colonials under Colonel William Prescott occupied the heights on the peninsula of Charlestown, which commanded the town of Boston, and constructed a fortification of earthworks on Breed's Hill.[1] The next day, after a bombardment from the British warships in the harbor had failed to disperse the Americans, General Howe, who with Generals Clinton and Burgoyne had lately arrived in Boston with reënforcements for Gage, attempted to storm the redoubt by charging up the hill. Twice the British were driven back from the crest of the hill by the galling fire of the Americans, but they bravely formed for a third assault and this time carried the redoubt. The Americans had burned their last cartridge and had to retire before the enemy's bayonets. The American defeat at Bunker Hill was a moral victory, for it showed that colonial militia could face the British regulars without flinching. Howe's loss of over a thousand men was more than double that of the Americans. One eighth of all the British officers killed in the Revolutionary War fell at Bunker Hill. "I wish we could sell them another hill at the same price" was the comment of one of the American officers.

THE BATTLE OF LEXINGTON

From a drawing by an eyewitness

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[1] Breed's Hill was a lower eminence to the east of Bunker Hill. It was on Breed's Hill that the battle of Bunker Hill was actually fought.

117. The Crisis. So it had come to open warfare between Great Britain and the American colonies. In spite of protests of loyalty on the part of the colonists for a decade, in spite of petitions, remonstrances, and learned legal arguments, the breech had grown wider and wider until it could not be healed. After a century and a half we can, without any sacrifice of grateful admiration for the Fathers of our country, view the events which led up to the American Revolution in a spirit of fairness to both sides. We must appreciate the efforts of devoted friends of America in Parliament to stem the influence of the king's servants, and we must recognize the scruples of conservatives in America like Galloway, Dickinson, Jay, and Livingston, who clung longer than Washington, Jefferson, Henry, and the Adamses to the belief that the colonies might still secure their rights as British freemen without having to repudiate their British allegiance. The whole question was whether liberty could be reconciled with loyalty. Liberty meant to the colonists the right to direct their own affairs in the new country which they had built up, to extend their commerce without hindrances, to control their officials, and above all to vote their taxes in their own elected assemblies. Loyalty meant to the English obedience to the acts of Parliament, which was the supreme authority of the Empire. These two views could not be reconciled. The colonies were determined not to sacrifice their liberty to imperial unity, however much they prized that unity. And it was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that a more representative and democratic Parliament in England began to learn how to preserve the loyalty of its overseas dominions by granting them the very liberties which had been denied to the Americans. Englishmen today generally recognize that the Americans of 1775 were contending for a higher ideal of British freedom than were the ministers of George III. They honor George Washington as a hero rather than condemn him as a rebel. But the descendants of the victorious Americans have not always so generously recognized that the England of George III and Lord North passed away many years ago.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE[1]

118. The Second Continental Congress. "The war has actually begun. The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms. Our brethren are already in the field. Why stand we here idle? . . . Is life so dear or peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death!" These prophetic words were spoken by Patrick Henry at a convention in Richmond, Virginia, less than a month before the clash of arms at Lexington and Concord. Less than a month after that event the second Continental Congress met at Philadelphia (May 10, 1775). This Congress, like the first, was only a kind of committee of advice. It had no power to make laws binding the people of America like the present Congress of the United States. Nevertheless, it soon began to assume the powers of a national government, raising an army, borrowing money, regulating trade, and entering into diplomatic relations with foreign countries. A week after the Congress met, the assembly of Massachusetts asked it to take command of the army around Boston for the general defense of the rights of America and to devise a government for the country. The time had passed for mere addresses and declarations of grievances. The serious question before Congress was whether it should put itself at the head of such union as there was in America or leave the colonies to anarchy and New England to the vengeance of the British troops.

119. The Declaration of War. Congress did not hesitate in its choice. On June 14, by a unanimous vote, it elected George Washington "General and Commander-in-Chief of the Armies of the United Colonies and all the forces now raised or to be raised by them." On July 6 it issued a spirited declaration setting forth the causes for taking up arms. "We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritable ministers or resistance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the cost of this contest and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery. Our cause is just, our union is perfect. . . . In defence of the freedom which is our birthright, we have taken up arms. We shall lay them down when hostility shall cease on the part of our aggressors."

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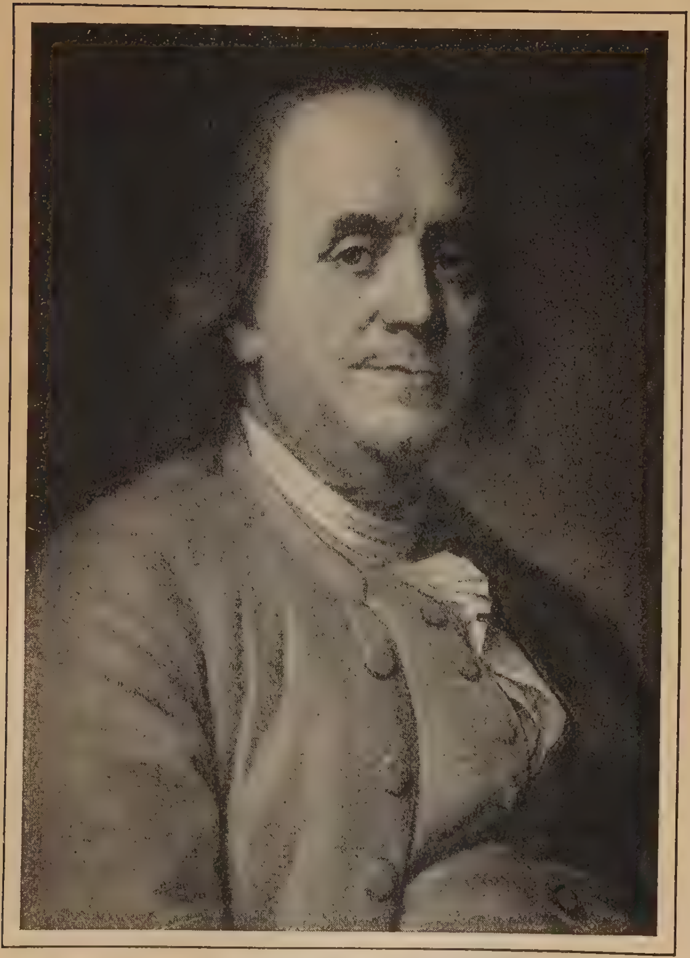
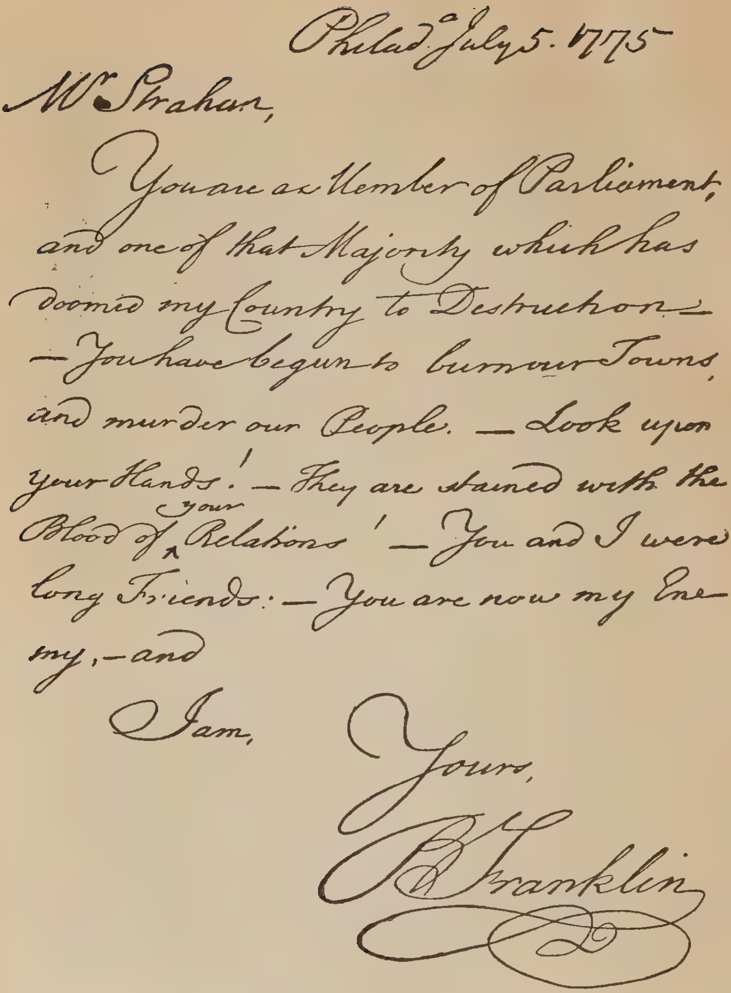
[1] In connection with this section the student should carefully read the text of the Declaration of Independence (Appendix I).

120. Independence not Sought. Not only did Congress explicitly deny that the colonies had taken up arms to win their independence, but by its acts it showed that it still hoped, even though faintly, for reconciliation with Great Britain. It supported John Dickinson in a final petition to the king. When Massachusetts and New Hampshire applied for advice in the matter of forming a government, it recommended the former to choose an assembly and council to exercise power "until a governor of his Majesty's appointment shall consent to govern the province according to its charter," and the latter to establish such government as would best promote the general happiness "during the continuance of the present dispute with Great Britain." The constitution adopted by New Jersey in 1776 contained a clause to the effect that it would be annulled should the colony "be taken again under the protection and government of the crown of England." Furthermore, we have the emphatic statement of the patriot leaders themselves that they were not aiming at independence. "It is well known," said Jefferson in 1782, "that in July, 1775, a separation from Great Britain and the establishment of a Republican Government had not yet entered into any person's mind." Doubtless it had entered into the mind of Samuel Adams and a few other extreme radicals. Nevertheless, John Adams said that he was avoided in the streets of Philadelphia in 1775 "like a man infected with leprosy" for his supposed leanings toward "independency." Washington said in the midsummer of 1775, when on his way to take command of the continental army at Cambridge, that the thought of independence was "abhorrent" to him. The same idea was expressed by Franklin, Jay, and other patriots, who, we must believe, were sincere in their public utterances.

121. Events of 1775 which widened the Breach. However, by the end of 1775 the doctrine of the allegiance of the colonies to King George was so flatly contradicted by the facts of the situation that it became ridiculous. From month to month the breach between the colonies and the mother country had widened. In February Lord Chatham's motion to repeal the offensive acts passed since 1763 was rejected by a vote of 61 to 31. In March Benjamin Franklin, who for ten years had been the agent for several of the colonies in London, returned to America, thereby confessing that nothing more was to be accomplished by diplomacy. In April the Massachusetts minutemen faced the British redcoats at Lexington Green. In May came Allen's bold capture of Fort Ticonderoga. In June followed Howe's costly victory at Bunker Hill and the firing of the adjacent town of Charlestown. In July Massachusetts set up a new government independent of the king, and George Washington took command of the colonial army which was besieging Gage in Boston. In August King George issued a proclamation calling on all loyal subjects to suppress the rebellion and sedition in North America. In September he hired twenty thousand German soldiers from the princes of Hesse, Anhalt, and Brunswick, to reduce the colonies to submission. In October a British captain, without provocation, sailed into Falmouth harbor (Portland, Maine) and burned the town, rendering one thousand people homeless on the eve of a severe New England winter. In November two small American armies under Richard Montgomery and Benedict Arnold were invading Canada with the sanction of the Continental Congress. In December King George declared the colonies out of the protection of the crown, and blockaded their ports. And on the last day of the year, in a blinding snowstorm, the colonial troops made an attack on Quebec, in which Montgomery was killed and Arnold severely wounded. The news of the burning of Falmouth and the king's contract for German mercenaries reached Congress on the same day. "I am ready now, brother rebel," said a Southern member to Ward of Rhode Island, "to declare ourselves independent; we have had sufficient answer to our petition."



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN



Philada July 5. 1775

Mr Strahan,

You are a Member of Parliament, and one of that Majority which has doomed my Country to Destruction. — You have begun to burn our Towns, and murder our People. — Look upon your Hands! — They are stained with the Blood of your Relations! — You and I were long Friends: — You are now my Enemy, — and

I am,

Yours,

B Franklin

COPY OF FRANKLIN'S LETTER TO STRAHAN

Reduced in Size

122. Thomas Paine's "Common Sense." On the tenth of January, 1776, there came from a press in Philadelphia a pamphlet entitled "Common Sense," which made tens of thousands throughout the colonies ready also to declare themselves independent. The author was Thomas Paine, an Englishman of scanty fortune but liberal ideas, who had won Franklin's friendship in London and had come to the colonies in 1774 with what he later called "an aversion to monarchy, as debauching to the dignity of man." In "Common Sense" Paine argued with convincing clearness that the position of the colonies was thoroughly inconsistent, — in full rebellion against England, yet protesting loyalty to the king. He urged them to lay aside sentimental scruples, to realize that they were the nucleus of a great American nation destined to cover the continent and to be an example to the world of a people free from the servile traditions of monarchy and the low public morals of the Old World. It is doubtful whether any other printed work in all American history has had a greater influence than Paine's "Common Sense." Over one hundred thousand copies were sold, the equivalent of a circulation of four million in our present population. Washington spoke enthusiastically of the "sound doctrine and unanswerable reasoning" of the pamphlet; and Edmund Randolph, the first attorney-general of the United States, said that the declaration of the independence of America was due, next to George III, to Thomas Paine.

123. The Declaration of Independence. When, therefore, the legislature of North Carolina ordered its representatives in Congress to support a motion for independence,[1] Virginia and all the New England colonies fell quickly into line. The Virginia delegation took the lead, its chairman, Richard Henry Lee, moving, on the seventh of June, that *these united Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.* The vote on this momentous motion was postponed until the first of July, and a committee composed of Jefferson, Franklin, John Adams, Sherman, and Livingston was appointed to frame a fitting Declaration of Independence in case the motion was carried. Jefferson wrote the document in the fervor of spontaneous patriotism, "without reference to book or pamphlet," as he later declared. His draft was somewhat modified by the other members of the committee, especially Adams and Franklin. On the first day of July, Lee's motion was taken from the table for debate, and on the next day was passed by all the colonies except New York, whose vote was delayed a week because the delegates in Con-

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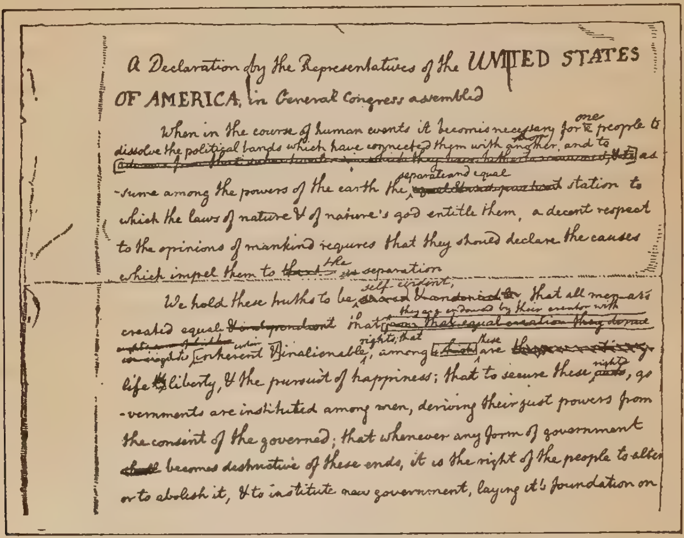
[1] North Carolina deserves special honor for her preparedness in the cause of independence. In 1774 she was the only colony to pledge the obedience of her people to the measures of the Continental Congress. In May, 1775, some North Carolina patriots, of the county of Mecklenburg, voted that the commissions of all the civil and military officers in the colony appointed by the king were null and void. This resolution was practically a declaration of independence by the patriots of Mecklenburg County, but no formal declaration was drawn up, and the North Carolina delegates failed to report the resolution to the Continental Congress.



A Declaration by the Representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in General Congress assembled

When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for ~~a~~ one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to ~~[illegible]~~ assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal ~~[illegible]~~ station to which the laws of nature & of nature's god entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to ~~that~~ the separation

We hold these truths to be self-evident; ~~sacred & undeniable~~ that all men are created equal ~~& independant~~ that they are endowed by their creator with ~~[illegible] that equal creation they derive~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~in rights~~ [inherent & inalienable] rights; that among ~~which~~ these are ~~[illegible]~~ life ~~&~~ liberty, & the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these ~~ends~~ rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government ~~shall~~ becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, & to institute new government, laying it's foundation on

FACSIMILE OF THE OPENING LINES OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE gress had not yet received instructions from their colony. Two days later (July 4) Jefferson's Declaration was adopted.[1] We celebrate the latter event in our national holiday, but the motion declaring our independence was carried the second of July.

124. Analysis of the Declaration. The Declaration of Independence is the most important document in our history and one of the most important in the history of the world. It is the birth certificate of the American nation. The Declaration may be divided into three parts: (1) It asserted that "all men are created equal," that they are "endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights," among which are "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," which it is the purpose of all governments to secure; and that "whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it." (2) It submitted "to a candid world" a list of twenty-seven arbitrary and tyrannical acts of George III aimed against the liberty of his American subjects as a proof that he was "unfit to be the ruler of a free people." (3) It closed with the ringing words: "We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled . . . solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved. . . . And, for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

125. The Effect of the Declaration. The Declaration of Independence put an end to the inconsistency of the colonial position. It changed the struggle on the part of America from one of armed resistance to the unlawful acts of a sovereign still acknowledged, to open war against a foreign king and state. It also cleared the air. Until the Declaration was published the Tories (or Loyalists), who numbered tens of thousands in the colonies and included many men of wealth and influence, had been champions of one side of the hotly debated question as to whether the abuses of the king's ministers justified armed resistance or separation. But after the Declaration their loyalty to the king of Great Britain became treason to America. As traitors they were accordingly treated — their property confiscated, their utterances controlled, and their conduct regulated by severe laws in every one of the new states. Again, the Declaration was an important stroke of diplomacy, because it was only as a nation fighting for its independence and the consequent disruption of the British Empire, that the American colonies could get that aid from foreign powers, especially France, which eventually enabled them to win the war. Finally, the Declaration put spirit into the American army by giving it a cause supremely worth fighting for. In a general order of July 9, 1776, Washington had the Declaration read to his army in New York, whither he had moved after compelling Howe to evacuate Boston in March. "The General hopes," said the order, "that this important event will serve as an incentive to every officer and soldier to act with fidelity and courage, as knowing that now the peace and safety of this country depend (under God) solely on the success of our arms."

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[1] The Declaration was engrossed on parchment and signed on August 2 by most members of the Congress. The original document, yellowed with age and hardly legible in spots, was transferred in 1921 by an executive order from the State Department to the Library of Congress, where it is now on exhibition, inclosed under glass, with the Constitution, in a kind of little shrine.

The Revolutionary War

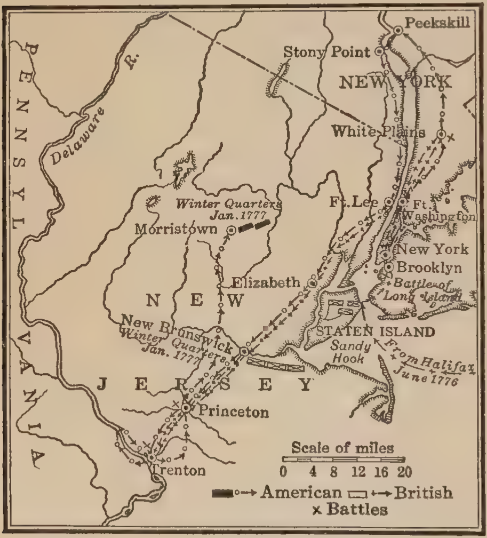
126. The Nature of the Conflict. It cost the Americans five more years of warfare before the independence which they proclaimed in 1776 was achieved. We cannot study the details of the plans of campaign, the movement of the troops, and the battles on land and sea during the long struggle. But we shall better understand the war as a whole if we bear in mind the following points: (1) Except for an unsuccessful invasion of Canada in 1775–1776, the American people fought a defensive war. They could not prevent the British, who had superiority

EXTERIOR AND INTERIOR VIEWS OF INDEPENDENCE HALL, PHILADELPHIA, THE INTERIOR SHOWING THE SPEAKER'S DESK AND CHAIR in sea power, from occupying ports like New York, Philadelphia, Newport, Charleston, and Savannah, but they did prevent them from making much progress inland. (2) The British were obliged to bring their troops and military equipment across three thousand miles of ocean, and their inability to conquer the interior of the country made it necessary for them to keep close to their base of supplies along the coast. (3) The British never had enough troops in America to attack the whole front from Maine to Georgia at the same time, but shifted their army from place to place as the promise of success beckoned. The war was over in Massachusetts before it was begun in New York and it was not begun in the South until it was finished in the middle colonies. The Americans held undisturbed possession of Boston and the British of New York from 1776 to the end of the war; while Philadelphia was taken by the British in 1777 and given up by them in 1778. The conquest of the West by George Rogers Clark and the exploits of John Barry and John Paul Jones on the seas were no part of a uniform plan of campaign. The American Revolution from a military point of view was a group of little wars rather than a single war. The one integrating force was the person of the great commander, but George Washington held the army and the cause together by his exhaustless patience and courage rather than by any comprehensive plan of war. Finally, (4) the American patriots had to contend all through the war not only with the British enemy in the field but also with indifference and opposition at home. There were the Tories, — perhaps a third of our population, — who remained openly or secretly loyal to the British king. There were the profit-mongers, who sold their produce to the British army for gold while Washington's brave men went hungry and barefoot at Valley Forge. There were the lukewarm legislators, who, when the danger of war did not threaten their own colony, refused to vote their share of taxes for the support of the continental army. Recruits were hard to get even when bounties were offered. Desertions were frequent. The colonies, with their wealth and population, could have raised and equipped an army ten times as large as the force that Washington had at any time in the war. That he and his faithful comrades in arms achieved the victory in the face of these discouraging facts only entitles him to the greater glory.

127. The Decisive Campaigns. The American victory was due primarily to three campaigns: (1) the brilliant operations of Washington at Trenton and Princeton, begun in the closing week of 1776, which saved the army from almost certain annihilation; (2) the capture of Burgoyne's army at Saratoga in October, 1777, which secured the French alliance and aid; (3) the surrender of Cornwallis to the combined American and French forces at Yorktown in October, 1781, which caused the British king and ministry to give up the attempt to conquer America. There were, of course, other important events in the war, like the exploits of George Rogers Clark and John Paul Jones. There were pathetic scenes of courage and devotion, like the sufferings of the army at Valley Forge in the winter 1777–1778, and the execution of the patriot schoolmaster, Captain Nathan Hale, who volunteered his services in the dangerous task of inspecting the British positions, was captured as a spy within the enemy's lines in New York, and died on the scaffold regretting that he "had but one life to give for his country." There were also acts of baseness, like the treason of Benedict Arnold and the infamous Conway plot to discredit Washington and remove him from the command of the army. As in every war, there was enthusiasm contending against apathy, public devotion against carping criticism, patriotism against profiteering. All these currents of thought and action influenced the war. But the outcome hinged upon the campaigns of Trenton, Saratoga, and Yorktown. These campaigns, therefore, will receive the main emphasis in our study of the Revolution (map, p. 135).

128. Washington at Bay. For several months after Congress declared independence, there was little prospect that the army would win it. Washington, with a poorly equipped force of about 18,000 men, tried to defend the city of New York against General Howe, who, with the reënforcements brought over by his brother, Admiral Howe, and with General Clinton's troops just returned from an unsuccessful attack on Fort Moultrie in Charleston Harbor, mustered a well-trained army of nearly

35,000 men. Defeated on Brooklyn Heights, Long Island, and driven mile by mile through the city of New York and up the banks of the Hudson, Washington was forced to abandon the forts on both sides of the river and retreat through New Jersey with the British troops literally on his heels. His last regiment got across the Delaware at Trenton just as the van of the British army entered the town. Washington was safe for the moment on the Pennsylvania side of the river, for he had had the foresight to seize all the boats for several miles along the New Jersey bank. However, owing to desertions and prisoners of war left in the hands of the British and the insubordination of General Charles Lee, who refused to come to his aid, Washington found himself with the mere skeleton of an army—not more than 3000 effective men. The American cause seemed doomed. Congress fled from Philadelphia to Baltimore. "We looked upon the contest as nearly closed," wrote Major Thomas, "and considered ourselves as a vanquished people." And the great commander himself came nearer to losing his courage than at any subsequent time of the war. "If every nerve is not strained to recruit a new army with all possible expedition," he wrote to his brother, "I think the game is pretty nearly up."



WASHINGTON'S CAMPAIGN OF 1776

129. The Recovery of New Jersey. But Washington could not wait for a new army to be recruited. It was already December, and when the river froze he would be at the mercy of the

British troops. It was then that he executed a most brilliant and daring stroke. Crossing the Delaware in the midst of a driving storm of sleet on Christmas night, with about 2300 men, he fell upon the Hessian outposts at Trenton. The Hessian commander was mortally wounded and his entire force of 1000 men surrendered. Lord Cornwallis, who was about to embark for England, thinking that the war was over, hastened to repair the disaster. But Washington outwitted and eluded him, defeating three British regiments at Princeton and sending the bewildered Cornwallis back in panic to protect his stores at New Brunswick. In a ten days' campaign Washington had recovered the state of New Jersey. It was the most critical action of the war, for it meant life or death to the American cause. Five years later, when Cornwallis made the final surrender of the British army to Washington at Yorktown, he complimented the American commander upon his "unsurpassed performance" in New Jersey.

130. The Sword and the Olive Branch. Next to Washington the credit for the salvation of the little American army in the critical campaign of 1776 belongs to the British general, William Howe. With greatly superior forces he had been content simply to push Washington out of New York and New Jersey without bringing on the pitched battle which it seemed must have resulted in the destruction of the patriot army. Washington thought it "a miracle" that he was allowed to remain unmolested at Morristown with 4000 men during the winter of 1776–1777, only a few days' march from Howe at New York and Cornwallis at New Brunswick. But the plain fact is that the commander of King George's forces did not wish to conquer the Americans by the sword. He was a Whig (though the king's cousin) and he had promised his constituents in England that he would win the Americans by persuasion and pardon. He and his brother had commissions from the king to offer amnesty and protection to all the Americans who would return to their allegiance.[1]

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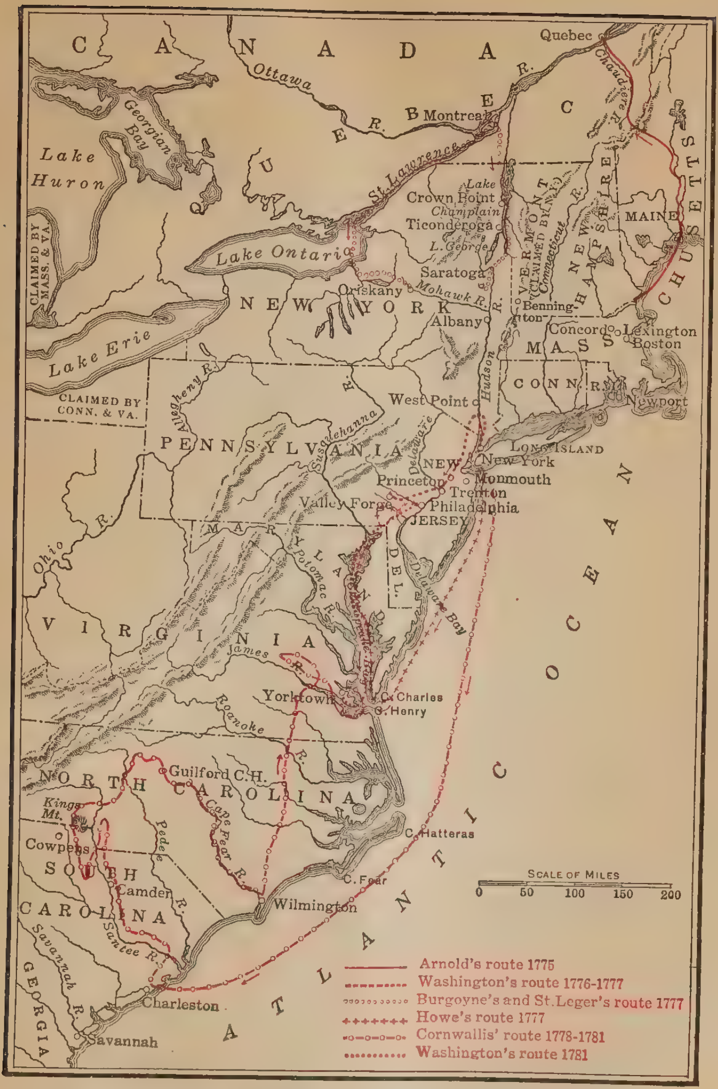
[1] When Admiral Howe met a delegation from Congress after the battle of Long Island and expressed his reluctance to conquer the Americans, Benjamin Franklin replied, "We will do our utmost to save your lordship from that embarrassment."

This olive branch of pardon, Howe carried in his right hand and the sword in his left. He believed that the great majority of Americans were really loyal to the king but had been led astray by demagogues and firebrands.

131. The British Blunder of 1777. General Howe was to render the American cause another service by his military operations of 1777. The British general, John Burgoyne, was in Canada with an army of 8000 men, half of them hired Germans. Washington, emerging from his winter quarters in New Jersey with his ranks increased to about 11,000 men by the spring levies, was not yet strong enough to attack New York; but he kept a watchful eye on Howe's movements. The British plan of campaign was confused by an exchange of dispatches between Howe, Burgoyne, and the British war minister, Lord George Germain, showing the difficulty of conducting operations against an enemy three thousand miles distant in the days before the cable and the wireless. Burgoyne was to bring the main part of the Canadian army southward by the Lake Champlain-Hudson River route, while Colonel St. Leger was to march eastward through the Mohawk valley to Albany with a force of regulars and Indians, and Howe was to send a supporting column up the Hudson to meet the other two generals. The British army thus united would be able to turn eastward to conquer New England and cut it off from the rest of the states, or southward to crush the rebellion in Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, or to concentrate its attack on Washington's army. To Washington's great relief he heard, just as the message reached him that Burgoyne was well started on his march from Canada, that Howe's fleet was sighted off the New Jersey coast bearing to the south. Only 6000 men were left in New York under General Clinton and no reënforcements were sent up the Hudson. Whether it was lack of definite instructions from London, or confidence that Burgoyne could take care of himself, or the idea that the capture of the "rebel capital" of Philadelphia would end the war, Howe's "desertion" of Burgoyne made the wreck of the British plan certain. Washington, who marched across New Jersey to meet

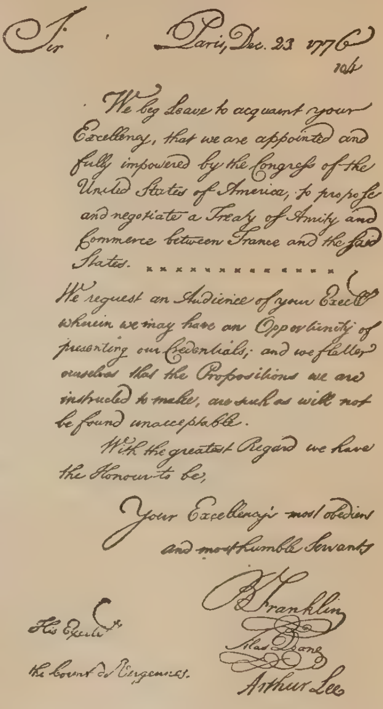


THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR ON THE ATLANTIC SEABOARD

Howe at the head of Chesapeake Bay, could not prevent the British in the battles of Brandywine Creek (September 11) and Germantown (October 4) from occupying the city of Philadelphia. But it was a barren victory for Howe. His blunder in not coöperating with Burgoyne brought about the very conditions which made it necessary for him to abandon Philadelphia in less than a year.

132. Burgoyne's Surrender at Saratoga. When Washington heard that Howe's fleet was headed southward he exclaimed with joy, "Now let the New Englanders turn out and crush Burgoyne." And they did. As the British general marched through the tangled forest of northern New York with his heavily equipped troops and his elaborate baggage trains, advancing only seventy-five miles from Fort Ticonderoga in three months, the farmers from all over New England shouldered their muskets and hastened to join the forces gathering on his flank. He tried to beat them off by sending a force of eight hundred Brunswickers across the border of Vermont, where they were defeated at Bennington (August 16) by the militia of John Stark, one of the heroes of Bunker Hill. At the same moment St. Leger's force in the Mohawk valley was checked at Oriskany by the brave old Indian fighter, General Herkimer, and abandoned the attempt to reach Albany. Burgoyne's situation became more serious every day. By the first of September the Americans under General Gates, supported by Schuyler, Arnold, and Morgan, had 10,000 troops between Albany and Saratoga, and in another month their number had increased to 20,000, or four times the effective British force. "Wherever the King's forces point," wrote Burgoyne in despair, "militia to the number of 3000 or 4000 assemble in a few hours." He tried to beat them off by brave attacks, but they were too many for him. On October 7 he abandoned his forward march. Ten days later, despairing of help from either Carleton on the north or Clinton on the south, he surrendered to General Gates the 5000 men that were left of his army.

133. The French Alliance. Saratoga was the turning point of the war. The loss of an army was the least of the calamities that it spelled for the British cause. In December the news reached Paris, where Benjamin Franklin had been trying for a year to get the French to become open allies of the Americans. The French government desired nothing more than the destruction of the proud British Empire, which had been built up largely on the ruins of their own in 1763, and they had been encouraging the Americans with secret aid ever since the colonies declared their independence. But the cautious foreign minister, Vergennes, would not risk war with Britain until he had some assurance of the eventual success of the Americans. This the victory at Saratoga furnished. Perhaps even more influential in determining the French to come to our aid was the effect of Saratoga on the British ministry. Lord North had a Conciliatory Act passed by Parliament, repealing the tea tax and the Intolerable Acts and declaring that in the future no "duty, tax, or assessment whatever" would be laid upon the colonies without their consent. A commission was authorized to sail to America to induce the insurgents to lay down their arms on these terms. French agents in London wrote to Paris that the plan of conciliation was likely to succeed and that England and America would then join in an attack on the French West Indies. Franklin skillfully played on these fears, hinting that his countrymen might not be able to resist the



Sir

Paris, Dec. 23 1776

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We beg leave to acquaint your Excellency, that we are appointed and fully impowered by the Congreſs of the United States of America, to propoſe and negotiate a Treaty of Amity and Commerce between France and the ſaid States. x x x x x x x x x x x x x x

We request an Audience of your Excelly wherein we may have an Opportunity of presenting our Credentials; and we flatter ourselves that the Propositions we are instructed to make, are such as will not be found unacceptable.

With the greatest Regard we have the Honour to be,

Your Excellency's most obedient
and most humble Servants

B Franklin
Silas Deane
Arthur Lee

His Excelly
the Count de Vergennes.

LETTER OF FRANKLIN TO THE COUNT OF VERGENNES, — THE EARLIEST DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE OF THE AMERICAN CONGRESS attractive terms offered by Lord North. The result was that Louis XVI's government recognized the United States of America as an independent power, and on February 6, 1778, signed treaties of alliance and commerce with us. By the treaty of alliance each country agreed not to make a truce or peace with Great Britain without the consent of the other and not to lay down their arms until the independence of America was won. It was the only treaty of alliance that the United States have ever made in all their history, and in the end it cost us a good deal of embarrassment. But it was of inestimable advantage during the war; for the money, men, and ships which our French allies sent us made possible the final triumph of the American cause at Yorktown.

134. The War assumes a European Character. The entrance of the foremost power of continental Europe into the war encouraged other nations who were jealous of Great Britain's naval and commercial supremacy to join in the overthrow of her empire. In 1779 Spain, though making no alliance with the revolting Americans, entered the war against England with the hope of regaining Jamaica, Florida, and the stronghold of Gibraltar. The next year Holland, England's old commercial rival, joined the fray; and Russia and the Baltic States formed the League of Armed Neutrality to defend the freedom of the seas against Great Britain's arbitrary interference with commerce. Thus the American Revolution, after the victory of Saratoga, developed into a coalition of four powers against Great Britain, and the American continent became again for the fifth time within a century the ground on which France and England fought their mighty duel.

135. Valley Forge and Monmouth. After his unsuccessful attempt to prevent Howe from occupying Philadelphia, Washington took his army to Valley Forge, about twenty-five miles northwest of the city. The severe winter of 1777–1778 at Valley Forge was one of terrible suffering for the American troops. They lacked fuel, food, blankets, and clothing. For want of shoes they wrapped their feet in rags, and the paths in the snow were often stained with blood. But the suffering army of Valley Forge had cause for rejoicing too. There were the 5000 prisoners of Saratoga; there was Lord North in Parliament, coming to agree with Chatham that he could not "conquer America"; above all there was Franklin at Paris winning over the king and Vergennes day by day. The treaty of alliance was signed in February, 1778, and on April 5, Count d'Estaing sailed for America with twelve ships of the line and a number of regiments. As the forts on the Delaware could not be defended against the French troops, Clinton was ordered to evacuate Philadelphia and fall back upon New York City. The American army met him at Monmouth, New Jersey, on June 28, and would have cut off his march had not General Charles Lee basely ordered a retreat in the middle of the battle. Washington, summoned by Lafayette, arrived on the scene in time to rally the American troops and save the day. But Clinton got away to the coast. Washington poured out the vials of his wrath upon the treacherous Lee and sent him into long-merited disgrace.

REPLICA OF A SOLDIER'S HUT AT VALLEY FORGE

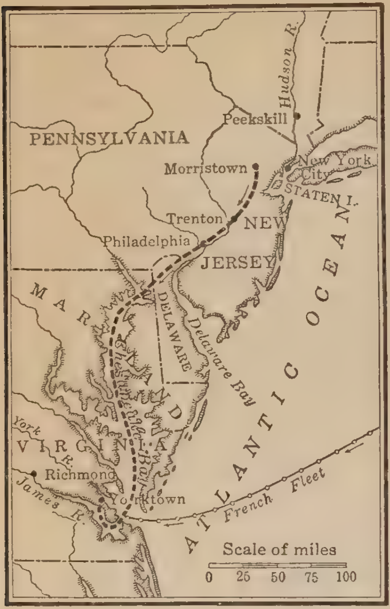
136. The War in the South. The rejection of Lord North's offer of conciliation and the alliance with France changed the nature of the war completely. England now cast aside the olive branch and grasped the sword in her right hand. Persuaded by the exiled governors of South Carolina and Georgia that the Tories in the Southern states would flock to their banners in great numbers, the British transferred the war to that section. They had no systematic plan of campaign, but marched here and there wherever the resistance was least and the hope of attracting recruits greatest. In December, 1778, they captured Savannah and reëstablished the royal government in Georgia. In May, 1779, Clinton came down with a fleet from New York and took Charleston, capturing General Lincoln's force of 2500 men, practically the whole of the regular American army south of the Potomac. Then Washington sent Gates with a few regiments to coöperate with the militia of Virginia and the Carolinas in checking Cornwallis's progress through the South. Gates failed miserably at Camden, South Carolina, in August, 1780; but on the seventh of October a group of 1000 frontiersmen and Indian fighters, gathered from both sides of the Appalachians by John Sevier, caught Colonel Alexander Ferguson with 1200 Loyalists at King's Mountain, on the border between North and South Carolina, and annihilated his force in the bloodiest battle of the war since Bunker Hill [**116**]. The victory at King's Mountain struck terror into Cornwallis's army and roused the patriots throughout the Carolinas. Irregular bands under the irrepressible Sumter, Pickens, and Marion, "the Swamp Fox," as Cornwallis called him, harassed the British at every turn. Nathanael Greene, next to Washington the ablest of the American generals, was sent down to replace Gates, and with him went Daniel Morgan, one of the heroes of Saratoga. Cornwallis could make no headway against Greene and Morgan, and he found himself in the summer of 1781 just where he had been in the summer of 1780, namely, in control of the seaboard only. Even the patriot governor and legislature of Georgia had been restored.

137. The Treachery of Benedict Arnold. Meanwhile the most distressing incident of the war was taking place on the Hudson. Benedict Arnold, who had so signally distinguished himself for bravery at Quebec and Saratoga, had not been advanced so rapidly in the American army as he thought he deserved to be. Encouraged by his friends among the British officers, and by his wife, who had been a belle in the Tory circles of Philadelphia, he nursed his injured pride to a point where he determined to betray his country. He easily obtained from Washington the command of the important fortress of West Point on the Hudson, and forthwith opened negotiations with Sir Henry Clinton to hand the post over to the British. Major André, the British agent in the transaction, was caught inside the American lines at Tarrytown and the incriminating papers were found in his boots. He was hanged as a spy. Warned of André's capture in the nick of time, Arnold fled hastily from his breakfast table and reached a British war vessel lying in the Hudson. He was rewarded with a brigadier generalship in Clinton's army, and assumed command of the British troops in Virginia.

138. The Critical Situation in 1781. Besides Arnold's treason there were many other causes for discouragement in the patriot ranks. The year 1781, indeed, was the period of deepest dejection and gloom. The continental currency was worthless. The calls for enlistment in the continental army went unheeded, and the regiments already enlisted began to show signs of mutiny for lack of food and pay. Washington confided to his diary that he doubted whether he could put an army in the field for the campaign of 1781 unless help were forthcoming from our generous ally. A special envoy was sent to France and the appeal was not in vain. King Louis sent over an army of 7000 men with Admiral de Grasse and 2,000,000 francs in gold. In April Cornwallis joined forces with Arnold and Phillips, who for several months had been terrorizing the coastal regions of Virginia. He boasted that he would drive out "that boy," Lafayette, who with a little army of 2000 men and the help of the local militia was skillfully defending the state against British forces much larger than his own. Clinton in New York, apprehending an attack on that city by Washington's army and the French fleet, ordered Cornwallis to establish a naval base on the coast of Virginia and to send him reënforcements. Accordingly Cornwallis fortified himself on the peninsula of Yorktown, which proved to be his prison.

139. Cornwallis's Surrender at Yorktown. It was now that the military and especially the naval advantage of the French alliance was proved. The British garrisons along the coast from

Halifax to St. Augustine were safe only as long as England had control of the seas. Although, from the beginning of the war, American privateers had preyed upon British commerce and had even attacked the convoyed fleets carrying food, horses, munitions, and military supplies to the British armies,[1] the Americans had no war vessels that could meet the powerful ships of the line of the British navy. The alliance with France [**133**] had put such ships at our disposal; but the actual use of them in coöperation with our armies on the coast depended on the convenience of the French admirals, who regarded the West Indies as the more important theater of operation. Washington, now seeing the opportunity of cooping Cornwallis up in Yorktown, begged De Grasse to join him with his fleet, and the Admiral replied that he would be at the entrance to Chesapeake Bay about the first of September. Then, making a feint upon New York, Washington hurried his army across New Jersey and was at the



WASHINGTON'S MARCH TO YORKTOWN

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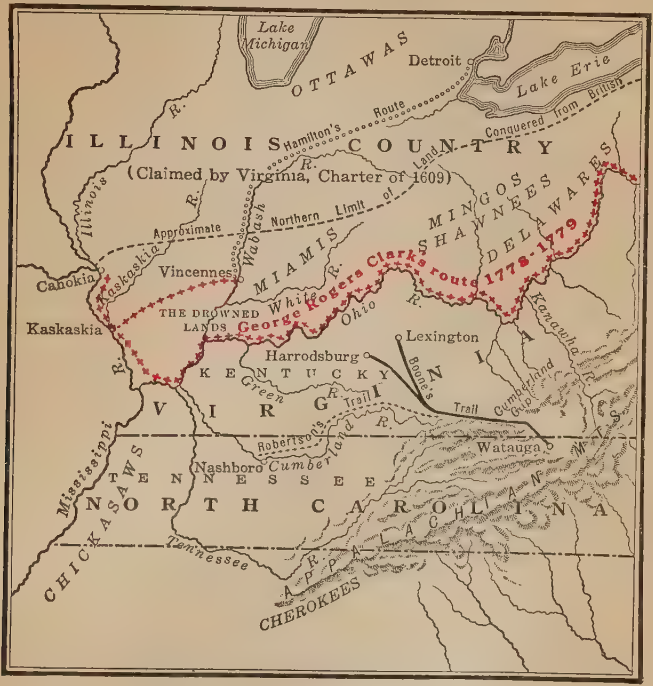
[1] At times the crews of the privateers outnumbered the soldiers in the continental army. The town of Salem, Massachusetts, alone had 59 vessels and 4000 men in this service in 1781. So effective was the work of these privateers that the insurance on English ships engaged in the West Indian trade was often 25 per cent of the value of the vessel and cargo. The most noted of the sea rangers was John Paul Jones, a Scotsman who had come to the colonies just before the war. In an old French Indiaman, rechristened the *Bonhomme Richard*, Jones attacked the powerful British frigate *Serapis* convoying a merchant fleet to the Baltic, and in a terrific battle, with the ships lashed to each other, off Flamborough Head (September, 1779), compelled the *Serapis* to strike her colors.

head of the bay ready to be ferried down to Yorktown before Clinton knew what he was about. Admiral Graves with a British fleet reached the mouth of Chesapeake Bay to relieve Cornwallis on September 5, but he found De Grasse's squadron already lined up to dispute his entrance, and, after a rather half-hearted attempt to break through the French fleet, he returned to New York. The departure of Graves sealed the doom of Cornwallis. A combined American and French army of 16,000 men under Washington and Rochambeau drew the siege lines closer and closer about Cornwallis until, despairing of help from Clinton, he surrendered his entire army of 7000 men (October 19, 1781).

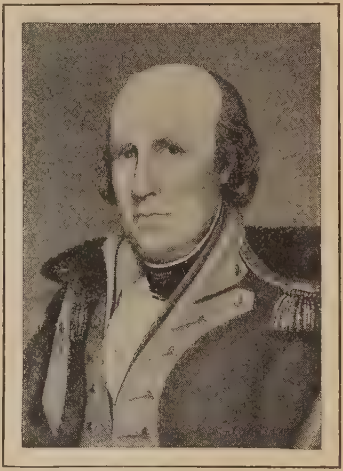


THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR IN THE WEST

140. The War in the West. The surrender of Cornwallis ended the war. Before we turn to the peace negotiations, however, we must notice important events of the war west of the Alleghenies. As a struggle with Great Britain for independence the Revolution was decided by the campaigns along the Atlantic seaboard; but at the same time there was another struggle being waged to determine whether the region between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi should be occupied by the pioneers who were pushing across the mountains in spite of the proclamation line of 1763 [**105**], or should remain in the possession of savage Indian tribes who resisted the advance of the white man at every point. In October, 1774 (while the first Continental Congress was discussing methods of resistance to English taxation), a great victory of the Virginia backwoodsmen over Cornstalk, the Shawnee chieftain, at the mouth of the Kanawha River, had secured the rich lands of the present state of Kentucky against Indian domination. And in November, 1776 (while Washington's dwindling army was fleeing across the state of New Jersey), the decisive repulse of the Cherokees from the Watauga settlements opened to the pioneers the equally rich lands of Tennessee. The settlers in Kentucky and Tennessee numbered only a few hundred at the outbreak of the American Revolution, but they were intensely democratic and patriotic. In May, 1775, delegates from four "stations" in Kentucky "met in a wide field of white clover, under the shade of a monstrous elm," and made wise laws for their infant colony. When a party of campers in the heart of Kentucky heard the news of the first battle of the Revolution, they enthusiastically christened their camp "Lexington." In the Watauga settlement the Tories were drummed out of camp several months before the Declaration of Independence was adopted. Soon after that event Kentucky, though a county of Virginia, petitioned Congress to be received as the fourteenth state of the Union and sent a delegation to Patrick Henry, governor of Virginia, to offer that state the services of "a respectable body of prime riflemen."

141. George Rogers Clark wins the Northwestern Territory. One of these delegates was George Rogers Clark, a young Virginian scarcely past twenty, who had cast in his lot with the

Kentucky settlers on the Ohio. Clark conceived and executed a plan of campaign which entitles him to be called the Washington of the West. Sending spies across the Ohio to the Illinois country, he learned that the Indians and French there were only lukewarm in their allegiance to their new English masters. He therefore determined to seize this huge territory for the patriot cause, and in the autumn of 1777 went to Williamsburg to lay his plans before Governor Patrick Henry. Henry, Jefferson, and other prominent Virginians approved Clark's bold scheme, but the utmost that the state could do for him was to authorize him to raise three hundred and fifty men and advance him $1200 in depreciated currency. It was a poor start for conquering a region as large as New England, New York, and Pennsylvania combined, but Clark belonged to the men of genius who persist in accomplishing tasks which men of judgment pronounce impossible. He surprised the posts at Kaskaskia and Cahokia and, by intrepid assurance and skillful diplomacy, induced the French and Indians of the Mississippi Valley to transfer their allegiance from the British Empire to the new American republic. When he learned that Colonel Hamilton, the British commander at Detroit, had seized the fort of Vincennes on the Wabash, he immediately marched his men in midwinter over two hundred miles across the "drowned lands" of the Wabash, sometimes wading through icy water up to their chins, sometimes shivering supperless on some bleak knoll, but always courageous and confident, until he appeared before the post of Vincennes and summoned the wonderstricken Hamilton to an immediate and unconditional surrender (February, 1779). The capture of Vincennes was the deathblow of the British power north of the Ohio.



GEORGE ROGERS CLARK

142. England abandons the Struggle. When Lord North heard the news of Yorktown he threw up his hands and exclaimed (perhaps in relief), "My God! it is all over." But George III did not believe that the war was lost, nor did Washington think it was yet won. The former spoke with courageous obstinacy of finding the way for carrying on "when men are a little recovered from the shock of the bad news"; and the latter was laying his plans for an attack on New York or Charleston with the coöperation of the French fleet. However, the king's support was steadily waning in Parliament. The war against the European coalition was increasing the public debt at a frightful rate. French, Spanish, and Dutch ports were closed to British commerce. Early in 1782 King George, in spite of his threats to resign the crown and retire to his ancestral duchy of Hanover unless the war was continued, was forced to give in. Lord North resigned in March and the Whigs came into power again: Rockingham, Fox, and Lord Shelburne. These men from the beginning had been opponents of the measures of king and Parliament which had driven the American colonies into war, and their advent to power meant immediate negotiation for peace. In April, 1782, Shelburne's agent, Richard Oswald, was in Paris to consult with Benjamin Franklin on terms.

143. The Peace Treaty of 1783. Though our commissioners at Paris (Franklin, Jay, and John Adams) were instructed by Congress not to make peace without the consent of our ally France [**133**], they nevertheless signed a preliminary treaty with England alone (November 30, 1782). They took this step because England was ready now to concede the very object for which the Franco-American alliance of 1778 had been made, namely, the independence of the United States; and because we could not be reasonably expected to continue war with England in order that France might help her ally Spain to regain possession of Jamaica or Gibraltar [**134**]. It took all the tact and suavity of Benjamin Franklin to reconcile the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Vergennes, to the American negotiations with England; but once having given way, Vergennes readily agreed to the final peace, signed at Paris, September 3, 1783. By its terms England acknowledged the independence of the United States, with the Mississippi (and not the Alleghenies, as France and Spain preferred) as our western boundary. The Mississippi was to be open to the shipping of both nations, and the Americans were to share in the Newfoundland fisheries. The British demanded that Congress should restore the confiscated estates of the Loyalists and guarantee the payment of debts owed by American to British merchants. But all that our commissioners would promise was that Congress would "recommend" to the states that they restore the confiscated property, and would not hinder the British creditors from collecting their debts through the courts.

144. Contributions of Foreigners to the Patriot Cause. Besides Frenchmen like Lafayette and Rochambeau, distinguished soldiers from other parts of Europe gave valuable assistance to the Americans. The great Polish patriot Thaddeus Kosciusko came to "fight as a volunteer for American independence." Made a colonel of engineers in 1776, he planned the defenses at Saratoga and West Point [**137**]. He served under General Greene in the South and was brevetted brigadier general and granted a pension by Congress in October, 1783. Another Polish patriot, Count Pulaski, arrived in America in the spring of 1777 to join Washington's staff as a brigadier. He commanded the cavalry at the assault on Savannah (October 9, 1779), where he was mortally wounded. The Bavarian Baron de Kalb, who had come over with Lafayette in June, 1777, and had shared the hardships of Valley Forge with the American army [**135**], also gave his life for the cause. Commanding a division under Gates at Camden, August 19, 1780, General de Kalb fell pierced with eleven wounds. In 1778 came the Prussian Von Steuben, former aide to Frederick the Great, to serve as a volunteer in the "defense of liberty." He drilled the army at Valley Forge, became inspector general and major general, fought bravely at Yorktown, and retired to his farm near Utica, New York, to end his days peacefully a dozen years after the war was over.

145. The Retirement of Washington. On April 19, 1783, the eighth anniversary of the battle of Lexington, Washington read to his troops the proclamation of Congress ordering the cessation of hostilities and persuaded men and officers to go to their homes "without a farthing in their pockets," confident in the power and good will of the government to reward them according to their deserts. The definitive treaty of peace was signed September 3, 1783. A few weeks later General Carleton sailed down the harbor of New York with the garrison which had occupied the city for seven years. Washington took an affectionate farewell of his officers at Fraunces' Tavern, and embarked at the Battery for the Jersey shore. He stopped at Annapolis, Maryland, where in a simple speech to the score or so of members of Congress there assembled, he laid down the command which he had borne with such skill and patience through eight years of trial. Then he returned to his beloved acres at Mount Vernon. "I have retired from all public employment," he wrote to his friend Lafayette, "and shall tread the paths of private life with heart-felt satisfaction. . . . I shall move gently down the stream of life until I sleep with my fathers."

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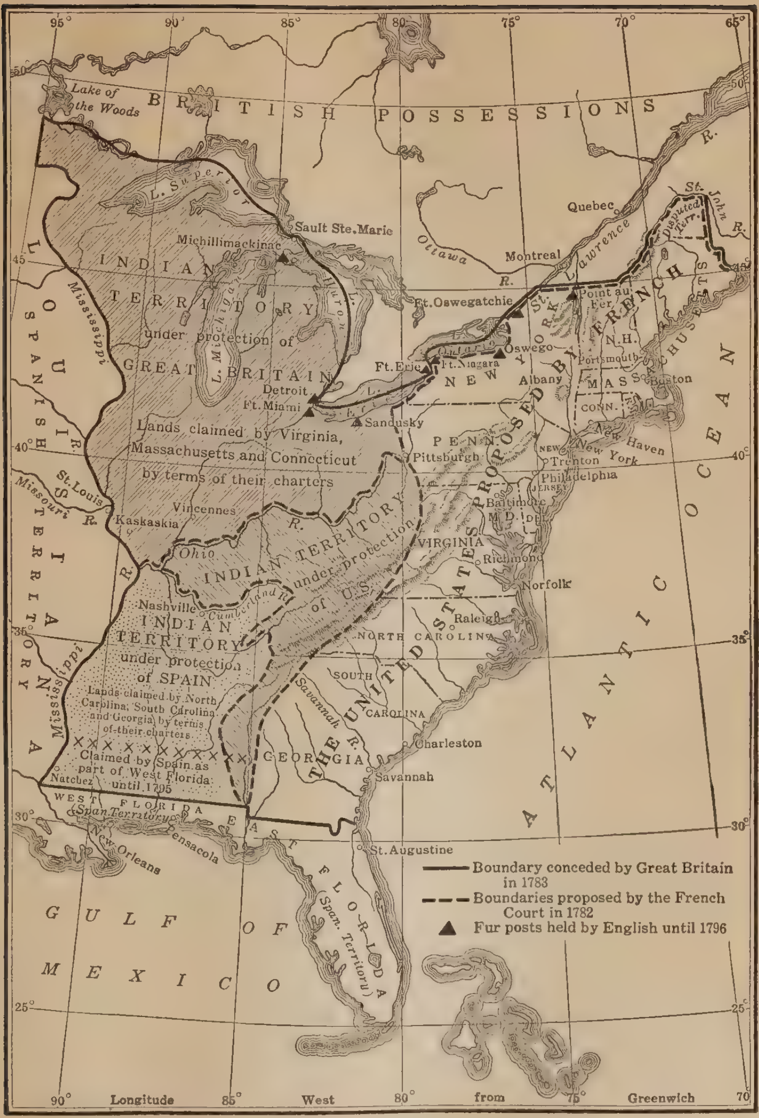
Topics for Special Reports

1. **Thomas Paine's Contribution to American Independence:** Muzzey, *Readings*, pp. 138–141; G. O. Trevelyan, *The American Revolution*, Vol. II, pp. 147–155; Tyler, Vol. I, pp. 452–474; Hart, Vol. II, Nos. 159, 186.



THE UNITED STATES BY THE TREATY OF 1783

2. **French Aid in the Revolution:** Old South Leaflets, No. 97 (Lafayette); J. JUSSERAND, *With Americans of Past and Present Days*, chap. i (Rochambeau); HART, Vol. II, No. 216 (Vergennes); MUZZEY, pp. 141–148; C. H. VAN TYNE, *Influences which determined the French Government to make a Treaty with America in 1778* (*American Historical Review*, Vol. XXI, pp. 528 f.).

3. **The Tories:** TYLER, Vol. I, pp. 293–383; MUZZEY, pp. 153–159; L. SABINE, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists in the American Revolution*; HART, Vol. II, Nos. 138, 156, 166–169; M. C. TYLER, *The Party of the Loyalists in the American Revolution* (*American Historical Review*, Vol. I, pp. 24 f.).

4. **The Exploit of George Rogers Clark:** ROOSEVELT, Vol. II, pp. 1–90; F. J. TURNER, *George Rogers Clark and the Kaskaskia Campaign* (*American Historical Review*, Vol. III, pp. 491 f., 506 f.); R. G. THWAITES, *How George Rogers Clark won the Northwest*; HART, Vol. II, No. 201; MUZZEY, pp. 148–153; MAURICE THOMPSON, *Alice of Old Vincennes*.

5. **Washington's Trials with the Army and Congress:** JOHN FISKE, *The American Revolution*, Vol. II, pp. 24–46, 62–72; *The Critical Period of American History*, pp. 101–119; HART, Vol. II, Nos. 174, 195, 198, 206; W. M. SLOANE, *The French War and the Revolution* pp. 370–378; VAN TYNE, *The American Revolution*, pp. 236–247; Old South Leaflets, No. 47.

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. What did John Adams mean by saying that the causes of the Revolution reached back two hundred years? **2.** How was the position of the British king altered between 1660 and 1760? **3.** Why did Parliament tax the Americans? **4.** Define the terms "natural rights," "constitutional rights," "militia," "Provincial Congress." **5.** Explain the difference between the English and the American idea of representation. **6.** How did the colonists resist the Stamp Act? **7.** Why did Parliament repeal the act? **8.** Why were troops sent to Boston in 1768? **9.** How did the Intolerable Acts of 1774 differ in purpose from Grenville's and Townshend's measures? **10.** Would you defend the destruction of the tea? **11.** Compare the work of the first and the second Continental Congress. **12.** What was Galloway's plan of conciliation? Why was it stricken from the records of the Congress? **13.** Why didn't Canada and the West Indies join in the revolt against Great Britain? **14.** Why did Congress delay so long before declaring independence? **15.** Why did North Carolina claim to have led the movement for independence? **16.** In what sense are all men created equal? **17.** Why does the Declaration of Independence blame George III rather than Parliament? **18.** What forms did opposition to the war take in America? **19.** On what campaigns did the fortune of the war depend? **20.** Why do some authors call the Revolution a civil war? **21.** Describe the exploits of John Paul Jones. **22.** Why was the war west of the Alleghenies important? **23.** What part did De Grasse play in the operations at Yorktown? **24.** Did we treat France badly in negotiating terms with England in 1782? **25.** Give the terms of the Peace of 1783. Why did Vergennes say, "The English buy the peace"?

CHAPTER V

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

THE CRITICAL PERIOD

146. The End of the Colonial Era. With the Revolutionary War the first great epoch of American history came to an end. The English colonies became an independent nation. Royal governors, councilors, judges, customs officers, and commissioners disappeared, and their places were taken by men chosen by the people of the new states. Fortunately, the break with Great Britain had not come before the serious and aggressive French rivals of England in the New World had been subdued. The all-important question now was whether the thirteen states would consent to a government strong enough to preserve order at home, to win the respect of foreign countries, and to hold and organize the new western domain beyond the mountains. We have studied the winning of American Independence. We turn now to a study of the American Union.

147. Social Effects of the War. Social, economic, and political conditions in the states made the adoption of a genuine national government so difficult that at times the leaders of the movement, like Washington, Madison, Hamilton, and Franklin, almost despaired of success. The war had held the states together for the accomplishment of their common purpose to achieve independence; but with that object won, mutual jealousies threatened to dissolve such union as there was and leave thirteen little, independent, quarreling republics in the place of a single American nation. One reason for the unwillingness of many of the people to submit to the authority of a strong government may be found in the social effect of the war itself. Society in the colonial days had preserved a good deal of the English idea of "class." The common man regarded his "betters" with deference. He attended to his humble duties on the farm or in the shop and was not expected to interfere in the concerns of politics. But the war brought to the front these democratic masses. The expulsion of the royal and proprietary governors with their suites of officials, the voluntary or enforced departure of thousands of Loyalists (who were generally men of wealth and social position), the confiscation of the great landed estates in the middle and Southern colonies and their division among hundreds of owners,[1] — all tended to remove the props of aristocracy. Furthermore, the opportunity for profiteering and speculation which a war always affords had created a class of newly rich, and the need for recruits for the army had emphasized the appeal to the poor and humble as brothers in a common war and sharers in the fruits of independence. Did not the immortal Declaration assert that "*all* men are created equal"? And now there were many who, to the dismay of the erstwhile privileged, were demanding what they regarded as a real equality even to the "dividing up" of property. They had fought to be rid of the authority of England and they were not inclined to submit to a new authority in Congress. They saw no reason why they should pay taxes now that the war was over and their independence won. On all sides we hear complaints of the "excess of democracy," which it was feared would result in anarchy.

148. Economic Effects of the War. The war brought confusion in commerce and industry also. The prosperity of the colonies had depended on their commerce. If England had hampered their trade by the Navigation Acts, the colonists, as part of the British Empire, had enjoyed the markets of the Empire and the protection of the British fleet. But the war automatically excluded the Americans from the British commercial system. America hoped, by throwing open its ports to the nations of the world (April, 1776), to find as good customers as the

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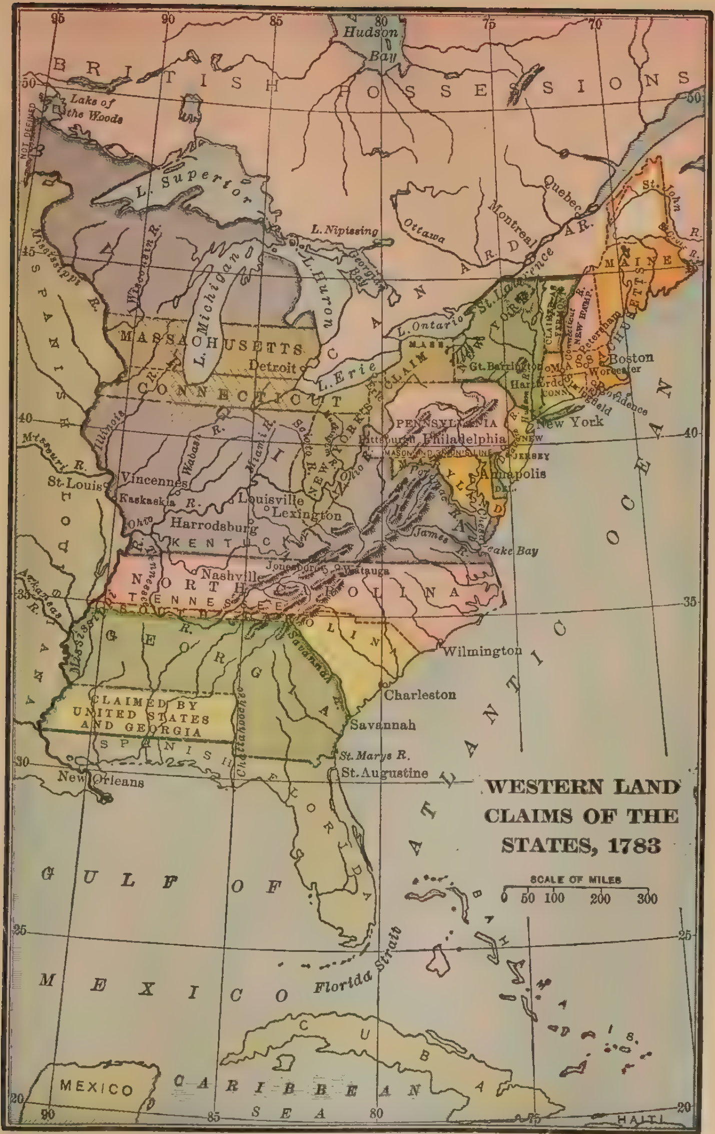
[1] The manors in the colony of New York, for example, comprised 2,500,000 acres in 1769, and five sixths of the inhabitants of Westchester County lived upon them. The Van Rensselaer estate, one hundred miles up the Hudson, was two thirds the size of Rhode Island. In the break-up of these great manors James de Lancey's land was distributed among 275 persons and Roger Morris's among 250. The crown lands in the colonies became the property of the states.

British had been. Franklin, urging the alliance at the court of France, had laid emphasis on the prospect of millions of dollars' worth of American commerce being transferred from British to French creditors. But the French and other continental nations were as firmly attached to the exclusive mercantile system of the eighteenth century as the British were, and as little ready to grant free trade with foreign countries. The interruption of our commerce caused by the war led to the attempt to develop manufactures in the United States, but the results were disappointing. So long as the war continued, the need for cannons, muskets, shoes, blankets, and clothing stimulated a considerable output, but when the war was over it became evident that the manufacturing boom was artificial. Sufficient supplies of capital and labor were as yet lacking to launch the industrial revolution in America. Finally, when peace returned and the British manufactures began to flow into American ports, the impossibility of competing with them in price and quality became evident. If America was to recover her prewar strength it must be by a revival of her commerce. The thousands of men engaged in privateering must get back to the farms or into legitimate trade. Above all, the way must be found to make the American states strong enough to obtain favorable commercial terms with the nations of the world.

149. The Financial Situation. The United States were practically bankrupt at the end of the war. We owed large sums of money to France and Holland, and the arrears of interest on this debt were rolling up year by year. Congress had issued paper money, called "continental currency," to the amount of $200,000,000, but it had rapidly sunk in value until it took $40 in paper to buy a dollar in silver. Washington said that he needed a wagon-load of money to buy a wagon-load of provisions. And a barber papered the walls of his shop with continental currency as a joke. The slang phrase "not worth a continental" remains as a testimony to the worthlessness of our currency in the Revolution. Congress itself repudiated $120,000,000 of this money in 1780. The financial distress was not due to the poverty of the country. Indeed, the later years of the war were marked by great extravagance among the people. The reason why Congress could not command sufficient funds to keep the government going was that it had no power to raise money by taxation or to compel the states to contribute. It could only request the states to pay their quotas. Gouverneur Morris called it a "government by supplication." For instance in the years 1781 to 1783 Congress asked for $10,000,000. By June, 1784, less than $1,500,000 of this had been paid. South Carolina was the only state that paid as much as 25 per cent of the assessment. Delaware, North Carolina, and Georgia paid nothing at all. Congress sought relief from this intolerable situation by asking the states to grant it the right to levy import duties, but Rhode Island and New York refused the consent which had to be unanimous in order to allow Congress to act. Robert Morris, superintendent of the finances, declared that exhorting the states to tax their inhabitants for the support of the Union was like "preaching to the dead."

150. The Political Situation. The inability of Congress to raise enough money to meet the current expenses of the government, to say nothing of paying the interest and principal of the debt, was but one example of its general impotence. When we speak of Congress today we mean a national legislature empowered to make laws for the whole United States. The Congress of 1783 was the continuation of the old Continental Congress, a body of delegates sent to Philadelphia by their states, recallable by the states at their pleasure, and responsible to the states. Until a few months before the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown this Congress was without legal authority or any written constitution defining its power. Its members, to be sure, acting on instructions from their states, assumed very important functions of government. They raised an army, declared the independence of the colonies, borrowed money abroad, and concluded treaties of commerce and alliance, but the Congress could assume these vast powers only because the pressure of war united the colonies and made a central directing body an immediate necessity. For the union to endure after the pressure of war was over, a regular national government had to be established.



WESTERN LAND CLAIMS OF THE STATES, 1783

151. The Articles of Confederation. About a year before the colonies declared their independence Benjamin Franklin, a lifelong advocate of colonial union, had submitted to Congress a draft of "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union" (July 21, 1775). But too many of the members of Congress still hoped for a peaceful settlement with England to make this plan acceptable. When independence was declared, however, the necessity of forming a government became obvious. A committee of thirteen, with John Dickinson of Pennsylvania as chairman, prepared Articles of Confederation, which were approved by Congress in November, 1777. But more than three years elapsed before the last of the states, Maryland, assented to the Articles and so made them the law of the land (March 1, 1781).

152. The Cession of Western Lands by the States. The delay of Maryland in accepting the Articles of Confederation was due to an important cause and resulted in a great benefit to the nation. The states of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia claimed land between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi by virtue of their old colonial charters, which gave them indefinite westward extension. Virginia's claim, which overlapped that of both Massachusetts and Connecticut, was strengthened by the fact that George Rogers Clark had actually conquered the vast territory north of the Ohio under commission from the governor of Virginia. The states whose western boundaries were fixed by their charters were at a disadvantage, since they had no Western lands with which to reward their veterans of the Revolution. Maryland, therefore, insisted that the states with Western claims should surrender them to the United States. Virginia, with noble generosity, gave up her claims to the whole region north of the Ohio, in 1784. Massachusetts, Connecticut, and the Carolinas soon followed suit, although Georgia, partly on account of complications with Spain, maintained her claims as far west as the Mississippi until 1802. By these cessions the United States acquired an immense national domain, the sale of which could be applied to the payment of the Revolutionary War debt and from whose territory new states could be formed. It was the beginning of a truly national power, and honor is due to the state of Maryland for insisting on this fair and wise policy.

153. Criticism of the Articles of Confederation. The Articles of Confederation, though announcing a "perpetual union" and a "firm league of friendship" of the thirteen states, remained in force only eight years and failed utterly to bring strength or harmony into the Union. They had some merits, to be sure. They were the first definite formulation of a national government in black on white, and the powers which they gave to Congress, had they only included the control of commerce and taxation, would have been ample to run the government. But the defects of the Articles may be summed up in a single clause: they failed to give the Congress of the United States enough authority to carry out the powers granted to it. At the very outset they declared that "each state retained its sovereignty, freedom, and independence," and all through them the unwillingness to force the states to part with any of their power is evident. For example, Congress pledged the faith of the United States to pay the war debt, yet it had neither the power to demand, nor the machinery to collect, a single penny from any citizen or state of the Union. It had no executive power, no national courts of justice in which to try offenders against its laws, no control of commerce, no machinery of taxation, no check on the indiscriminate issue by the states of money of differing values, no efficient army or navy.

154. Our Government despised by the European Powers. It is no wonder that so weak a government failed to inspire respect abroad or obedience at home. England sent no minister to the United States until 1792. King George, to be sure, received our minister, John Adams, graciously, but when Adams attempted to make more favorable commercial agreements with the foreign minister he was sarcastically asked whether England was expected to make thirteen treaties or one. Some of the states closed their ports to British commerce and others kept them open. The British, having no fear of a united policy of retaliation, refused to admit the Americans to the trade with the West Indies. Thomas Jefferson, our minister at Paris, laboring to get our whale oil and tobacco admitted to the French ports, was frankly told that it was impossible for France to recognize the Congress of the United States as a government and wrote home in despair, "We are the lowest and most obscure of the whole diplomatic tribe." The thrifty Dutch merchants were on tenterhooks for fear that the interest on their loans to the new republic would not be paid, and John Adams had to hasten from London to Amsterdam to raise funds at ruinous rates of interest to save the United States from bankruptcy. Even the Mediterranean pirates of the Barbary States seized our vessels and went unpunished because we had no navy to protect the lives and property of our citizens.

155. The Critical Situation in the West. It was with the neighbors of our territory west of the Alleghenies, the English on the north and the Spanish on the south, that the chief difficulties arose. England, on the plea that Congress had not fulfilled the clauses of the treaty of 1783 regarding the settlement of debts owed to British merchants, refused to evacuate a number of valuable fur-trading posts extending from the head of Lake Champlain to the head of Lake Michigan, all within the boundaries of the United States according to the treaty (see map, p. 149). Moreover, the British commanders at these posts encouraged the Indians of the Northwest to resist the advance of the Americans into the territory, telling them that the settlers would drive them from their lands and ruin their trade in furs. The object was to hold the Northwest Territory and keep the fur trade, valued at $1,500,000 a year, from being diverted from Montreal to Albany. As the Americans, deterred partly by the menacing attitude of the British, made no serious attempt to settle the lands north of the Ohio until near the close of the decade of the 1780's, acute trouble in this region was postponed for a while; but south of the Ohio the situation was extremely critical from the very close of the war.

156. The Controversy with Spain. Long before the Revolution, pioneers from the upland regions of the colonies had been crossing the mountains and descending the "western waters" into the rich lands of Kentucky and Tennessee [**140**]. The movement continued during the war, and by 1783 there were over 25,000 settlers in the region south of the Ohio, increasing to over 100,000 before the close of the decade. The settlements had already passed the pioneer stage. Farms and homesteads had succeeded the hunters' camps and cabins. The mountains shut off the Western settlers from commerce with the Atlantic coast, and the only outlet they had for their produce was the Mississippi River. By the treaty of 1783 the Mississippi was to be opened to American navigation. But Spain (to whom Florida had been restored by England in 1782 [**101, 105**]) held control of both banks of the Mississippi for about two hundred miles above its mouth, and, being hostile to the expansion of the United States, wanted to keep the trade of the river in her own hands. Furthermore, she was incensed on learning of a secret clause in the treaty of 1783 by which the northern boundary of Florida was to be fixed at 32°30′ instead of 31° north latitude in case England should retain the province (see map, p. 149). The Spanish authorities at New Orleans, therefore, closed the river to the American trade, but at the same time gave the right of navigation to certain influential Americans in the West, and even took some of them into her pay to tempt them to work for the separation of the Western territory from the United States. The merchants of the Atlantic seaboard, jealous of the growth of the West, were willing to surrender the navigation of the Mississippi in return for commercial privileges in the ports of Spain; and the Spanish agent at Philadelphia, Gardoqui, negotiated a treaty with John Jay in 1785, embodying these terms. The Jay-Gardoqui Treaty was defeated in Congress. Nevertheless, the situation in the Southwest was very dangerous, especially as the Spaniards were inciting the Creek and Seminole Indians against the American settlers, one of whom wrote to Jay that the settlers west of the mountains were ready to raise twenty thousand troops to drive the Spaniards from the mouth of the Mississippi, and that if this was "not countenanced in the East" they would "throw off their allegiance and look elsewhere for help." Washington thought that the West stood "upon a pivot: the touch of a feather will turn them any way."

157. The Threat of Anarchy. Meantime, it looked as though the Confederation would be dissolved by the mutual jealousies of its members. The Articles asserted that the states entered into "a firm league of friendship" and that every state should "abide by the determination of the United States in Congress assembled." But the states refused to make concessions for the general welfare for fear a neighboring state would profit thereby. They quarreled with each other over boundaries, currency, and commerce. The farmers of New York and New Hampshire fought over their conflicting claims to Vermont. The Pennsylvanians allowed the Indians to scalp the Connecticut "invaders" who came into the Wyoming valley to settle on land included in the Connecticut charter. Tariff wars among the states were frequent. Maryland and Virginia clashed over the navigation of the Potomac. New York levied duties on firewood brought from Connecticut and farm products from New Jersey. The latter state, with no harbors of its own and lying between the great ports of New York and Philadelphia, was likened to "a cask tapped at both ends." The propertyless in all the states resented being excluded from voting and holding office. In Rhode Island the radicals passed laws making the acceptance of paper money obligatory on creditors. In Massachusetts, where the conservatives held control of the legislature, the radical farmers and debtors of the western counties started an armed rebellion in 1786 under Captain Daniel Shays, an old captain of the Revolution. With a force of 1500 men Shays bade defiance to the sheriffs and constables to execute the orders of the courts for the seizure of debtors. He closed the courts at Worcester and attacked the United States Arsenal at Springfield. Governor Bowdoin sent a force of 4000 militia under General Lincoln, who met Shays's men in a pitched battle at Petersham and dispersed them. Some of the leaders were caught and condemned to death. But they were eventually pardoned. Congress had made no effort to suppress Shays's Rebellion in Massachusetts or to quell similar disorders in other states. Every year it became more evident that the authority of Congress under the Articles of Confederation was sadly inadequate to command the obedience of the states and to insure the "perpetual" character of the Union.

158. The Northwest Ordinance. Congress, however, passed some constructive measures under the Confederation. The Land Ordinance of 1785 provided a scheme for the survey and sale of the land ceded to Congress by the states. Townships six miles square were laid out in parallel ranges running north and south, and each township was divided into thirty-six sections a mile square, to be sold at a minimum price of a dollar an acre or $640 a section. One section in each township was reserved for the support of schools. The most important of the acts of Congress under the Confederation was the Ordinance passed July 13, 1787, for the government of the territory north of the Ohio River. Following in general a plan proposed three years earlier by Thomas Jefferson, Congress placed the new territory under a governor and three judges. When the number of the male inhabitants should reach 5000 the territory was to elect a legislature, which, with the governor's council, could "make laws in all cases for the good government of the district," subject to the veto of the governor. The legislature also was to elect a delegate to Congress, who should have the right to debate but not to vote. Six supplementary "Articles of Compact" between the original states and the people of the territory provided for religious freedom, full protection of liberty and property, encouragement of education, fair treatment of the Indians, and the exclusion of slavery. The territory was to be divided into not less than three nor more than five states, and whenever the inhabitants of any of these prospective states reached 60,000 the state was to be admitted to the Union "on an equal footing" with the original thirteen. The great significance of the Northwest Ordinance was that it set the precedent for treating the territories of the United States not as colonies to be held in subjection by the central government but as regions being made ready for full statehood. As our Western domain was extended in the nineteenth century from the Mississippi to the Pacific by purchase, treaty, and conquest, all of it (with the exception of Texas and California) went through the form of territorial government based on the Ordinance of 1787, until the present union of forty-eight equal states was completed by the admission of New Mexico and Arizona in 1912. A year after the Ordinance was passed a new Ohio company, having purchased a million and a half acres of land from Congress, founded the first settlement of the Northwestern Territory at Marietta, Ohio.

159. The Decline of Congress. As the weakness of Congress became more evident its dignity declined. The foremost statesmen preferred to serve their own states rather than to sit in a national assembly without power. Each state was entitled to seven representatives in Congress by the terms of the Articles, making a house of ninety-one members. But there were seldom more than a quarter of that number in attendance. Some states went unrepresented for months at a time. Only twenty members were in session at Annapolis to receive George Washington and to express to him the country's gratitude for his invaluable services on the most solemn occasion of his surrender of the command of the American army in December, 1783. Only twenty-three assembled the next month to ratify the treaty of peace with England. Finally, the attendance dwindled away to a few scattering representatives, until from October, 1788, to April, 1789, not enough members assembled to make a quorum, and there was absolutely no United States government.

THE CONSTITUTION

160. Proposals for a Stronger Government. The inadequacy of the Articles of Confederation was recognized from the beginning by some of the wisest of our statesmen. Even six months before they went into effect Alexander Hamilton, then a young man of twenty-three, wrote to a member of Congress in New York, outlining a plan of government giving Congress "complete sovereignty in all that relates to war, peace, trade, and finance." He thought that a convention of all the states should be called together immediately with full authority to conclude a "solid confederation." As the disorder grew through the years of the critical period many other voices were added to Hamilton's. Pages could be filled, for example, with quotations from Washington's letters from 1781 on, urging reform. In 1784 he wrote, "I predict the worst consequences for a half-starved limping government, always moving on crutches and tottering at every step." And again, two years later, "I do not conceive that we can exist long as a nation without having lodged somewhere a power which will pervade the whole union in as energetic a manner as the authority of the state governments extends over the several states."

161. Steps leading to a General Convention. It was an economic question that started the movement for a "more perfect union" of the states. Maryland and Virginia had a controversy over the navigation of the Potomac, and in 1785 commissioners from these states met at Mount Vernon, at Washington's invitation, to settle the matter. In the course of the discussion it developed that the commercial interests of Pennsylvania and Delaware also were concerned, and it was suggested that all the states be invited to send delegates to Annapolis, Maryland, the next year to consider the commercial interests of the United States as a whole. But no sooner had the convention met at Annapolis than it took a further important step. The New Jersey delegates had brought instructions to discuss the commercial question *and other important matters*. Alexander Hamilton, impressed by this phrase, proposed that still another convention of the states be called at Philadelphia in the following May, "to consider the situation of the United States and devise such further provisions as should appear necessary to render the constitution of the Federal Government adequate to the exigencies of the Union." Six states had already appointed delegates when Congress acknowledged the failure of the present government by issuing a call (February 21, 1787) to all the states to send delegates to a convention at Philadelphia "on the second Monday of May next . . . for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation."

162. The Constitutional Convention. The legislatures of all the states except Rhode Island responded to the call. Fifty-five delegates participated at one time or another in the Constitutional Convention, although the average number of members present was about thirty. It was a small gathering, but it comprised the best talents of the country. "America has certainly upon this occasion drawn forth her first characters," wrote George Mason to his son; and Thomas Jefferson called the Convention "an assembly of demigods." George Washington, who had been persuaded by Madison to become a delegate, was unanimously elected president of the Convention. Other distinguished men in the Virginia delegation were Madison himself, Governor Edmund Randolph, and George Mason. Pennsylvania sent Benjamin Franklin, James Wilson, and Robert and Gouverneur Morris. Roger Sherman and Oliver Ellsworth came from Connecticut; Elbridge Gerry and Rufus King from Massachusetts; John Rutledge, General C. C. Pinckney, and Charles Pinckney from South Carolina; John Dickinson from Delaware; Alexander Hamilton from New York. The conspicuous absentees were John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, who were ministers at London and Paris respectively; John Jay, who was in the Congress at New York serving as foreign secretary of the United States; and Patrick Henry and Samuel Adams, the most radical figures of the revolutionary era, who were both opposed to strengthening the central government. The sessions of the Convention, which lasted from May 25 to September 17, were secret; but the methodical Madison took full notes of the debate, writing them out carefully every evening in the form of a journal. When he died fifty years later (the last survivor of the Convention) his widow sold the manuscript of this valuable journal to Congress for $30,000, and it was published at Washington in 1840.

163. The Virginia and New Jersey Plans. Instead of following the instructions of Congress to confine itself solely to "amending" the Articles of Confederation, the Convention proceeded to frame a new Constitution. Four days after the assembly was organized Governor Randolph of Virginia presented fifteen resolutions (called the "Virginia Plan") providing for the entire remodeling of the government. There were to be three independent departments, — the legislative, the executive, and the judicial. The legislature was to consist of a House of Representatives elected by the people and a Senate elected by the House. The executive was to be chosen by the legislature, and the judges, also chosen by the legislature, were to hold office during good behavior. The government, therefore, was to be *national*, deriving its power directly from the people of the nation at large, rather than a *confederation*, depending for its existence on the will of the various state legislatures. The small states, fearing that they would lose their individuality in a national legislature elected in proportion to the population, supported a counter plan introduced by William Paterson of New Jersey. The New Jersey plan approved the creation of executive and judicial departments and the delegation to Congress of the control of commerce and the power to raise taxes. It even allowed the central government to coerce any disobedient state or person, but it clung tenaciously to the federal as opposed to the national form of government. The representatives in Congress were still to represent the *states* and not the people as a *nation* and each state, large or small, was to have an equal number of delegates.

164. The Extremists. There were extremists on both sides. Some delegates, interpreting literally their instructions to "amend" the Articles, left the Convention and went home when they saw that it was the intention of the members to write a new Constitution. On the other hand, Alexander Hamilton advocated a government in which the chief executive and the senators should hold office for life (like the English king and lords) and in which the executive should have the power not only of vetoing state laws, as suggested in the Virginia plan, but also of appointing and removing the governors of the states, thus reducing the states to mere administrative departments like the shires in England or the departments in France.

165. The "Great Compromise." In the struggle between the Virginia and the New Jersey plan the Convention threatened to go to pieces, one party declaring that they would not support a government in which the will of a large majority of the people of the United States could be thwarted by the selfish action of one or two small states, as it had been under the Articles of Confederation; the other party declaring with equal fervor that they would never consent to a government in which their states should be swallowed up in a national power. Luther Martin of Maryland reported in June that the Convention was on the verge of dissolution, "scarce held together by the strength of a hair," and Washington wrote to Hamilton on July 10: "I almost despair of seeing a favorable issue and do therefore repent having had any agency in the business. The men who oppose a strong and energetic government are in my opinion narrow-minded politicians . . . The crisis is equally important and alarming." Finally, by the vote of five states to four, the Convention arrived at the "great compromise," by which the states were to be equally represented in the Senate (two members each), while representation in the House was to be proportioned according to population. Furthermore, the House, as the popular representative body, was to have the exclusive right to initiate bills for raising revenue by taxation.

166. Further Compromises in the Constitution. When the great question of the general character of our government was settled by this first compromise, the other points of difference, most of which concerned the conflicting interests of the North and the South, were more easily adjusted. The Southern states demanded that their slaves (though they were not citizens) should be counted as population in the apportionment of representatives in Congress, that Congress should not interfere with the slave trade, and that a two-thirds vote of the House of Representatives should be necessary for passing tariff laws. Compromises were arrived at on all these questions. Three fifths of the slaves were to be included in making up the apportionment for Congress, so that a state with 100,000 white inhabitants and 50,000 slaves would be reckoned as having a population of 130,000. Congress was not to disturb the slave trade for twenty years, though it might levy a tax not exceeding ten dollars a head on slaves imported into the states. Finally, tariff laws were to be passed by a simple majority vote in the House, but no duties were to be levied on exports.

167. Opposition to the Constitution. Opposition to the new Constitution was immediate and widespread. The framers, said the critics, were representatives of the property classes alone[1] and had deliberated like an aristocratic assembly behind closed doors. They had exceeded their powers by framing a new Constitution instead of amending the Articles. Men who had been in the forefront of the struggle with Great Britain opposed the new Constitution because they believed that it threatened our hard-earned liberty by the powers which it granted to the president, the Senate, and the federal courts. Benjamin Harrison, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, condemned the "unlimited powers of taxation granted to Congress" and believed that the states south of the Potomac would be "little more than appendages" to the Northern states if Congress had complete control of commercial regulations. Scrupulous democrats demanded a bill of rights guaranteeing freedom of speech and press, religious liberty, the right of petition, and trial by jury.

168. The Ratification of the Constitution. In the face of this varied and determined opposition from all parts of the country, the campaign for ratification was waged in conventions called by the legislatures of the states. Submitted to a general popular vote, the Constitution would have been defeated. Its supporters, the propertied classes, were far outnumbered by the disfranchised farmers and industrial workers, who had had no share in choosing the members of the ratifying conventions. The defense of the Constitution fell chiefly on the shoulders of a few men who had been members of the Constitutional Convention. Washington was a potent influence in Virginia, along with Madison and John Marshall, in overcoming the opposition of Governor Randolph, George Mason, Patrick Henry, and R. H. Lee. Some of the states (Delaware, New Jersey, Georgia) ratified the Constitution unanimously, but in others (Massachusetts, Virginia, Pennsylvania, New York) there was a severe struggle. A change of 10 votes in the Massachusetts convention of 355 members, of 6 votes in the Virginia convention of 168 members, or of 2 votes in the New York convention of 57, would have defeated the Constitution in these states. The narrow victory in New York was won only through the tireless labor of Alexander Hamilton. He made the campaign one of political education through the publication (with the help of Madison and Jay) of a most remarkable set of essays, "The Federalist," explaining the nature of the new Constitution. By the end of June, 1788, nine states had ratified and the Constitution went into effect for those states.[1] When ratification was finally assured, the American people seemed to forget their differences and went wild with joy. Dinners, processions, illuminations, jollifications of every sort, followed each other in bewildering succession. Allegory was called to the aid of sober history. "The sloop *Anarchy*," declared one journal, "has gone ashore on the Union rock." Another said: "The old scow *Confederacy*, Imbecility master, has gone off to sea." "Federal punch" was a favorite brew in the taverns; "federal hats" were advertised in the shops; and "federal tobacco mixture" was smoked in patriot pipes.

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[1] This criticism was justified. The delegates to the Convention had been chosen by the legislatures, which represented the conservative elements in the states. For example, there was not a farmer, laborer, artisan, or tradesman in the Convention. The eight Pennsylvania delegates were all chosen from the city of Philadelphia.

169. The Constitution a Wonderful Achievement. By the adoption of the Constitution our country passed, without civil revolution or a military dictatorship, from weakness to strength, from anarchy to order, from death to life. On the completion of the Constitution William Pitt, the great prime minister of England, said, "It will be the pattern for all future constitutions and the admiration of all future ages." The Constitution has indeed served as model for the organization of republican governments on both sides of the Atlantic, and it is today the oldest written frame of government existing in the world. Count Alexis de Tocqueville, our distinguished French visitor in

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[1] New Hampshire was the ninth state to ratify (June 21, 1788). But had not Virginia and New York soon afterward come under the "federal roof" the new union could have hardly endured. North Carolina did not ratify until November, 1789, after Washington had been president for six months, and Rhode Island refused to come into the Union until the spring of 1790. John Adams hardly exaggerated the case when he said that "the Constitution was extorted from a reluctant people by grinding necessity."

1833, and one of the keenest observers of our democratic institutions, wrote of the achievement of the Constitution: "It is new in the history of society to see a great people turn a calm and scrutinizing eye upon itself when apprised that the wheels of its government are stopped; to see it carefully examine the extent of the evil and patiently wait two whole years until a remedy is discovered, to which it voluntarily submits without its costing a tear or a drop of blood from mankind."

THE FEDERAL POWER[1]

170. The Nation and the States. The main problem of the framers of the Constitution was to secure the supremacy of the new federal government throughout the Union without destroying or absorbing the state governments. Instead of interfering directly with the officers or laws of the states, the Convention devised the happy plan of enlisting the state authorities themselves in the support of the national government. The members of the state legislatures and all the executives and judicial officers of the state were bound by an oath to support the Constitution of the United States (Art. VI, par. 3); and the state courts were pledged to recognize the Constitution and the laws and treaties made under it as "the supreme law of the land . . . anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding" (Art. VI, par. 2). No defiance was hurled at the states and no threat of military punishment was held over them. Yet the citizens of every state were brought under the authority of the United States by the extension of the laws of Congress and the power of the federal courts throughout the land.

171. The Legislative Department (Congress). The legislative department of our government is described in Article I of the Constitution, where the qualifications, length of term, method of election, duties and powers of the members of the House of Representatives and the Senate are set down. The present House contains 435 members, one for about every

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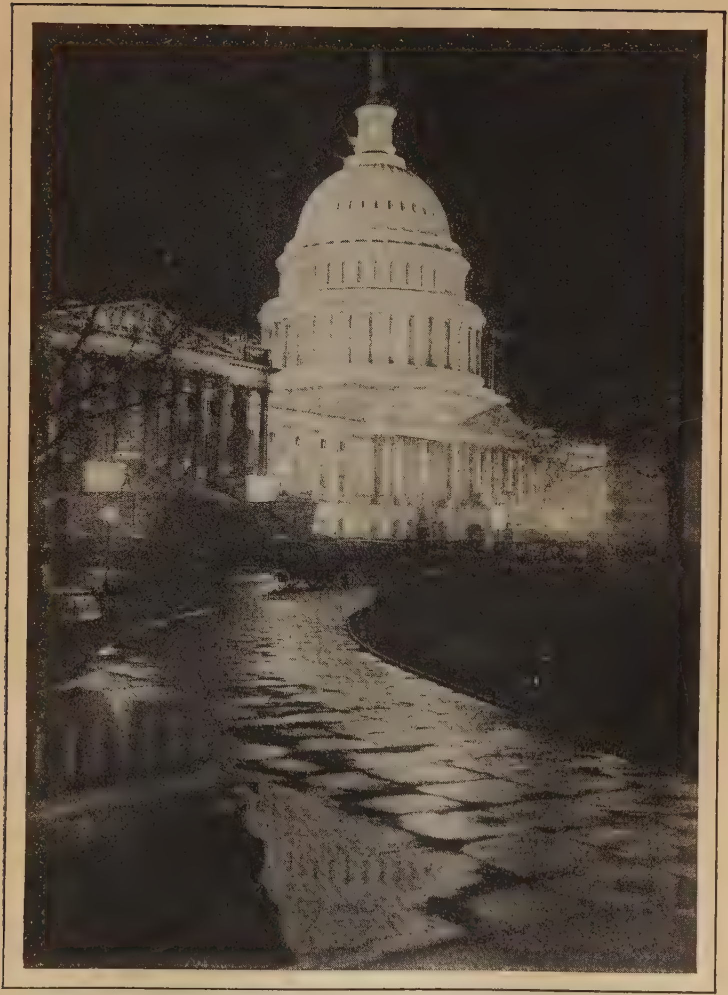
[1] The text of the Constitution of the United States (Appendix II) should be carefully studied in connection with this section.



THE CAPITOL

THE WHITE HOUSE

250,000 of population. If the original ratio of 1 to 30,000 had been kept, the House would now contain over 3500 members. In order to become laws of the United States all bills introduced into Congress have to pass both Houses and receive the president's signature. However, a bill may become a law without the president's signature if he delays his approval for more than ten days, or if both Houses pass the bill over his veto by a two-thirds vote. If Congress passes a law which is not within its authority as granted by the Constitution (Art. I, sect. 8), the Supreme Court of the United States, when appealed to in any case to test that law, has the right and duty to declare the law void. The subjects on which Congress may legislate naturally include all those which concern the dignity and credit of the nation in the eyes of foreign powers, and its peace and security at home, namely: the regulation of commerce with foreign nations and between the states; the declaration of war and the direction of the military and naval forces of the country; the regulation of the currency and coinage; the control of territories and public lands; the care of the Indians, of rivers and harbors, lighthouses, coast survey, and all that pertains to shipping and defense. Moreover, the states are forbidden to exercise certain powers of sovereignty delegated to the national Congress. No state can make alliances, go to war, coin money, lay taxes on the commerce of another state, or make anything but gold and silver legal tender (lawful money) for the payment of debts.

172. The Powers left to the States. However, after deducting the powers delegated to Congress or expressly denied to the states, the latter have an immense field for legislation. Most of the things which especially interest the average citizen are affairs of the state government, namely: the protection of life and property; laws of marriage and inheritance; the chartering and control of business corporations, state banks, insurance and trust companies; the definition and punishment of crimes; the establishment of systems of public education; the creation of city, county, and town governments; and a host of other powers, political, moral, and social. Sometimes the field of jurisdiction between the national and the state power is hard to distinguish, but the decision of the Supreme Court is final in determining both the limits of the federal authority and the interpretation of the Constitution.

173. The President. Under the Confederation the president was merely the presiding officer or moderator of Congress; but under the new Constitution he is the president of the United States, charged with the duty of executing the laws of Congress and given powers greater than those of most crowned monarchs. He is commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States; he conducts our foreign relations; he appoints (with the approval of the Senate) ambassadors, ministers, federal judges, military and naval officers, commissioners, and boards of various sorts; he has a suspensive veto on the acts passed by Congress; he cannot be removed from office except by impeachment by the House and conviction by the Senate on charges of "treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors." More than half a dozen methods for choosing the president were proposed in the Convention: election by popular vote by the Houses of Congress, by governors of the states, by electors chosen by lot, etc. Finally, a complicated method was adopted. In each state a group of "presidential electors," equal in number to the representatives and senators of the state in Congress, were to be chosen in November every four years, in such manner as the legislature of the state prescribed. These groups of electors, or "electoral colleges," were to meet later in the capitals of their state and cast ballots on which they had written two names. If the name of any person appeared on a majority of all the ballots cast, that person was declared president, and the man with the next highest number of votes was vice president. This cumbersome system with only slight modification (Constitution, Amendment XII) is still gone through every four years as an empty form.[1] George Washington was chosen our first president by a unanimous vote of the electors. But before his term was over, two distinct political parties were formed, which selected their candidates for president and vice president first by a caucus of the party leaders in Congress, and after 1831 by great national nominating conventions, which are not mentioned in the Constitution.

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[1] It is an "empty form," because the electors do not exercise their choice in balloting for a president, but simply register their votes in January for the candidate of their party who has been nominated in the national convention of the previous summer. The president is really elected in November, when the electors are elected by the people of each state.

174. The Executive Department. The duty of putting into effect the laws of Congress is intrusted to the executive department of our government. Theoretically, the whole of this immense task falls on the president alone, who "shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed." Actually, no one man could do a hundredth part of the work of executing the hundreds of laws which Congress passes every session. To collect the duties and excises which Congress lays; to coin the money which it authorizes; to print and sell the bonds it issues; to command the armies it raises; to build and man the warships it votes; to appoint judges for the courts it erects; to handle the business of the post office; to carry into effect its agreements, political and economic, with the nations of the world; to govern its territories and dependencies in America, the West Indies, and the Pacific — all this calls for the labors of tens of thousands of secretaries, undersecretaries, and clerks in the various executive departments at Washington, and a host of federal officials in our seaports, our dockyards, our forts and arsenals, our islands and territories, and the capitals and chief commercial centers of foreign countries. Ten great executive departments have been created by Congress to perform these varied duties.[1] Every president, on coming into office, chooses the heads of these departments, and these ten secretaries form the president's "official family," or cabinet. They are lieutenants of the president only, responsible to him alone. Cabinet officers are not members of Congress (as ministers in Europe are), nor have they access to the floor of Congress.

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[1] At the inauguration of the federal government there were but four departments; namely, State (Foreign Affairs), Treasury, War, and the Post Office. The following departments have been added as the business of government required them: Navy (1798), Interior (1849), Justice [the Attorney-General's department] (1870), Agriculture (1889), Commerce and Labor (1903), the latter made into two separate departments (1913). The Attorney-General, or legal adviser of the president and prosecutor of suits brought by the United States, was a member of the president's cabinet from the inauguration of the government. On the other hand, though the Post-Office Department was organized in the colonial days, its head (the Postmaster-General) was not made a member of the cabinet until 1829.

175. The Judicial Department. The judicial department of our government is the hardest to understand, because of the variety of courts and the double jurisdiction of national and state tribunals. Every citizen of the United States lives under two systems of law, national and state. For violation of national laws (the laws of Congress) he is tried in the federal (or national) courts; for violation of state laws he is tried in the state courts. The highest court in our judicial system is the United States Supreme Court, sitting at Washington, composed of a chief justice and eight associate justices, all appointed for life by the president, with the consent of the Senate, and removable only by the process of impeachment. This most dignified body in our government is invested with enormous power. Its decision is final in all cases brought to its jurisdiction from state or federal courts throughout the land.[1] It is the official interpreter and guardian of the Constitution. It has sole jurisdiction in cases affecting foreign ambassadors or ministers, and in cases between two states or between a state and the United States. But any case *involving the interpretation of a clause of the Constitution* may be appealed from the lower courts to its jurisdiction.

176. The "Unwritten Laws" of the Constitution. There are many important features in the actual conduct of the government of the United States which are not mentioned in the Constitution at all. The national nominating conventions and the power of the Supreme Court to declare laws unconstitutional are examples that we have already noticed. Other customs which amount almost to "unwritten laws" of the Constitution are (1) the limitation of the president's office to two terms, an example set by Washington and never yet departed from; (2) "senatorial courtesy," which expects the president to follow the recommendation of the United States senators in making federal appointments (judges, marshals, collectors of customs, important postmasters) in their respective states; (3) the power of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, who, by his influence in the choice of the committees and by "recognizing" on the floor of the House only such debaters as he chooses to, can exert considerable control over the legislation of Congress; (4) the transaction of practically all the business of Congress in committee rooms. In its earlier days Congress was a hall of debate in which national issues were threshed out by the greatest orators of the nation; but since the Civil War it has tended to become scarcely more than a great voting machine, run by the party in power.

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[1] Congress has established federal courts in every state of the Union; and all the federal judges (now about one hundred in number) are appointed for life by the president, with the consent of the Senate. The judges of the state courts are either appointed by the governor (in a few of the older states) or elected by the people or the legislature for a term varying from two to twenty-one years.

177. The Bill of Rights. Several of the states accepted the Constitution only with the recommendation that amendments be added guaranteeing certain immemorial rights, such as liberty of speech and press, immunity from arbitrary arrest and cruel punishments, freedom of peaceable assembly, and the right to be tried by a jury of one's peers after a public hearing of witnesses on both sides. Ten amendments, constituting such a Bill of Rights, were accordingly adopted by Congress and ratified by the states soon after the inauguration of the new government (November, 1791). The demand for these amendments shows that the states still regarded the central government with something of that jealous and cautious distrust with which they had viewed the officers of the British crown.

178. Amendments to the Constitution. Although more than two thousand amendments have been proposed, only nine have been added to the Constitution since the passage of the Bill of Rights. Of these, two were slight revisions of clauses in the original articles, and three were occasioned by slavery and the Civil War. The Sixteenth Amendment (1913) gives Congress power to levy an income tax without regard to population; the Seventeenth (1913) provides for popular election of United States senators; the Eighteenth (1919) prescribes nation-wide prohibition; the Nineteenth (1920) confers the suffrage throughout the country on women (who had already, in a campaign of seventy years, won the vote in about a score of states by state action). If the process of amending the Constitution were less complicated (see Art. V) we should probably have many more amendments, for proposals are constantly being agitated for changes in the Constitution, such as giving Congress the right to regulate corporations and child labor or to make laws governing marriage and divorce, or providing for the election of the president for a single term or by a popular vote.

179. The "Implied Powers" of the Constitution. In the absence of specific amendments Congress is able to extend its authority pretty widely by stretching the so-called "elastic clause" of the Constitution, which, after the enumeration of specific powers of Congress, adds, "And to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers" (Art. I, sect. 8, par. 18). From the very earliest days of our government there have been parties with opposite views on the interpretation of this clause of the Constitution. The "strict constructionists" have held that the letter of the Constitution must be observed, and that Congress and the president must exercise only the powers *explicitly granted* to them in Articles I and II. On the other hand, the "loose constructionists," professing themselves equally devoted to the Constitution, have contended that the true interpretation of its spirit involves the assumption by the president and Congress of powers not explicitly granted, but evidently *intended* and *implied*. The recent industrial and commercial development of our country has made the question of the extent and power of the federal government a very vital one. Our great industries have grown beyond the limits and control of the states. Can we respect the power of the states and still maintain the efficiency of our national government? That is the great question which divides the advocates of federal extension and the critics of "federal usurpation."

180. The Inauguration of the Government. Although March 4, 1789, was the day set for the inauguration of the new government, it was well into April before the arrival of a majority of Congress in New York allowed the Houses to organize and count the electoral vote. George Washington's name was written on every one of the 69 ballots. The next highest vote (34) was for John Adams, who was declared vice president. On April 30 Washington took the oath of office on the balcony of Federal Hall in New York, while the throng that filled the streets shouted "God bless our Washington!" Then, returning to the chamber where both Houses of Congress were assembled, the president delivered his inaugural address in a voice "a little tremulous" on account of his realization of the immense responsibilities which rested upon him. "The preservation of the sacred fire of liberty and the destiny of the republican model of government," he said, "are justly considered as deeply, perhaps as finally, staked on the experiment intrusted to the hands of the American People."

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QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. What provisions of the peace treaty of 1783 were not fulfilled for some years by England? **2.** How did the war disturb social classes in America? **3.** What commercial benefits did the colonies gain or lose by separation from England? **4.** Why didn't manufactures flourish in America like commerce? **5.** Why did the paper money of the Confederation sink in value, while the paper bills in your pocketbook now keep their value? **6.** Compare the Congress of 1783 and the Congress today in respect to membership and powers. **7.** Why does Virginia deserve special credit for the surrender of her western lands? **8.** What two important bodies were in session in the summer of 1787? Where did each sit? What did each do? **9.** Point out three defects in the Articles of Confederation and tell how each was remedied in the Constitution. **10.** Why were the inhabitants of Kentucky and Tennessee more concerned about the navigation of the Mississippi than were the inhabitants of New York? **11.** Why did the debtors revolt in Massachusetts in 1786? **12.** Explain how our present government is "partly national and partly federal." **13.** What was the "great compromise" of the Constitution? **14.** Was opposition to the Constitution more sectional (geographical) or social (classes)? **15.** How does the Constitution insure the supremacy of the national government without interfering directly with the government of the states? (Be sure you understand this point clearly.) **16.** How many of the present cabinet members can you name? **17.** What are some of the "unwritten laws" of the Constitution?

CHAPTER VI

THE COMPLETION OF OUR INDEPENDENCE

Launching the Government

181. The United States in 1789. The United States which Washington was unanimously called to preside over in 1789 was a far different country from the United States of today. A free white population of 3,200,000 with 600,000 slaves was scattered along the Atlantic seaboard from New England to Georgia. Philadelphia, the gay capital of the Confederation, had a population of 42,000. New York had about 32,000; Boston, Charleston, and Baltimore had passed the 10,000 mark. A steady immigration, chiefly of Scotch-Irish stock from Virginia and North Carolina, had followed Daniel Boone and John Sevier across the Alleghenies, to found settlements in Kentucky and Tennessee. The census of 1790 estimated that 109,000 of these hardy frontiersmen were scattered through the rich valley of the Ohio and Cumberland rivers [**156**].

182. Industries and Commerce. What is now a land of factories and cities was then a land of forests and farms. Over 90 per cent of the inhabitants were tillers of the soil. Shipping and fishing were the only industries of importance. We had but few manufactures, chiefly of iron, leather, pottery, textiles, and hardware. England, by those inventions in spinning, weaving, transportation, and the application of steam power to manufacture, which are known as the Industrial Revolution, had become the workshop of the world. It was profitable for us to buy her manufactured goods with our agricultural products, and it fitted our habits as a people of farmers and traders. The figures of our foreign commerce show that the general depression of the country which followed the Revolution was over. Our imports from Europe increased from $9,400,000 in 1788 to $17,100,000 in 1790.

And our exports to Great Britain were already larger than they had been before the war. American ships were also engaged in profitable voyages to China, India, the Baltic, and the coast of Africa. Eighteen of the forty-six vessels entering the port of Canton in 1784 flew the American flag. Men were already experimenting with the propulsion of boats and wagons by steam, devising queer craft with paddling oars and vehicles with rattling chains, but it was to be some years still before the steamboat and the locomotive ushered in the age of rapid transit. Means of transportation at the end of the eighteenth century showed no improvements in comfort or speed over those of two thousand years earlier — the horse, the sailboat, and the springless stagecoach with its stifling leather curtains for protection against wind and rain.

183. Social Conditions. The United States was not a democratic republic in 1789. The state constitutions excluded five sixths of the adult free males from the suffrage, and officeholding was limited by various qualifications of religious belief or of property in land or money. Socially the United States was perhaps even less democratic. "Although there are no nobles in America," wrote the secretary of the French legation, "there is a class of men denominated gentlemen who, by reason of their wealth, their talents, their education, their families, or the offices which they hold, aspire to a pre-eminence which the common people refuse to grant them." Powdered wigs, silver buckles, liveried footmen, stately courtesy of speech and manners, were the marks of the social élite. Washington instituted a kind of "Republican Court" at New York. He drove behind four cream-colored horses in a canary-colored chariot decorated with gilded nymphs and cupids and blazoned with the Washington arms, and appeared at stately levees in black velvet and silk stockings, wearing a sword at his side and his powdered hair in a bag. But for all its brave show, it was a harmless aristocracy. The wide gulf which today separates fabulous wealth from sordid poverty did not exist in the United States in 1789. Our visitors from Europe were impressed with the general diffusion of moderate prosperity in America.

184. Washington's Cabinet. After some entreaty, Washington prevailed on Thomas Jefferson, our minister to France, to become Secretary of State in the first cabinet. Jefferson had an intense faith in the sound common sense of the people and an equally strong distrust of a powerful executive government. Sometimes his enthusiasm led him to extreme statements, as, for example, that a revolution every twenty years or so was good for a nation. But his practice was more moderate than his theory and he never encouraged or supported any revolution except the great one which made us an independent nation. For Secretary of the Treasury, Washington selected Alexander Hamilton, a native of the British island of Nevis in the West Indies, who had come to New York for his education at King's (Columbia) College in 1769 and ardently embraced the American cause. He had served as Washington's aid-de-camp during the Revolution and sat in the convention that framed the Constitution. He differed absolutely from Jefferson on every question of the interpretation of the Constitution and the policy of the government. The two men, each convinced of the justice and necessity of his own policy, were at constant odds over the cabinet table. Each begged the President to choose between them and let the other resign. But Washington prevailed on them both to remain in the cabinet during his first administration. General Henry Knox of Massachusetts and Governor Edmund Randolph of Virginia, both decidedly inferior in ability to Jefferson and Hamilton, were appointed Secretary of War and Attorney-General respectively.

185. How Hamilton dealt with the Debt. The dissolution of the old Congress had put an end to all its feeble organs of government, and left only a debt, which the new Constitution assumed in full. The most urgent business, therefore, was the adjustment of the country's finances. Alexander Hamilton occupies the center of the stage in Washington's first administration. The brilliant young Secretary of the Treasury had two great problems to handle; namely, the establishment of the credit of the United States, and the providing of an adequate income to meet the expenses of the government. How well he solved these problems we may learn from the ornate eulogy bestowed on him forty years later by Daniel Webster: "He smote the rock of the national resources, and abundant streams of revenue gushed forth. He touched the dead corpse of Public Credit, and it sprang upon its feet." The debt of the United States in 1789 was $54,000,000. About $12,000,000 of this was owed to France and Holland, who had been our allies in the Revolutionary War; and the remainder was a domestic debt in the form of certificates of the government promising to pay the holder the amount named on the paper. Now everybody agreed that the good faith of the United States demanded that every dollar of the foreign debt should be paid. But Hamilton's proposal to pay the domestic debt as well, at its full face value, was strenuously resisted. The certificates had fallen far below their par value. Many honest debtors had been forced to part with them, and shrewd money changers had bought them up as a speculation. In spite of the fact that it would enrich some rascals, Hamilton insisted that the full faith of the United States be kept, and that these certificates be redeemed at their face value. It would be the only way, he argued, to prevent future holders from selling at a discount our government's pledges to pay. Hamilton insisted that the government, besides promising to pay the national debt in full, should assume the debts (amounting to about $20,000,000) which the various states had incurred in the Revolutionary War. This policy of "assumption" was a very shrewd one; for, by making the national government responsible for the country's whole debt, it taught creditors both at home and abroad to regard the United States as a single political power, greater than the sum of its parts, the states. It made possible a uniform rate of interest and standard of security for all the public debt; and, as men are always interested in the prosperity of those who owe them money, it rallied the rich investing classes to the support of the national government.

186. The First Tariff. To meet the interest on the national debt of $75,000,000, an annual revenue of $4,500,000 was needed. Hamilton proposed to raise this money by an excise tax on distilled liquors and by a tariff, or customs duties levied on im-

WASHINGTON AND LAFAYETTE AT MOUNT VERNON (1784) ported goods. As our foreign trade was large, a tariff averaging less than 10 per cent was sufficient to meet the demand. Besides providing a revenue for running the government, the duties levied on imported goods would encourage native manufactures by "protecting" them against European competition. Our country would thus cease to be an almost purely agricultural community, with the limited outlook and interests of a farming people; cities would grow up, and the various fields of enterprise opened by manufacture and commerce would give employment to people of varied talents, would attract immigrants from foreign countries, and would promote inventiveness and alertness in our population.

187. A National Bank Chartered. The crowning feature of Hamilton's financial system was the establishment of a United States Bank, chartered by Congress to act as the government's agent and medium in its money transactions. The Bank was to have the privilege of holding on deposit all the funds of the United States collected from customs duties, the sale of public lands, or other sources; $2,000,000 of the $10,000,000 of the Bank's capital was to be subscribed by the United States, and its notes were to be accepted in payment of all debts owed the United States. In return for these favors the Bank was to manage all the government loans, was to be ready in time of financial stress to furnish aid to the Treasury of the United States, and was to be subject to the general supervision of the national government through reports on its condition submitted not oftener than weekly to the Secretary of the Treasury. Subscription to the bank stock was opened to the public on July 4, 1791, and in less than two hours all the stock was taken.

188. Opposition to Hamilton's Policy. The whole financial program of Hamilton met with bitter antagonism. Assumption was opposed by states like Virginia, New York, and New Hampshire, which had either incurred no appreciable debt or had paid off most of it by their sale of Western lands and considered it unfair to be taxed for the payment of the debt of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and South Carolina. Indeed, Hamilton carried the assumption bill through Congress in July, 1790, only by making a deal with Jefferson by which he gained Southern votes for assumption in return for Northern votes in favor of locating the national capital on the Potomac. To supplement the tariff in providing sufficient revenue to pay the interest on the large public debt, Hamilton had an excise tax laid on distilled whisky. The farmers of the western counties, who were in the habit of converting their corn into whisky as a medium of trade, resented the tax both because they regarded it as a discrimination against their section and because they were opposed to the appearance of a federal tax collector among them anyway. In western Pennsylvania about 3000 of them rose in armed rebellion in 1794 and submitted to the tax only when Hamilton in person led a force of 15,000 militia, collected from Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland, and New Jersey, against them. Hamilton welcomed this chance of showing the power of the national government to collect as well as to lay taxes; but he was severely scored by Jefferson and other democratic critics for making war against his fellow countrymen on account of a little rioting, and was accused of "using a meat ax to kill a spider." The tariff was opposed by the purely agricultural states of the South, which contended that the government had no business to encourage one form of industry (manufactures) in preference to another (farming). The Bank was opposed on the ground that Congress was nowhere in the Constitution given the power to create a corporation and to favor it with a monopoly of the government's financial business.

189. The First Political Parties. Hamilton's measures for strengthening the credit of the country undoubtedly helped to increase our economic prosperity, but they also had the important effect of dividing the cabinet, Congress, and the country into two well-defined parties, one led by himself, the other by Jefferson. "All communities divide themselves into the few and the many," said Hamilton; "the few are the rich and well born; the other the mass of the people. The people are turbulent and changing. They seldom judge or determine right. Give, therefore, to the first class a distinct, permanent share in the government; they will check the boisterousness of the second."

Hamilton's followers were called Federalists. The Jeffersonian party took the name Democratic-Republican, from which they soon dropped the first half. They had their chief strength in the South. They favored agriculture as against manufacturing and advocated the strict construction of the Constitution. They represented the farmers and debtors of the interior counties and the hardy pioneers who had crossed the mountains. They had no money to spare and they opposed both the grant of unlimited powers of taxation to Congress and the favors which the rich received from the government.[1]

190. The Violence of Party Strife. The bitterness with which the two parties assailed each other in Congress in pamphlets and in the newspapers was due to the fact that each honestly believed that the rule of the other would mean the destruction of the government. The Jeffersonians thought that the Federalists were aiming at a monarchy after the English pattern, and the Hamiltonians thought that the Republicans would ruin the country's credit abroad and reduce us to a state of anarchy at home. Each side vilified the other in terms of abuse which no respectable statesman would use today. Jefferson employed as a clerk in the State Department a gifted writer of verse and prose named Philip Freneau, whose chief business was editing the *National Gazette*, in which he attacked the members of the administration from Washington and Hamilton down; while the Federalists in the columns of Fenno's *Gazette of the United States* assailed the "filthy Democrats" with equal violence. The election of 1792 might have resulted in civil commotion had not Washington, in spite of his personal inclination to retire to his estate at Mount Vernon, consented, at the request of both Hamilton and Jefferson, to serve for another four years. Again his name was written on every one of the electoral ballots, but John Adams's election as vice president was contested as a party issue. The Republicans cast fifty ballots for Governor Clinton of New York, and they elected a majority to the House of Representatives to serve in the third Congress (1793–1795).

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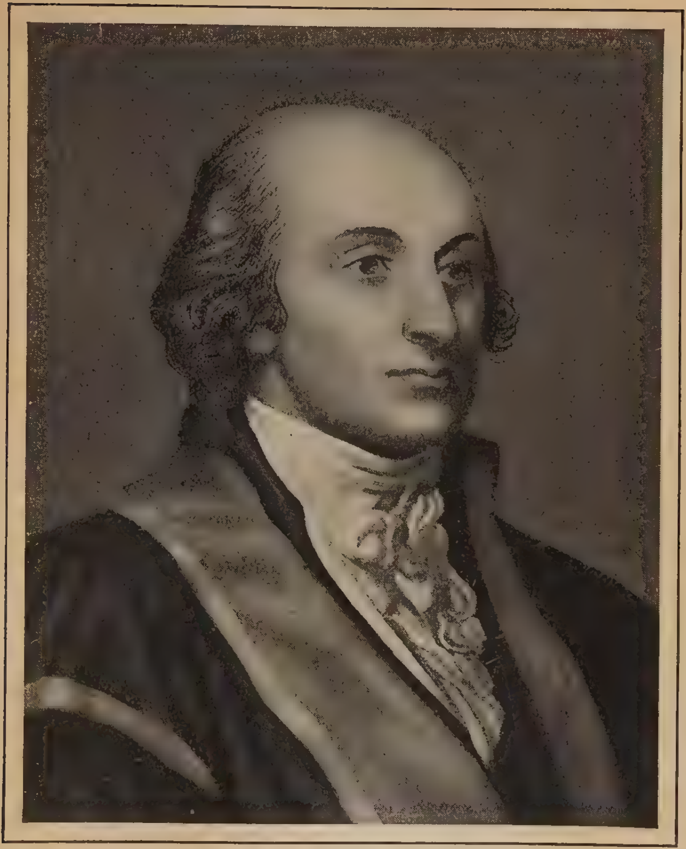
[1] For instance, the four original New England states received $440,800 out of a total of $1,180,909 of the interest payment on the public debt in 1795. Massachusetts alone received in interest one third more than all the states south of the Potomac, and Connecticut held a larger part of the public debt than did Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia combined.

191. Foreign Entanglements. Washington had scarcely taken the oath of office a second time when news came of events in France which were to plunge Europe into twenty years of incessant warfare, to influence the course of politics in the United States during the whole period, and even to involve us in actual wars with both France and England. The French people accomplished a wonderful reform in the years 1789–1791, sweeping away many oppressive privileges and age-long abuses by the nobles and the clergy. But the enthusiasm for reform degenerated into a passion for destruction. Paris and the French government fell into the hands of a small group of ardent radicals, who overthrew the ancient monarchy, guillotined their king and queen, and inaugurated a "reign of terror" through the land by the execution of all those who were suspected of the slightest leanings toward aristocracy. The revolutionary French Republic undertook a defiant crusade against all the thrones of Europe, to spread the gospel of "liberty, equality, and fraternity." In the summer of 1793 it was at war with Prussia, Austria, England, and several minor kingdoms of western Europe.

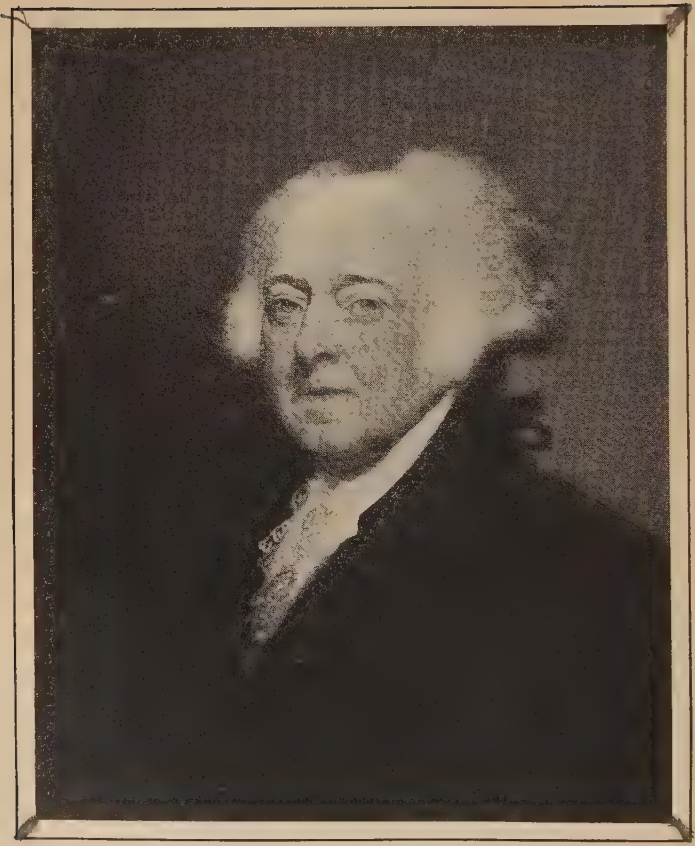
192. Washington's Proclamation of Neutrality. Now France was our ally. Her government had been the first in Europe to recognize the independence of the United States, by the treaties of commerce and alliance of 1778 [**133**]. Her king had lent us large sums of money, and sent us men and ships, in the hope that he was contributing to the downfall of the British Empire. Our treaty of alliance of 1778 pledged us to aid France in the defense of her possessions in the West Indies if they were attacked by a foreign foe, and to allow her the use of our ports for the ships she captured in war. But did the treaty with Louis XVI's government, made for mutual defense against England, pledge us, after both parties had made peace with England (1783), to support the French faction which had overthrown Louis XVI's government? The President thought not. Accordingly, with the unanimous assent of his cabinet, Washington issued on April 22, 1793, a proclamation of neutrality, which declared that it was the policy of the United States to keep aloof from the complicated hostilities of Europe.

193. "Citizen" Edmond Genêt. A few days before the proclamation of neutrality was issued "Citizen Genêt" arrived at Charleston, South Carolina, as minister of the French Republic to the United States. Genêt had no idea that America could remain neutral. He was coming quite frankly in order to use our ports as the base of naval war against the British West Indies and to instruct this government in its proper conduct as the ally of the "sister republic" of France. His journey from Charleston to Philadelphia was a continuous ovation of feasting, oratory, and singing of the "Marseillaise" by the Republicans, who hated England as the source of the "aristocratic" ideas of Hamilton and the other Federalists. Genêt was vain and rash. His head was turned by Republican adulation. His conduct became outrageous for a diplomat. He issued his orders to the French consuls in America as if they were his paid agents and spies. He used the columns of the Republican press for frenzied appeals to faction. He scolded our President and secretaries for not learning from him the true meaning of democracy. He defied the proclamation of neutrality by openly bringing captured British ships into our ports and fitting them out as privateers to prey on English commerce in the West Indies. He even addressed his petulant letters to Washington, and when reminded by the Secretary of State that the President did not communicate directly with ministers of foreign countries, he threatened to appeal to the people of the United States to judge between George Washington and himself. Such conduct was too impertinent for even the warmest Republican sympathizers with France to stand. At the request of the administration Genêt was dismissed.

194. Reasons for American Neutrality. Had Genêt's conduct been allowed to go unrebuked it would have certainly led us into war against Great Britain, which in the weak and distracted state of our country would have been disastrous. We



JOHN JAY



JOHN ADAMS

had no navy at all, and our army was not even half the size of the dwindling force which Washington had led across the state of New Jersey in the autumn of 1776. England was still in possession of the fur posts on the Great Lakes and in virtual command of the Indians of the Northwest Territory, who were hostile to the advance of American settlers. An expedition of fourteen hundred men, led by General Arthur St. Clair, to clear the Indians out of the territory had been ambushed on the Wabash River in November, 1791, and almost annihilated. No adjustment had yet been made with the Spaniards, who continued to bar our ships from New Orleans and to incite the Creeks and Cherokees against our settlements. To have joined France in her war against England and Spain, therefore, would have let loose the horrors of Indian massacre on our border and perhaps have thrown the pioneer communities of the southwest into the arms of Spain. Furthermore, to have fought with England at this time would have hopelessly crippled our reviving commerce. England was by far our best customer. Jefferson, who was certainly no friend of England, drew up a table of our foreign trade in 1793 which showed that our commerce with England totaled $24,648,844, as against $6,967,083 with France, $3,136,572 with Holland, and $2,341,017 with Spain. Peace, then, was an absolute necessity for the preservation of our Western territory and the maintenance of our tariff revenue.

195. The Jay Treaty. Nevertheless, we escaped war with Great Britain only by the narrowest margin. France opened the ports of the West Indies to neutral trade, and England, invoking the Rule of 1756, which forbade a country at war to open to neutrals ports which had been closed to them in time of peace, ordered the seizure of neutral vessels carrying food supplies to France or her colonies. The British also impressed seamen for their navy, taking many alleged English sailors off American ships. The Republicans in control of the House voted for retaliation, in spite of our unpreparedness. Bills were put through Congress to fortify our defenses. Work was pushed for the completion of the three forty-four-gun frigates, the *United*

States, *Constitution*, and *Constellation*, which had been begun for the protection of our Mediterranean commerce against the Barbary pirates [**154**]. A nonintercourse bill, stopping all trade with England, was passed by the House and defeated in the Senate only by the casting vote of John Adams. A hint from President Washington would have led Congress to declare war, but Washington was determined to have peace. He sent John Jay, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, as special envoy to Great Britain to negotiate a treaty. Jay sailed in May, 1794, and returned about a year later with the best terms he could obtain. England agreed to evacuate the fur posts by the first of June, 1796, and to submit to arbitration the questions of disputed boundaries, damages to American shipping, and debts due to British merchants. But she refused to make any concession to our trade with the West Indies; and on one of the most important points, the forcible arrest and search of our vessels for the impressment of seamen, the treaty was silent. A storm of opposition greeted the treaty in America. Jay, who was one of the purest of statesmen, was accused of selling his country for British gold and was burned in effigy from Massachusetts to Georgia. Hamilton was stoned in the streets of New York for speaking in favor of the treaty. Even Washington did not escape abuse and vilification. However, the President was persuaded that the terms were the best that could be obtained and was successful in securing the necessary two-thirds vote of the Senate to ratify the treaty (June 24, 1795).

196. Relief in the West. While Jay was in the midst of his negotiation, immediate danger from the Indians in the northwest was removed. Congress had voted to raise three new regiments after St. Clair's defeat. The command of the new army was given to "Mad Anthony" Wayne, a hero of the American Revolution, who trained his troops thoroughly before taking the field in the summer of 1794. Then he boldly marched from the Ohio River to a point near the present site of Toledo, and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Indians under "Little Turtle" and Tecumseh at the battle of the Fallen Timbers. He burned the towns and crops of the Indians and forced their chieftains to sign the Treaty of Greenville in 1795, by which they ceded to the United States all of the present state of Ohio except the northwestern corner. The same year brought a treaty of cession from the Cherokees and Creeks in the South, and the frontier from the Lakes to the Spanish border had peace for the first time since the great conspiracy of Pontiac in 1763 [**104**].

197. The Pinckney Treaty with Spain. The success of our diplomacy in averting war with England, and of our arms in subduing the savages, led to a treaty with Spain which ended the danger of the secession of our southwestern territory. Thomas Pinckney, our minister to London, was sent as special envoy to the court of Madrid to take up negotiations over the navigation of the Mississippi at the point where Jay and Gardoqui had left them a decade before [**156**]. The all-powerful Spanish minister, Don Manuel de Godoy, fearing that the Jay Treaty might lead to an alliance between England and the United States against Spain, signed the treaty of San Lorenzo on October 27, 1795, by which Spain conceded every point that we had demanded of her since the peace of 1783, — the free navigation of the Mississippi, the acceptance of 31° north latitude as the southern boundary of the United States, and the "right of deposit," that is, the privilege for three years of transshipping cargoes from river boats to ocean-going vessels at New Orleans without payment of duty. It is hardly possible to exaggerate the importance of these events of 1794–1795 for the security and stability of the new American republic. Had Jay, Wayne, and Pinckney failed, the United States might have been split up into warring factions with their commerce destroyed and their territory disrupted. There were, to be sure, years of difficulty, and even of actual war, to be passed through before we were free from the embarrassments caused by the turmoil of war in Europe. But the successful diplomacy of 1795 enabled Washington to end his administration at peace with the world and gave us the breathing space of a decade to meet the new trials, strengthened by our rapidly increasing wealth and commerce.

The Republican Revolution

198. John Adams elected President. Shortly before the presidential election of November, 1796, Washington issued a Farewell Address to his fellow citizens, urging them to cherish the Union, to avoid the spirit of faction, and, while maintaining friendly relations with foreign nations, not to "entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor or caprice." His excellent advice went unheeded. The fires of faction "glowed beneath the surface like a burning coal-pit," as Fisher Ames said; and when Washington's restraining influence was removed they burst into flames. Even the retirement of Washington himself, who had become an avowed Federalist, was hailed by the Republican press as the deliverance of the country from a "tyrant" and an "impostor." The election of 1796, moreover, was not only a bitter struggle between the Republicans and the Federalists, but also a factional strife within the Federalist ranks. Jefferson and Burr were the candidates for the Republicans and John Adams and Thomas Pinckney for the Federalists. Adams was disliked by Hamilton and his coterie, who tried to keep him from the presidency by getting a few of the Southern electors to omit his name on the ballot, thereby giving Pinckney the first place. But the New Englanders, who were strong for Adams, discovered the plot and omitted Pinckney's name on their ballot. The result was that Jefferson came in ahead of Pinckney, the vote being 71 for Adams, 68 for Jefferson, and 59 for Pinckney. So the net outcome of Hamilton's little trick to keep Adams out of the presidency was to put Jefferson into the vice presidency. And for the only time in our history we had a president and vice president of opposite political parties.[1]

199. Character and Policy of Adams. John Adams was in his sixty-first year. Coming into prominence as one of the earliest advocates of independence in the Continental Congress, he had labored for a quarter of a century in public life, serving on dozens of committees in Congress, as a member of the Peace Commission of 1783 at Paris, and as the first minister of the new republic to the courts of the Netherlands and Great Britain. He had nominated George Washington for the commander of the army and recommended Thomas Jefferson as the draftsman of the Declaration of Independence. His patriotism, rectitude, and courage were beyond question, but he was obstinate and lacking in the tact and patience that characterize a statesman of the highest order. Preoccupied with his own rectitude, he was not concerned to reconcile and harmonize conflicting views in his cabinet, his Congress, and his party. And he ended by glorying in his independence of them all. Still, Adams was more sinned against than sinning. He had to bear not only the hostility of his enemy but treachery in his own counselors. He had unwisely retained the chief cabinet officers of the end of Washington's term (Pickering, Wolcott, and McHenry), who were devoted followers of his personal enemy, Hamilton, from whom they almost openly took their orders. "Either nothing will be done," wrote Wolcott to Hamilton on the occasion of an important conference on foreign policy, "or your opinion will prevail." Secretary of State Timothy Pickering actually apologized to Hamilton for measures taken by the President which the cabinet were not able to prevent.

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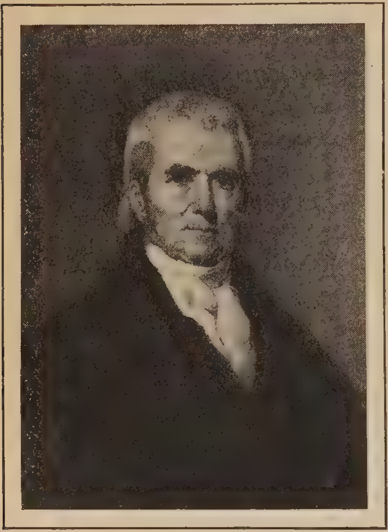
[1] This, of course, was due to the fact that it was not specified on the ballots of the electors which man they wished for president and which for vice president. The ambiguity was remedied by Amendment XII to the Constitution in 1804.

200. Our Quarrel with France. The only European nation with which our relations had grown worse instead of better during the closing years of Washington's administration was our old ally, France. Washington's first minister to France, the Federalist Gouverneur Morris, had been dismissed in 1794 for his pronounced sympathy with the monarchy; and his successor, the Republican James Monroe, had been recalled two years later for his equally pronounced sympathy with the revolutionists. The Directory, as the government of the French Republic during the years 1795–1799 was called, resenting the refusal of their ally and sister "republic" of America to join in the war against aristocratic Britain, and incensed by the Jay Treaty, declined to receive our third minister, C. C. Pinckney (December, 1796), and even ordered him to leave the soil of France. When the news reached America that her regularly appointed minister to the chief continental power of Europe had been treated like a common spy, Adams, who had just succeeded to the presidency, called a special session of Congress and in his opening address declared that we must convince France and the world that "we are not a degraded people, humiliated under a colonial spirit of fear." Still, Adams desired peace, and, on the hint from the French foreign minister, Talleyrand, that an embassy would be received to discuss the political and commercial dispute between the two countries, he appointed John Marshall of Virginia and Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts to join Pinckney (who had been allowed to return to Paris) in negotiating a settlement with France.

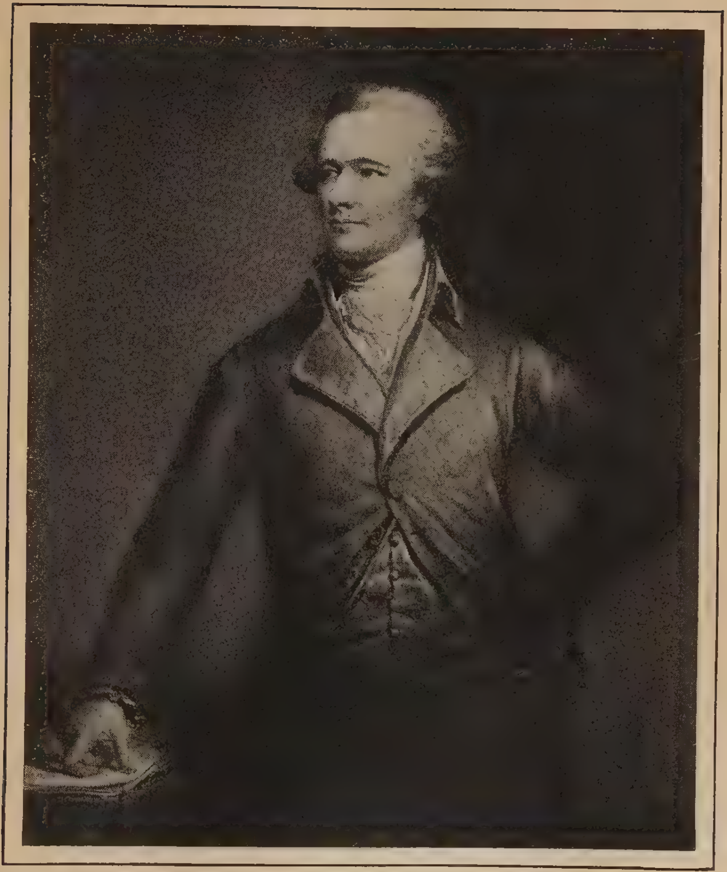


JOHN MARSHALL

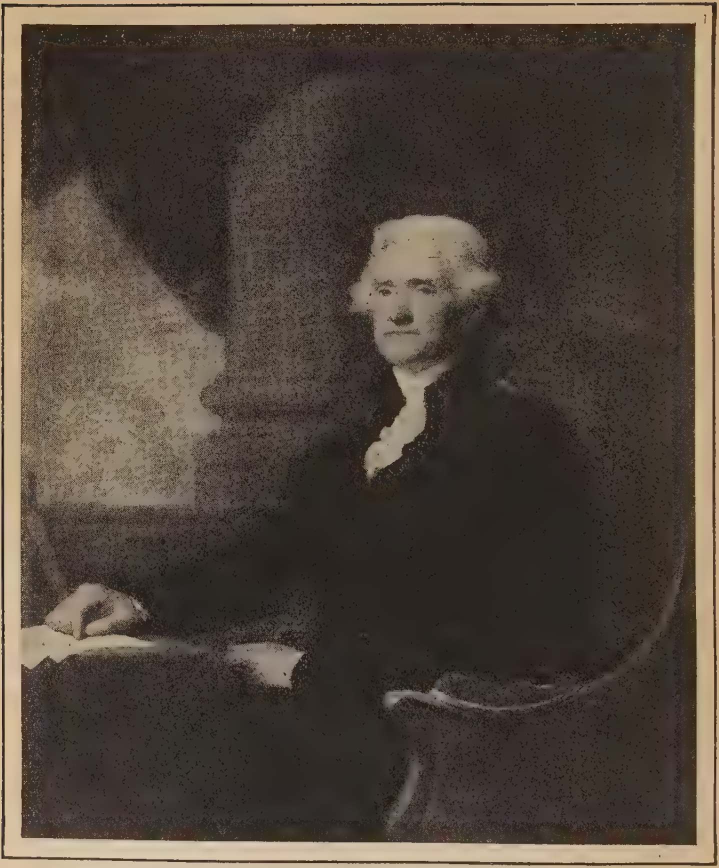
201. The XYZ Affair. The envoys were courteously received by the foreign minister (October, 1799), but were presently subjected to the most outrageous treatment. Instead of dealing with them openly and honorably, Talleyrand sent certain gentlemen in a private capacity to demand three things before any official negotiations would be begun. An apology must be made for the language which President Adams had used in his speech to Congress, a loan must be made by the United States to the French Republic, and $250,000 must be slipped into the pockets of the directors as a *douceur* — in plain language, a bribe. The American commissioners at first hardly grasped the meaning of these preposterous demands. But when Talleyrand's envoys said plainly "You must pay money," they replied as plainly "No, not a shilling!" After waiting three months in vain for any move on the part of the French government, the commission broke up. Marshall and Pinckney left Paris in disgust, while the Republican member, Gerry, was prevailed upon by Talleyrand to remain a few months longer on the pretext that his departure might mean war between the United States and France. This insulting demand of a bribe from our commission is called the X Y Z Affair, because in the dispatches from Paris which were published by our State Department the letters X, Y, and Z were substituted for the names of Talleyrand's agents.

202. A State of War with France. When the full story of the treatment of our commissioners in Paris reached America, Republicans and Federalists alike rallied to the support of President Adams in his measures to compel respect for our envoys "as representatives of a great, free, powerful, and independent nation." For once in his life, John Adams was a thoroughly popular man. His fellow citizens applauded his vigorous language of defiance, shouted the new song of "Hail, Columbia" with huzzas for "Adams and Liberty," and adopted as a slogan the toast proposed at a banquet to the returning hero, Marshall: "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute!" The preparations for war were begun. Eighty thousand militia were held in readiness for service, and Washington was called to the chief command, with Hamilton and Knox as his major generals. The Navy Department was created with Benjamin Stoddert of Maryland as the first secretary. Congress did not actually declare war, but it abrogated the treaties of 1778 and authorized our ships to prey on French commerce. From midsummer, 1798, to the close of the following year a state of war with France existed, and over eighty French ships were captured. But neither Adams nor Talleyrand really wanted war. The former had no desire to see Alexander Hamilton leading an army in professed alliance with the English fleet, and the latter had only meant to intimidate the Americans and break up the Jay Treaty. When, therefore, the wily Frenchman saw that his bluff would not work, he hastened to assure our minister at The Hague that a new American commission would be received with all due respect; and Adams, to his everlasting credit and to the disgust of the Hamiltonian faction, who were bent on war, reopened the negotiations. Four days after our new envoys had sailed from Philadelphia, Napoleon Bonaparte overthrew the Directory by his famous *coup d'état* of November 10, 1799, and made himself master of France. Napoleon readily came to terms with the United States in a convention signed September 30, 1800, by which he agreed to the abrogation of the treaty of alliance of 1778 on condition that our government should abandon all claims for damages done to our shipping by the French cruisers since 1793. It was a fair bargain, and it enabled us to enter on the nineteenth century at peace with all the nations of the world.

203. The Alien and Sedition Acts. The Federalists, however, had already signed the death warrant of their party. In the heyday of their power, in the exciting summer of 1798, they had sought to silence Republican opposition and make their own tenure of office secure by passing through Congress as foolish a set of laws as have ever marred our statute books. Since most of the foreigners who came to our shores swelled the ranks of the Republican party, a Naturalization Act was passed (June 18), increasing from five to fourteen years the term of residence necessary to make a foreigner a citizen of the United States. An Alien Act (June 25) gave the president power for a term of two years "to order all such aliens as he should judge dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States . . . to depart out of the territory of the United States." A Sedition Act (July 14), to be valid till the close of Adams's administration, provided that anyone writing or publishing "any false, scandalous, and malicious writings against the government, either House of Congress, or the President," or "of exciting against them the hatred of the good people of the United States to stir up sedition," should be punished by a fine not exceeding $2000 and by imprisonment not exceeding two years. It is only fair to say that the wisest of the Federalists, like Adams, Hamilton, and Marshall, were opposed to these acts, which the "hyper-Federalists," as Adams called



ALEXANDER HAMILTON



THOMAS JEFFERSON

them, put through in a panicky war spirit. The President did not deport a single alien, and, while ten Republican editors were fined and imprisoned under the Sedition Act (which clearly violated the First Amendment to the Constitution), the charges were so ridiculous that the punishment only served to strengthen the Republican party. "In pursuing the offending bee, the Federalists had overturned the hive."

204. The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions. Thomas Jefferson was quick to see the political advantage which the Alien and Sedition Acts gave to the Republicans. He prepared a set of resolutions to be introduced into the Kentucky legislature (and Madison did the same for Virginia), protesting against the acts. The resolutions declared that the Union was a compact made by the several states, and that when the central government exceeded its constitutional power it was the right and duty of the states to interpose their authority. The Kentucky legislature proclaimed the acts "void and of no effect," and called upon the other states to join in requesting their repeal. When the invitation was ignored or rejected, Kentucky passed another set of resolutions in 1799, declaring that the "rightful remedy" for an unconstitutional act passed by Congress was "nullification by the state sovereignties." The Kentucky and Virginia resolutions were not intended, as Madison and Jefferson both avowed in later years, to advocate the break-up of the Union. Indeed, when a Virginia writer at the time recommended that the Southern states separate from the Federalist North, he was severely rebuked by Jefferson. The resolutions were a Republican campaign document for the election of 1800. But their chief importance is that they were the first instance of the claim of the states or a group of states to nullify the act of the national Congress. As such they foreshadowed secession and the great Civil War of 1861–1865.

205. The Election of 1800. The Federalists found themselves in a sorry position when the presidential campaign of 1800 approached. The expenditure of the government in preparation for a possible war with France had been increased from $6,000,000 to $9,300,000 in the years 1797–1799, and the taxes to meet this swollen budget were heavy. The Alien and Sedition Acts were unpopular, and, worst of all, the Federalists were split into the Hamilton and Adams factions. The Republicans, on the other hand, had been gaining steadily even in New England under the tireless and skillful management of Thomas Jefferson. After a campaign of violence and slander, in which the Reverend Timothy Dwight, president of Yale College, predicted that if Jefferson were elected "the Bible would be cast into a bonfire" and our country turned over to a mob of atheistical, murderous Jacobins, Jefferson and Burr received 73 electoral votes to 65 for Adams and 64 for C. C. Pinckney.[1] But as all the Republican electors had written the names of Jefferson and Burr on their ballots, the two men were tied for first place. Of course the electors meant to vote for Jefferson as president and Burr as vice president. Had the latter been an honorable man he would have immediately conceded the presidency to Jefferson, instead of allowing the choice to go to the House of Representatives (Constitution, Art. II, sect. 1, par. 3). The Federalists controlled enough states in the House to keep Jefferson out of the presidency, and for thirty-five ballots they blocked his election. But, owing largely to the influence of Hamilton, who, much as he disliked Jefferson, despised Burr more, enough Federalists finally refrained from voting to allow Jefferson to be chosen.

206. The Downfall of the Federalists. The Federalists had bent the bow of authority too far, and it snapped. They never regained control of the government, although they continued to put a presidential candidate in the field and to poll a few votes until the election of 1816. In spite of their ungracious acts in the last days of their power, the Federalists had governed well. On the day of Jefferson's inauguration the *Columbian Centinel* of Boston, the leading Federalist paper in New England, published a long list of the benefits which that party had bestowed on the nation: peace secured with England, France, and Spain; credit restored abroad and the finances set in order at home; a navy created, domestic manufactures encouraged, and foreign trade stimulated. It pointed with just pride to the honest, able, courageous administrations of Washington and Adams; the constructive statesmanship of Hamilton and Gouverneur Morris; the diplomatic skill of Jay, Marshall, and the Pinckneys. The services of these men to the country were great and lasting. Still, the Federalists fell from power because they set themselves against the rising spirit of democracy in the country. The triumph of Jefferson was a real revolution, in spite of the fact that it brought little change in the actual political machinery, because it substituted the democratic idea that the government arises from the people in place of the aristocratic doctrine that government is something above and apart from the people.

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[1] The Republican victory was due immediately to Aaron Burr. The election turned on the 12 electoral votes of New York, and it was Burr who won these votes for his ticket by securing a solid delegation of Republicans from New York City to the legislature which chose the presidential electors. Adams had received the 12 electoral votes of New York in 1796, and had he received even half of them in 1800 he would have defeated Jefferson. The figures show, therefore, that, even with the handicap of the Alien and Sedition Laws and the split in the Federalist party, Adams got more votes outside of New York in 1800 than he had in 1796.

207. The New Capital and the New President. The seat of government had been removed from Philadelphia to Washington in the summer of 1800.[1] The presidential mansion (the White House), in the unplastered east room of which the thrifty Abigail Adams had dried the presidential washing on rainy days, was still unfinished. A couple of executive buildings stood near the White House, and more than a mile to the eastward the masons were at work on the wings of the Capitol. Instead of the stately Pennsylvania Avenue which now connects the Capitol and the White House, there was a miry road running across a sluggish creek. The residential part of the city consisted of a few cheerless boarding houses for the accommodation of the members of Congress, exiled to these wastes from the gay city of Philadelphia. "We need nothing here," wrote Gouverneur

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[1] The states of Maryland and Virginia presented the government with a tract of land ten miles square on the Potomac. Congress named the tract the District of Columbia. The city of Washington was built on the part ceded by Maryland and the land to the south of the Potomac was retroceded to Virginia in 1846.

Morris, "but houses, men, women, and other little trifles of the kind to make our city perfect." The new President, with his large, loose figure, his careless carriage, his ill-fitting and snuff-stained apparel, his profuse and informal hospitality, presented as great a contrast to the stately poise and ceremony of Washington and Adams as the crude city on the Potomac did to the settled colonial dignity of Philadelphia. Jefferson hated every appearance of "aristocracy." His confidence was in the plain people of America. He wanted to see them continue an agricultural people, governing themselves in their local assemblies. The national government at Washington should confine itself, he thought, to managing our dealings with foreign nations, a comparatively small task which could be performed by a few public servants. Still, Jefferson showed no desire to revolutionize the government, as some of the Federalists predicted he would. In his inaugural address, which was couched in a dignified and conciliatory tone, he declared that Federalists and Republicans were one in common devotion to their country. He praised our government as a "successful experiment," and himself built on the foundations which the Federalists had laid.

208. Measures of Economy. At the very close of Adams's administration the Federalists, defeated in the elections for the presidency and Congress, tried to retain control of the third branch of the government by the creation of sixteen new federal judgeships to which stanch Federalists were appointed. These new officers were nicknamed "the midnight judges," because President Adams was occupied into the evening of his last day of office in signing their commissions. The Republican Congress at once repealed the act which had created these new judgeships. It also restored the five-year period for naturalization and repealed the whisky tax, which had caused the rebellion of 1794 [**188**], and the other direct taxes which had been imposed in preparation for the French war. The tariff, however, was retained and the Bank was not disturbed. Strict economy in the expenditure of the public money was Jefferson's watchword. The government was no longer "to waste the labors of the people under the pretense of taking care of them." Army and navy appropriations were reduced by more than a half, and about 70 per cent of the national revenue, or over $7,000,000 a year, was devoted to paying off the public debt, which it was estimated would be entirely extinguished by the year 1817. Jefferson's Secretary of the Treasury, Albert Gallatin, a naturalized Swiss, showed a skill second only to Alexander Hamilton's in the management of the finances of the country.

209. The Louisiana Purchase. However, a piece of European diplomacy led Thomas Jefferson to stretch the Constitution further than any Federalist had done and to expend at a stroke nearly $15,000,000 of the public money. The day after Napoleon Bonaparte had signed the convention of 1800 with the United States [**202**] he induced Spain to cede to him the entire western basin of the Mississippi, called Louisiana. When the news of this transaction reached Jefferson, in the spring of 1802, he was much disturbed by the prospect of having the control of the west bank and mouth of the Mississippi, through which the commerce of three eighths of the United States passed, transferred from the feeble administration of Spain to the powerful and aggressive government of Napoleon.[1] Much as he disliked England, Jefferson wrote to Robert R. Livingston, our minister in Paris, that "every eye in the United States was now turned to the affair of Louisiana," and that the moment Napoleon took possession of New Orleans "we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation." The President's worst fears were realized when, in October, 1802, the Spanish Intendant at New Orleans closed the mouth of the Mississippi and withdrew the right of deposit secured by Pinckney's treaty of 1795 [**197**]. Jefferson got an appropriation of $2,000,000 from Congress for the purpose of buying New Orleans and West Florida and sent James Monroe to Paris to aid Livingston in the negotiation. But before Monroe arrived Napoleon had abandoned his scheme of building a colonial empire in the New World and ordered his minister of finance, Barbé-Marbois, to dispose of the whole province of Louisiana to the Americans. The price finally agreed upon was 80,000,000 francs, or about $14,500,000, of which $11,250,000 was to be paid to Napoleon and the remainder to our own citizens to satisfy their claims on France for damage to their trade. As the three negotiators set their names to the treaty of sale, on May 2, 1803, Livingston remarked: "We have lived long; but this is the noblest work of our whole lives. From this day the United States take their place among the powers of the first rank."

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[1] Even Jefferson was cured of any idea of French sympathy for us when Napoleon, in the summer of 1802, assumed the robe of monarchy under the title of Consul for life and began to abolish all signs of republicanism. Jefferson wrote to Livingston in October, "We stand completely corrected of the error that either the government or the nation of France has any remains of friendship for us."

210. Significance of the Louisiana Purchase. The purchase of Louisiana was the most important event in American history in the first half of the nineteenth century. It doubled the area of the United States and brought under our rule one of the most valuable tracts of land in the world, extending from the Gulf of Mexico to the Canadian border and from the Mississippi to the Rockies. Fourteen states have been created wholly or in part out of the Louisiana territory. The population of the region has grown from 50,000 in 1804, of whom half were slaves, to over 20,000,000. The cattle and timber of Montana, the wheat of Minnesota and the Dakotas, the corn of Iowa and Kansas, and the sugar and cotton of Louisiana have been the source of rapidly increasing wealth to our country. By the census of 1920 the value of the farm private property alone in these fourteen states was $33,762,183,907, or over two thousand times what we paid for the whole territory. The political consequences of the Louisiana Purchase were not less important than its geographical consequences. No clause of the Constitution of the United States could be found giving the president the right to purchase foreign territory. Jefferson, somewhat disturbed by his departure from his own doctrine of the "strict construction" of the Constitution, contemplated at first having an amendment passed, giving the people's sanction to the purchase. But his friends in Congress persuaded him that this was unwise, because during the long delay necessary to secure such an amendment Napoleon might again change his mind and de-

prive us of our fine bargain. That the vast province of Louisiana would ever be incorporated into the United States seemed questionable to Jefferson. He wrote in 1804, "Whether we remain one confederacy or fall into Atlantic and Mississippi confederacies I believe not very important to the happiness of either part."

211. The West Florida Tangle. The Louisiana Purchase gave rise to a boundary dispute which was not settled for fifteen years. According to the treaty we took Louisiana from France "with the same extent that it now has in the hands of Spain and that it had when France possessed it." This language was anything but clear, for the Louisiana which France "possessed" until 1763 included a strip of land east of the Mississippi along the Gulf of Mexico (colored purple on the map), which France ceded to England in the treaty of 1763 [**101**] and England ceded to Spain in the treaty of 1782 [**156**]. It had been made a part of the territory of West Florida, created by England in 1763 [**105**]. The question was whether any part of West Florida could be properly considered a part of "Louisiana" after 1763, even though it had formerly been "possessed" by France. Neither Napoleon who sold, nor Monroe and Livingston who bought, Louisiana believed that it included West Florida. For Napoleon was still trying in 1802 to persuade the king of Spain to add Florida to the cession of 1800, and Monroe was on the point of starting for Madrid after the purchase of 1803 to offer Spain an additional million or two for the Floridas. In spite of all this, however, Jefferson was bound to have West Florida. He persuaded himself by researches into the history of Louisiana that West Florida was rightly ours, and in 1804 he got Congress to establish a customs district on the shores of Mobile Bay. To the end of his administration he hoped to get Napoleon to bring pressure to bear on Spain to acknowledge our right to West Florida.

212. The Lewis and Clark Expedition. The acquisition of Louisiana stimulated our interest in the great Western wilderness which stretched two thousand miles from the Mississippi to the Pacific coast. Jefferson was an enthusiastic advocate of expansion. As early as 1783 he had suggested to George Rogers Clark, the hero of Vincennes, that he conduct an exploring party to the California coast. Two years later, when serving as minister at Paris, he had encouraged a Connecticut globe-trotter named Ledyard in a scheme to cross Siberia and return to his New England home by way of the great unexplored West of our continent. Now, less than two months after the cession of Louisiana to the United States, Jefferson commissioned Captain Meriwether Lewis, his private secretary, with William Clark, a young brother of George Rogers, to head a scientific exploring party to the Far Northwest. It seems not to have troubled Jefferson that the party would be trespassing on foreign territory beyond the Rockies. After wintering at the mouth of the Missouri River, the Lewis and Clark expedition started westward in the spring of 1804, with a company of thirty-five men. They ascended the Missouri to its source, crossed the "Great Divide" of the Rockies, and descended the Columbia River to the sea, which Clark called the "Roreing Otean," in the summer of 1805. Wintering at the mouth of the Columbia, they returned by practically the same route as they had gone out and reached St. Louis in September, 1806 (see map opposite page 208). In their two and a half years' journey they made important studies of the natural features of the country and the habits of the Indian tribes. Their remarkable expedition was an important factor in our claim to the Oregon country in our dispute with England forty years later.

213. The Flood Tide of Prosperity. The success of Jefferson's first administration was remarkable from every point of view. Our foreign trade was doubled, and the customs receipts so far outstripped Gallatin's estimates that our debt was reduced by over $25,000,000, in spite of the large sum paid for Louisiana. Except for what Jefferson called "bickerings with Spain" over the West Florida affair, our relations with European countries were friendly. A small American fleet in the Mediterranean, under our commanders, Preble, Bainbridge, Decatur, and Rodgers, had chastised the Barbary pirates. Our Western country was rapidly filling up under the new land act of 1800, which allowed settlers to buy tracts of three hundred and twenty acres at two dollars an acre for an initial deposit of ten cents an acre, with the balance in installments spread over four years. The population of Kentucky had already passed the quarter-million mark, and Ohio, with a population of fifty-five thousand, was admitted to the Union as the seventeenth state in the spring of 1803. In 1802 Georgia, the last of the seaboard states, ceded to the nation its claim to land west of the Alleghenies. Except for some rather vindictive prosecution of Federalist judges, the machinery of the government which had been set in motion under Washington had not been disturbed. Even Alexander Hamilton had complimented Jefferson at the end of his first year of office on his wise and efficient administration. The strenuous opposition of a few New England Federalists to the Louisiana Purchase was scarcely audible in the general chorus of approval. When Jefferson stood for reëlection against the Federalist candidate C. C. Pinckney in 1804, he won the electoral vote of every state in the Union except Connecticut and Delaware. New England, which had given him only a single electoral vote (from Vermont) in 1800, now gave him all of her thirty votes outside of Connecticut. It was as if a candidate of the Republican party today should carry South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas. Such was the outcome of the prophecy that the election of Thomas Jefferson would mean the ruin of our commerce, the end of efficient government, and the dissolution of the social order. When Jefferson took the oath of office for a second time on March 4, 1805, he congratulated his fellow countrymen that "not a cloud appeared on the horizon."

THE WAR OF 1812

214. "The Tiger and the Shark." The clouds were gathering across the Atlantic, however, which were to make Jefferson's second administration as stormy as his first had been peaceful. It was the unholy ambition of Napoleon Bonaparte that raised the storm which swept the civilized world from the steppes of Russia to the shores of Lake Erie. Napoleon's native element was war. He could no more live without war than a fish can live out of water. In 1802 he had made peace with England, but he regarded it only as a truce to allow him to establish his despotism in France. He aimed at nothing less than the complete domination of Europe and the destruction of the British colonial empire. In 1803 he forced England to renew the war, and for two years trained a great army at Boulogne and collected more than a thousand flatboats to transport it across the Channel. The medals celebrating the *Descente en Angleterre* were already struck when Napoleon abandoned his plan for the invasion of England and swung his army of three hundred thousand men across Europe to the Danube to meet the coalition of Russia and Austria which William Pitt had formed against him. His complete victory over the combined armies of the Czar and the Emperor at Austerlitz on December 2, 1805, made him master of the continent of Europe for the next decade. But a few weeks earlier (October 21) Admiral Nelson had shattered the fleets of France and Spain in the naval battle off Cape Trafalgar, which gave the British as complete a supremacy on the sea as Napoleon had on the land. Henceforth it was a fight to the death between "the tiger and the shark." Failing either to conquer England by arms or to destroy her fleet, Napoleon sought to starve her into submission by ruining her trade. By decrees issued from Berlin and Milan in 1806 and 1807 he prohibited all commerce and correspondence with the British Isles, while Great Britain replied by Orders in Council, forbidding neutral vessels to trade with any countries under Napoleon's control, unless such vessels had touched at a British port. These decrees and orders, if strictly enforced, meant the utter ruin of neutral trade.

215. The American Ocean Trade. It was upon the United States that the Napoleonic Decrees and the British Orders in Council bore hardest. We were still a people devoted to agriculture and commerce, and as such dependent upon Europe for our manufactured goods. Our stanch, swift vessels, manned by alert tars, were the favorite carriers of the merchandise of South America, the West Indies, and the Far East to all the ports of

Europe. Our own exports too — the fish and lumber of New England, the tobacco ~~and rice of the South, the~~ wheat and live stock of the trans-Allegheny country — had increased nearly fivefold (from $20,000,000 to $95,500,000) since the inauguration of Washington. In the year 1805 some 70,000 tons were added to our merchant marine, requiring the addition of 4200 seamen. Sailors' wages rose from $8 to $24 a month. Hundreds of foreigners became naturalized in order to enjoy the large profits of American shipowners. Not even the powerful navy of Great Britain was able to keep our swift merchant vessels from reaching the forbidden ports of Europe and making handsome profits. The year 1807, when the seizures and confiscation of American vessels were at their height, our foreign trade of $247,000,000 was the largest in our history until 1835. And the revenue from that trade was three times as large as that of any year before 1800. Indeed, had there been only the economic grievance of the seizure of our ships and cargoes, we might well have continued to protest and profit during the entire war — as we did during the early years of the World War (1914–1917), under the strikingly similar interference by Great Britain with our shipping.

216. The Impressment of American Seamen. It was a more serious matter, however, when violent hands were laid upon American citizens. In her desperate struggle with Napoleon, England needed every man she could get for her navy and was incensed when her sailors deserted by the hundreds to take advantage of the higher wages, the better food, and the more humane treatment which they found on board the American vessels. British cruisers hovered off our shores from New England to Georgia, stopping our ships at will and taking off thousands of sailors on the ground that they were British deserters. It availed a man nothing to show his easily procured certificate of American naturalization, for the English government did not recognize the right of its citizens to transfer their allegiance to another country.

217. The *Chesapeake* Affair. It was bad enough for the British to interfere with the commerce and the crews of American merchant ships, but when they committed a like outrage upon a vessel of the United States navy the climax was reached. Our frigate *Chesapeake*, Captain Barron commanding, weighed anchor from Norfolk, Virginia, in the early evening of June 22, 1807, bound for the Mediterranean service. Her guns were still unmounted and her decks littered with tackle. The British ship *Leopard* overhauled her outside the Capes and sent an officer aboard with orders to come to and be searched for British deserters in her crew. When Barron replied that he had no deserters aboard, the *Leopard* came within close range and poured a broadside of shot into the *Chesapeake*, killing three men and wounding eighteen more. Barron, unprepared to resist, struck his colors after firing a single gun lighted by a coal brought from the ship's galley. Then the British officers took four alleged deserters off the American frigate and left her to crawl back to Norfolk with her rigging torn and her hull riddled by solid shot. It was an act of war. The country was stirred as it had not been since the news of the battle of Lexington. Resolutions poured in upon the President pledging the signers to support most vigorous measures of resistance.

218. Jefferson's Embarrassment. Jefferson immediately issued a proclamation excluding British warships from the waters of the United States, dispatched orders to Monroe in London to demand an apology for the attack on the *Chesapeake*, and summoned Congress to meet on October 26, when time had been given for passions to cool down and for a reply to be received from the British foreign secretary, George Canning. There was little to be hoped for from England, however. Monroe and Pinckney had tried in December, 1806, to get relief for our commerce by negotiating a treaty with the British ministry. But the treaty would have so surely involved us in war with Napoleon that Jefferson had refused even to submit it to the Senate for consideration. Since then a Tory Parliament had been elected (April, 1807), which was determined to let nothing stand in the way of crushing Bonaparte. Britannia ruled the waves and there should be no neutrals. The Tory press spoke of America as "an insignificant and puny power," which could not be allowed "to mutilate Britain's proud sovereignty of the ocean." When ships from Europe, long detained by contrary winds, finally reached American ports in December, 1807, they brought evil news. Canning was willing to discuss the *Chesapeake* case, but refused to yield an inch on the right of search and impressment. A new Order in Council had made every neutral vessel that did not touch at an English port and pay heavy duties there subject to seizure. As Henry Adams, the foremost historian of this period, says: "From the moment Mr. Canning and his party assumed power, the fate of Jefferson's administration was sealed. America had no alternative but submission or war."

219. The Embargo. Submission and war, however, were equally distasteful to Jefferson. Even had he wished war, his reduction of our navy to a few vessels which could be laid up in the East Branch of the Potomac and taken care of "by one set of plunderers," made the defense of our coasts against a British fleet impossible. John Randolph sneered at Secretary of State Madison's report of the British depredations on our commerce as "a shilling pamphlet launched against 800 vessels of war." Some rather feeble measures of defense were taken, to be sure. But Jefferson, with the unanimous agreement of his cabinet and the support of large majorities in both Houses of Congress, relied upon "peaceable coercion" to bring Canning and Napoleon to terms. Our commerce, he thought, was so indispensable to both nations that the mere threat of its interruption would make them respect our neutrality. Therefore, on December 17, 1807, he recommended to Congress an act to prohibit any American vessel from sailing for a foreign port. Congress immediately passed the Embargo Act by a vote of 22 to 6 in the Senate and 82 to 44 in the House. But it proved to be a boomerang. Instead of cowing England and France into submission, it aroused a strong protest at home; for it threatened to destroy the very trade which it was designed to protect. During the year of its operation our exports dropped from $108,000,000 to $22,500,000. The merchants of New England preferred risking the loss of a few men and vessels to seeing their ships tied idly to the wharves and their merchandise spoiling in warehouses. When the President resorted to force to carry out the law, ordering Governor Tompkins of New York to use the militia to suppress the smuggling of beef, pork, potash, and lumber across the Canadian frontier, they taunted him with the practice of that executive tyranny which he had always professed to abhor. There were even rumors of plans of secession in New England. It was evident that the continuance of the embargo would mean the overthrow of the Republican party, if not civil war. The hated act, which had cost the New England merchants a loss of $8,000,000 in fifteen months, was repealed on March 1, 1809, and a Nonintercourse Act, prohibiting trade with Great Britain and France only, was passed in its stead. Three days later Jefferson turned over the government to his successor, James Madison.

220. The Trials of Jefferson's Second Administration. Jefferson's retirement to Monticello in the spring of 1809 came as a welcome relief, for his second term had been filled with disappointments and chagrin. Not only had his policy of "peaceable coercion" completely failed to coerce either England or France, and his embargo policy lost him at a stroke all the support that he had laboriously gained in the New England states; but disaffection in his own party and personal opposition from his fellow citizens in Virginia, led by John Randolph of Roanoke, a distant kinsman and a man of unrivaled powers of sarcasm and invective, had "added ten years to his age." Worst of all was the humiliation to which Jefferson was subjected in the trial of Aaron Burr. The brilliant but unprincipled politician, while still vice president, had offered himself as candidate for governor of New York and, being defeated through the efforts of Alexander Hamilton, had challenged Hamilton to a duel and mortally wounded him at the first shot (July 11, 1804).[1] After his retirement from office Burr conceived a plan for retrieving his political fortunes and reputation. Just what he intended to do

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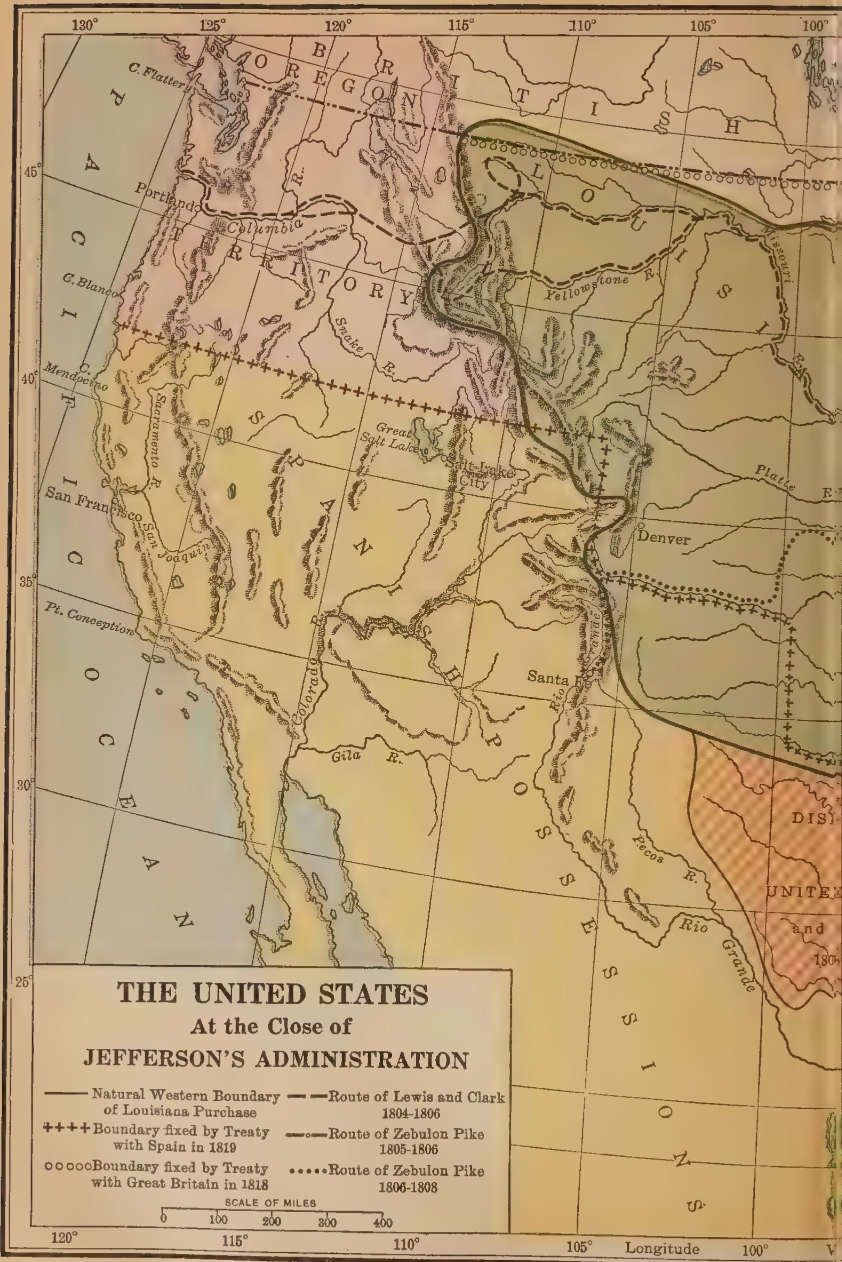
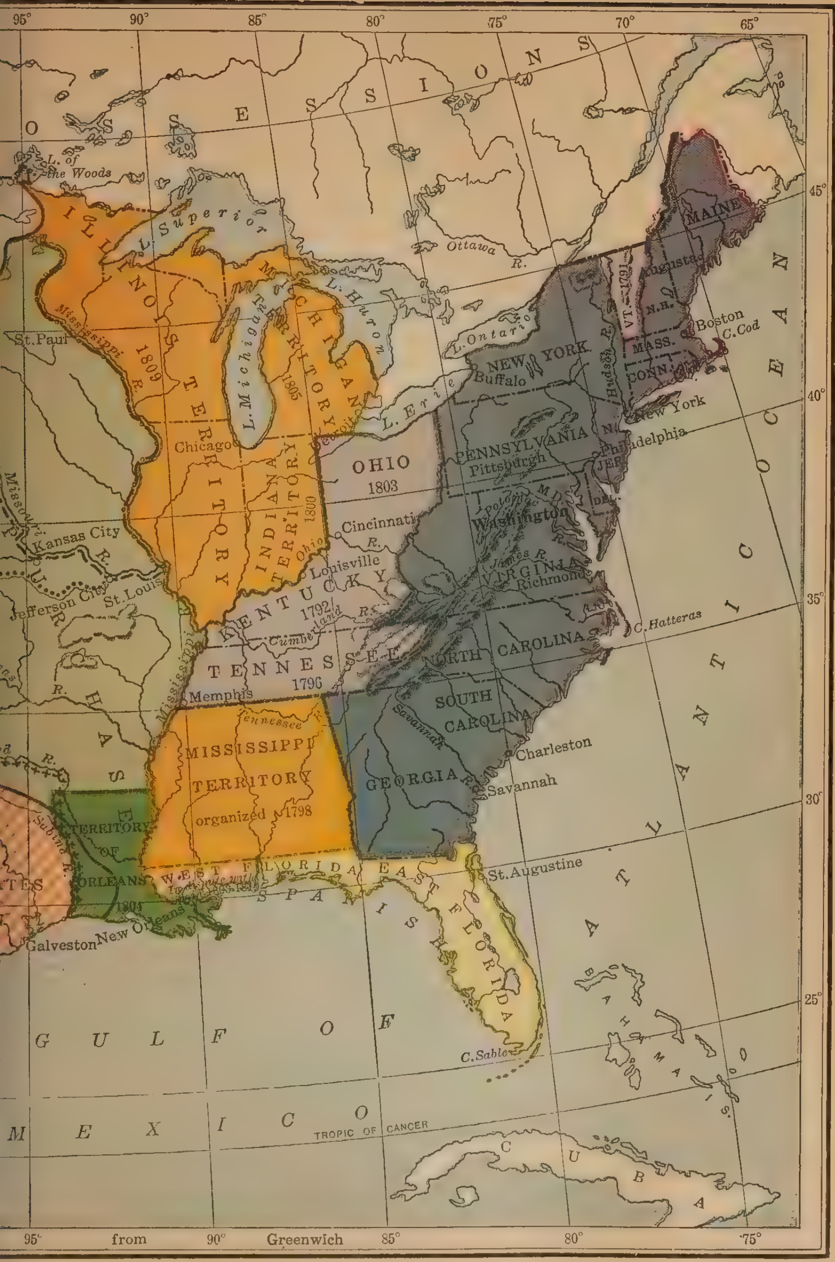
[1] Such an act would today, of course, be condemned by every decent citizen. But no stigma was attached to dueling a century ago. Hamilton's own son had been killed in a duel only a few years before his father was slain by Burr. Burr presided over the Senate in its final session, and his farewell speech on March 4, 1805, was the occasion of affectionate congratulations. Nevertheless, he had ruined his political fortunes with the Republicans by dabbling with the secessionist schemes of the New England Federalists, and with the Federalists by killing their great leader.



THE UNITED STATES
At the Close of
JEFFERSON'S ADMINISTRATION


95°
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POSSESSIONS
L. of the Woods
L. Superior
Ottawa R.
ILLINOIS TERRITORY 1809
Mississippi R.
St. Paul
MICHIGAN TERRITORY 1805
L. Michigan
L. Huron
L. Ontario
L. Erie
Detroit
Chicago
INDIANA TERRITORY 1800
OHIO 1803
Cincinnati
Ohio R.
Louisville
Missouri R.
Kansas City
Jefferson City
St. Louis
KENTUCKY 1792
Cumberland R.
TENNESSEE 1796
Memphis
Tennessee R.
MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY organized 1798
TERRITORY OF ORLEANS 1804
Sabine R.
Red R.
ARKANSAS R.
PURCHASE
TES
Galveston
New Orleans
WEST FLORIDA
EAST FLORIDA
SPANISH
St. Augustine
C. Sable
MAINE
Augusta
VT. 1791
N.H.
MASS.
Boston
C. Cod
CONN.
R.I.
NEW YORK
Buffalo
Hudson R.
New York
N. JER.
Philadelphia
PENNSYLVANIA
Pittsburgh
DEL.
MD.
Potomac R.
Washington
James R.
VIRGINIA
Richmond
C. Hatteras
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
Savannah R.
Charleston
GEORGIA
Savannah
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
TROPIC OF CANCER
BAHAMA IS.
CUBA
95°
from
90°
Greenwich
85°
80°
75°

is uncertain — whether to establish an independent state in the Mississippi Valley, or to seize the city of New Orleans and carve an empire for the Burr "dynasty" out of Spanish territory, or to attempt the conquest of Mexico, or simply to plant a settlement on the Red River. At any rate, he threw the whole Western country into commotion for two years, until he was abandoned and betrayed by his treacherous accomplice, General James Wilkinson. In 1807 Burr was seized while trying to escape into Spanish Florida and brought to Richmond for trial. Jefferson was extremely anxious to have Burr convicted; but the jury, under Marshall's charge, found no "overt act of treason" to justify a verdict of guilty, and Burr was discharged, to spend the rest of his long life in obscurity and misery. The acquittal of Burr was itself a humiliation to Jefferson, but the conduct of the trial was a still greater humiliation. Indeed, it seemed at times as if the President himself were on trial. His star witness, General Wilkinson, was unmercifully heckled by Burr's counsel and he himself was even summoned to appear at Richmond — which he indignantly refused to do.

221. Madison's Diplomacy. The administration was strong enough, in spite of its trials, to elect Jefferson's candidate for the presidency, Secretary of State Madison, against his Federalist opponent, C. C. Pinckney, in 1808. Madison was a master of ideas but not of men. He was unable to control his cabinet or his Congress, as Jefferson had done. He lacked judgment in diplomacy, allowing himself in his anxiety for peace to believe too readily the word of anyone who brought a welcome report.[1] When the Nonintercourse Act expired by limitation in 1810, Congress tried another experiment in the Macon Act, which threw open trade again to all the world but provided that if either England or France should withdraw its decrees or orders against neutral shipping before March 3, 1811, the Nonintercourse Act should be revived against the other country. This foolish act, which was nothing less than an attempt to bribe England and France to bid against each other for our trade, was too good an offer for the wily Napoleon to let slip. He announced (August 5, 1810) that the Berlin and Milan Decrees were repealed, and called upon the American president to redeem his promise by prohibiting intercourse with Great Britain. Again Madison jumped at the chance of bringing Great Britain to terms by diplomacy. In spite of the British ministry's warning that Napoleon would not keep his word (a judgment amply proved by the facts), Madison issued a proclamation reviving the Nonintercourse Act against Great Britain if she should not have repealed her Orders in Council before February 2, 1811. The day passed without any word from the British ministry, and again Congress forbade all trade with Great Britain and her colonies.

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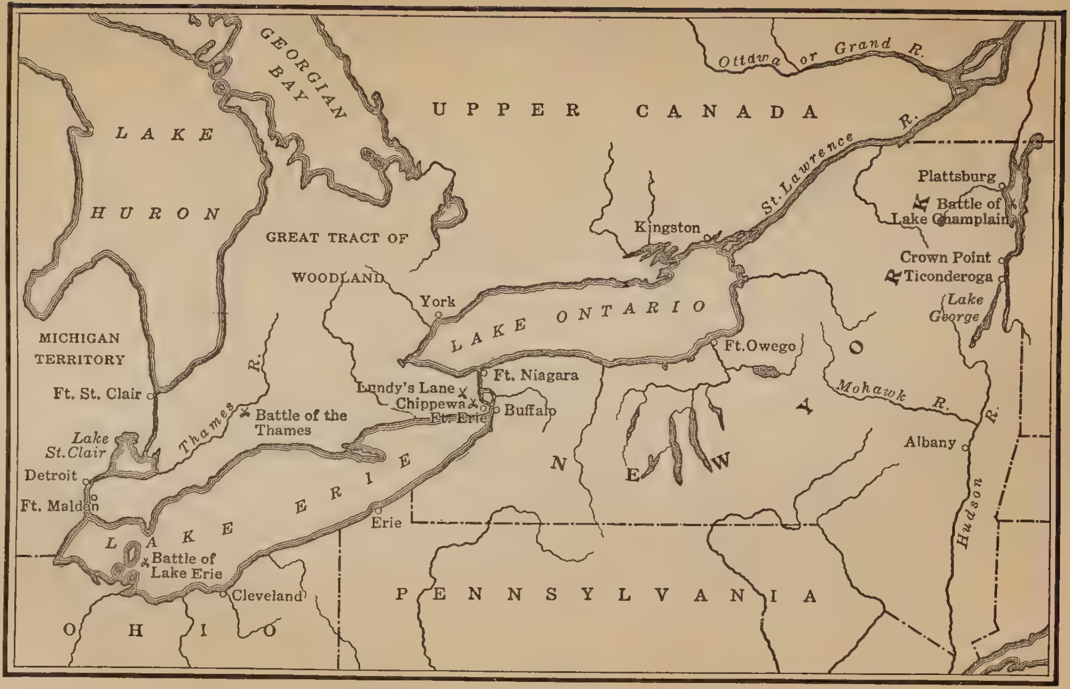
[1] When the new British minister, Erskine, announced in 1809 that his country would withdraw the Orders in Council on certain conditions, Madison hastily reopened commerce with England without asking to see Erskine's full instructions. Canning disavowed the transaction and recalled his minister, much to Madison's chagrin.

✓ **222. The Battle of Tippecanoe.** The year 1811 brought other fuel to feed the fires of anti-British sentiment. The Indians in the territory beyond the Ohio were disturbed by the constant westward pressure of our pioneers. Some of the tribes united under the formidable Shawnee leaders Tecumseh and his twin brother "The Prophet" to resist further encroachment on the land which the Great Spirit had given them. William Henry Harrison, the governor of Indiana territory, led a force of nine hundred men to the neighborhood of the Indian town on Tippecanoe Creek. On November 7, 1811, while Tecumseh was absent in the South stirring up the Creeks and Cherokees to join the confederacy, his brother made an attack on Harrison's fort. The Indians were driven off and the next day they abandoned their town, which Harrison entered and burned. Tecumseh went over to the British in Canada, who had long been seeking to sow discord between the Indians and their "white brothers" south of the lake. Harrison confirmed the belief of our western pioneers that the British officers in Canada had been inciting the Indians on our northwestern frontier ever since St. Clair's disastrous defeat twenty years before, by reporting the capture of "an ample supply of the best British glazed powder" in their town.

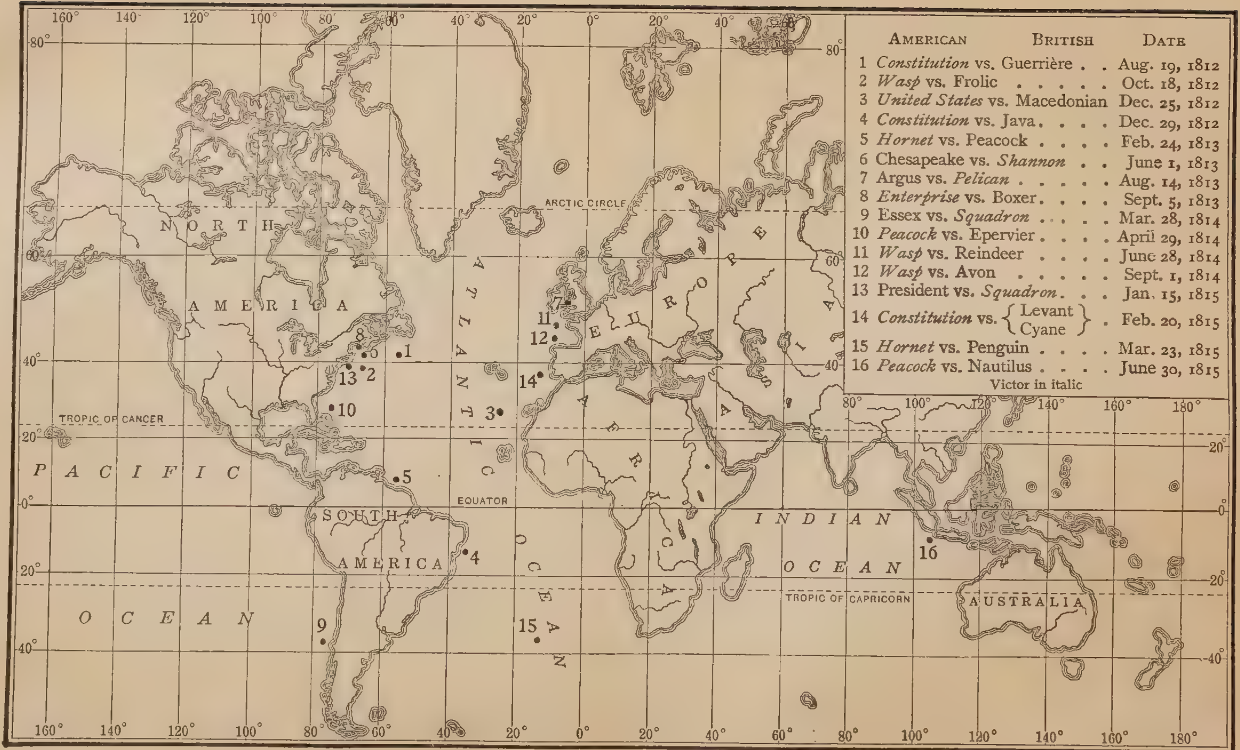
223. Henry Clay and the "War Hawks." A new Congress had met three days before the battle of Tippecanoe. It contained a group of energetic young men of the new generation that had grown up since the Revolutionary War. They were aggressive and intensely patriotic, and they demanded that the impotent diplomacy which had humiliated our government since the end of the first Jefferson administration (the so-called "peaceable war" of embargo and nonintercourse) should be abandoned for a manful assertion of our rights. John Randolph sarcastically called them "the boys" and "the War Hawks." But they had their way and precipitated the War of 1812. Their leader was Henry Clay, a Virginian born, who had moved out to the new state of Kentucky as a young law student and by his great gifts of intellect and oratory had become the first citizen of the state. Clay was elected Speaker of the House in the new Congress. When the Committee on Foreign Affairs recommended war, Clay descended from the chair and urged the adoption of the report in such strains of oratory as had not been heard in Congress for twenty years. He held before the West the vision of an easy conquest of Canada and defeated the motion to send an envoy to England to make one more effort for peace.

224. The Declaration of War. President Madison was carried along by the war current. Forced, as he said, to choose between war and degradation, he sent a message to Congress on June 1, 1812, reviewing the long list of outrages upon our rights as a neutral power, and Congress responded on the eighteenth with a declaration of war against Great Britain. There is no doubt that England for several years had given us sufficient cause for war. Yet the declaration of 1812 was unfortunate, because a few months, or perhaps a few days, more of patient diplomacy would have averted war. Napoleon (who, to the extent of his power, had done us as much harm as England, and who had lied to us besides) was already losing the support of his allies for the "Continental System," which had closed the European ports to English commerce. Had not our minister, William Pinkney, left England in disgust early in 1811, he would have known that that nation, burdened with debts and distressed by a poor harvest, was about ready to make the concessions necessary to reopen its commerce with the United States. And had the special envoy whose appointment the "War Hawks" blocked early in 1812 been allowed to go to London, he would have found the Tory Parliament debating a repeal of the Orders in Council. Parliament did actually repeal the Orders two days before the American declaration of war. But there was no cable to flash the news to Washington. So the unfortunate war between sister nations of the English tongue began just when Napoleon Bonaparte led his army of half a million men across the Russian frontier, hoping to crush the last great power of the European continent that dared to resist his despotic will.

225. Our Failures on the Canada Frontier. The United States were woefully unprepared for war. Though the census of 1810 showed a population of 7,240,000, our regular army numbered less than 7000 soldiers, many of them untrained and ill-equipped, dispersed in petty garrisons along our extended frontier. Our generals were slow-moving elderly men, some of whom had not seen military service since the Revolutionary War. Our navy consisted of 16 ships to oppose England's 800. Lack of roads between the Atlantic coast and the trans-Allegheny region made the transportation of munitions and supplies across the swamps and wilderness so difficult that it cost $60 to carry a barrel of flour from New York to Detroit. The conquest of Canada, which Clay had boasted could be accomplished by the militia of Kentucky alone, and Jefferson said was "merely a matter of marching," failed utterly in the campaigns of 1812 and 1813. The year 1812 saw all the territory west of Lake Erie lost by the cowardly surrender of Detroit by General William Hull. At the other end of Lake Erie our generals were fighting duels with each other instead of advancing together against the enemy. But for the victory of Captain Oliver H. Perry's little fleet at Put-in-Bay on Lake Erie (September 10, 1813) and Lieutenant Thomas Macdonough's defeat of a British squadron on Lake Champlain (September 11, 1814), we could hardly have been saved from a British invasion



THE WAR ON THE CANADIAN BORDER



	American	British	Date
1	*Constitution* vs. Guerrière		Aug. 19, 1812
2	*Wasp* vs. Frolic		Oct. 18, 1812
3	*United States* vs. Macedonian		Dec. 25, 1812
4	*Constitution* vs. Java		Dec. 29, 1812
5	*Hornet* vs. Peacock		Feb. 24, 1813
6	Chesapeake vs. *Shannon*		June 1, 1813
7	Argus vs. *Pelican*		Aug. 14, 1813
8	*Enterprise* vs. Boxer		Sept. 5, 1813
9	Essex vs. *Squadron*		Mar. 28, 1814
10	*Peacock* vs. Epervier		April 29, 1814
11	*Wasp* vs. Reindeer		June 28, 1814
12	*Wasp* vs. Avon		Sept. 1, 1814
13	President vs. *Squadron*		Jan. 15, 1815
14	*Constitution* vs.	Levant Cyane	Feb. 20, 1815
15	*Hornet* vs. Penguin		Mar. 23, 1815
16	*Peacock* vs. Nautilus		June 30, 1815

Victor in italic

THE WAR OF 1812 ON THE SEA

from Canada, which would have cost us the whole Northwest Territory and the valley of the Hudson. Cheered by Perry's famous dispatch from Lake Erie, "We have met the enemy and they are ours," General Harrison recaptured Detroit and pursued the retreating British across the river to the Canadian side, inflicting a severe defeat upon them in the battle of the Thames, in which Tecumseh was slain (October 5, 1813). This was the nearest we came to a "conquest of Canada." For at the eastern end of Lake Erie our last attempt at invasion, under General Jacob Brown, resulted only in a drawn battle of Lundy's Lane (July 25, 1814).

226. The British raid Washington. A month after the battle of Lundy's Lane a British force of forty-five hundred men under General Ross raided the city of Washington after putting to flight the seventy-five hundred raw militia troops hastily gathered at Bladensburg to defend the national capital. President Madison, hastily gathering such valuables as he could, took refuge in the Virginia woods, while the British set fire to the White House, the Capitol, and some department buildings. After inflicting about $1,500,000 worth of damage on the property of the city, they departed for Baltimore, where a similar raid was frustrated by the spirited defense of Fort McHenry (September 12, 1814). It was the sight of our flag still waving on the ramparts of Fort McHenry, after an all night's bombardment, that inspired Francis Scott Key's song, "The Star-Spangled Banner."

227. The War on the Sea. It was expected at the outbreak of the war that our superior numbers would make the land campaign against Canada an easy triumph, while the powerful English fleet would meet with feeble opposition on the seas. But it turned out the other way. The invasion of Canada was a miserable failure, while our frigates, the *President*, *United States*, and *Constitution* ("Old Ironsides"), compelled five British warships to strike their colors in six months. On all lines of world commerce — in the Atlantic, the Pacific, and the Indian Oceans, off the coast of New England, among the Indies, in the English waters, and beyond the Cape of Good Hope — the privateers and merchantmen of both countries played the game of hide and seek. In the first seven months of the war over three hundred British merchantmen were taken by the swift Yankee privateers, and before the war was over thirteen hundred prizes, valued at $39,000,000, were captured, many of which were, however, retaken. The British had boasted at the beginning of the war that they would not let an American craft cross from New York to Staten Island, but before the war was over they were themselves paying 15 per cent insurance on vessels crossing the English Channel. However, in the end, the Americans were the worse sufferers by the war, their exports falling from $61,000,000 in 1811 to less than $7,000,000 in 1814. Eventually, too, our little navy, in spite of its exploits, had to yield to Great Britain's superiority in numbers. At the close of the war all our frigates but two were either captured, sunk, or interned in home ports.

228. The Treaty of Ghent. From the beginning of the war attempts had been made to negotiate peace. The Czar of Russia had offered mediation in 1812, but England's refusal to abandon the right of impressment blocked the way. So long as the life-and-death struggle between England and Napoleon continued, our war with England, which was a direct result of that struggle, had to go on. But when Napoleon was overthrown England had no further need to enforce right of search, blockades, and impressments. Therefore the British minister, Castlereagh, offered to treat directly with peace commissioners from the United States. The American commissioners, including Henry Clay, John Quincy Adams, and Albert Gallatin, met the British at Ghent in the Netherlands on August 8, 1814. Our fortunes of war were at a low ebb at just that moment, and the British made the demand that we should renounce the Northwest Territory, cede Maine and upper New York to Canada, agree to establish no posts on the shores of the Great Lakes or place any vessels on their waters, and renounce the right of sharing in the Newfoundland fisheries which we had gained in the treaty of 1783. These preposterous terms were immediately rejected by our commissioners, and as the autumn of 1814 wore on events in America and Europe led the British to abandon

UNITED STATES FRIGATE *CONSTITUTION*

From a photogravure. Copyright by A. W. Elson & Company, Belmont, Mass.

every one of their exorbitant demands. The news of Macdonough's victory on Lake Champlain and of the defense of Baltimore stiffened the American commissioners, while the prospect of a renewal of the European war, as a result of the quarrels of the powers at the Congress of Vienna, made the British anxious to finish the American business. Peace was signed on Christmas Eve of 1814, restoring the exact conditions that had existed before the war. All the posts captured by either side were given up, and a commission was to settle the boundary disputes between the United States and Canada. Nothing was said about impressments or the right of search, which had really become a dead letter with the overthrow of Napoleon.

229. Jackson's Victory at New Orleans. Before the news of the Treaty of Ghent reached Washington, however (February 14, 1815), two events of importance took place in America. The British, failing in their attack on Baltimore, had sailed for the West Indies and there joined several thousand veteran troops under General Pakenham, just freed from service against Napoleon's armies in the Spanish peninsula. Their purpose was to seize New Orleans, paralyze the trade of the Mississippi Valley, and perhaps hold Louisiana for exchange at the close of the war for territory in the Northwest. But Andrew Jackson, a Tennessee frontiersman and Indian fighter of Scotch-Irish stock, who was in command of our small army in the Mississippi territory, was a man of different caliber from the generals on the northern frontier. He had already broken the power of the hostile Creeks in the battle of Horseshoe Bend in the autumn of 1814, and thereby freed our southwestern territory from the Indian danger as effectively as Harrison's victory at Tippecanoe had freed the Northwest. Now, pressing every man and mule in the city of New Orleans into service, he constructed a hasty but effective line of fortifications below the city, and when the British veterans attacked with confidence he drove them back with terrible slaughter, laying two thousand of their number on the field in a battle of twenty minutes' duration (January 8, 1815). Jackson, henceforth the "hero of New Orleans," was rewarded in the following years by the command against the Indians of Florida (1817), the governorship of the Florida territory (1821), a seat in the United States Senate (1823), and the presidency of the United States (1829). If the Atlantic cable had existed in 1814, it would have brought the news of the treaty of peace in time to turn Pakenham's expedition back from the Mississippi, to prevent the bloodiest battle that had ever been fought on American soil, and perhaps to keep from the pages of American history the administration of the most masterful of our presidents between Washington and Lincoln.

230. Opposition of New England to the War. Although the war was caused by the British interference with our commerce, it was violently opposed by the commercial section of New England. The explanation of this apparent contradiction is simple. The New England merchants were injured more by embargoes and nonintercourse than they were by the British cruisers. And they saw in war with England the ruin of a commerce which we had no navy to defend. Not only did the legislatures of the New England states condemn the war openly and refuse to allow their militia to serve outside their state, but the people of those states, with half the specie of the country in their banks, subscribed to less than one tenth of the national loan authorized by Congress in 1812, and continued throughout the war the treasonable practice of sending supplies to the enemies across the border. "Two thirds of the army in Canada are at this moment eating beef provided by the American contractors," wrote the British general, George Prevost, who chose to march down the western shore of Lake Champlain in his invasion of August, 1814, in order not to interfere with the droves of cattle which were going up to Canada along the Vermont side of the lake. Senator Pickering of Massachusetts wrote that he had every hope that the British would succeed at New Orleans, in which case the "Union would be severed" and the states north of the Potomac would be free "to make a solid peace with Great Britain."

231. The Hartford Convention. A call went out from the legislature of Massachusetts to the other New England states, in October, 1814, for a convention of delegates "to unite in such measures for our safety as the times demand . . . and the law of self preservation will justify." Connecticut and Rhode Island responded promptly, and twenty-three delegates (later joined by three members from Vermont and New Hampshire) met at Hartford, Connecticut, December 15, 1814. They resolved, quite in the language of President Madison's own Virginia Resolutions of 1798 [**204**], that "in cases of deliberate, dangerous, and palpable infraction of the constitution affecting the sovereignty of a state . . . it is not only the right but the duty of such a state to interpose its authority." They proposed seven amendments to the Constitution, designed to lessen the power of the slave-holding agricultural South, to secure the interests of commerce, to prevent the hasty admission of new Western states, and to check the succession of Virginia presidents. After a month's session they adjourned to the following June, and their messengers carried their demands to Washington. The messengers arrived only to find themselves in the midst of general rejoicing over the news of Jackson's victory at New Orleans and the tidings of the peace from Ghent, which reached Washington on the same day. The triumph of the Republicans was complete, and the crestfallen Hartford envoys returned to New England bearing the doom of the Federalist party. In the presidential election of the following year (1816) the Federalists for the last time put a candidate into the field, Rufus King of New York. He received only 34 electoral votes to 183 for his Republican rival, James Monroe, Madison's Secretary of State, who continued for another eight years the "dynasty" of Virginia Republicans inaugurated by Thomas Jefferson in 1801.

232. The Completion of our Independence. The close of the War of 1812 marks an epoch in American history. During the quarter of a century which elapsed between the inauguration of George Washington and the conclusion of the treaty at Ghent, our country was very largely influenced by European politics. Our independence was acknowledged but not respected. We were in a state of semi-colonial dependence on the Old World. Our parties were English and French, "Anglomen" and

"Jacobins." Neither the French republic nor the English monarchy accorded us the courtesies due to a sister power; neither Napoleon nor the ministers of George III heeded our protests against the violation of a neutral nation's rights. Foreign wars and rumors of war, treaties, protests, embassies, absorbed the energies of the administration at Washington. Many of our greatest statesmen were serving their country in foreign capitals. The eyes of our people were turned toward the Atlantic to welcome our swift packets bringing news from Paris, London, and Madrid. But with the "universal peace" of 1815 all this was changed. We turned our back on Europe and began to grapple with the problems of our national life and the development of our national domain.

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3. **The Louisiana Purchase:** McMaster, Vol. II, pp. 620–635; Adams, Vol. II, pp. 116–134; F. A. Ogg, *The Opening of the Mississippi*, pp. 495–539; T. Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, Vol. IV, pp. 258–307; A. B. Hart, *Foundations of American Foreign Policy*, pp. 185–207, and *Contemporaries*, Vol. III, Nos. 111, 112, 114; MacDonald, No. 65, for text of Louisiana Treaty.

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5. **The Lewis and Clark Expedition:** R. G. Thwaites, *Rocky Mountain Explorations*, pp. 92–187; Agnes C. Laut, *Pathfinders*, pp. 307–333; N. Brooks, *First Across the Continent*; Roosevelt, Vol. IV, pp. 308–328; Hart, *Contemporaries*, Vol. III, No. 115; Muzzey, *Readings*, pp. 218–222; R. G. Thwaites (ed.), *Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.*

Questions for Review

1. Explain the terms "embargo," "assumption," "freedom of the seas," "alien," "unconstitutional," "nullification." **2.** What were the chief elements in our population in Washington's day? **3.** What was the "Republican court"? **4.** Why were the followers of Hamilton called Federalists? **5.** How did the Federalists and the Republicans differ on the interpretation of the Constitution? **6.** On what other questions did they differ? **7.** Would you have been a Republican or a Federalist in 1792? **8.** Name four important measures of Hamilton. **9.** Distinguish between the different forms of the national debt in 1789. **10.** Why did Hamilton advocate a tariff? **11.** What connection had the government with the national bank? **12.** Did our treaty of 1778 with France pledge us to support the French Revolution? **13.** Why was Washington eager to preserve neutrality in 1793? **14.** Why did Jay's Treaty meet with violent opposition in the United States? **15.** What was the "right of deposit"? **16.** Explain how we had a president and a vice president of different parties in 1797. **17.** Why are political parties necessary? **18.** Why did we pay tribute to the Mediterranean pirates? **19.** How did England justify her interference with the rights of neutrals on the sea? **20.** Why did we go to war with England, and not with France, in 1812? **21.** What part of the Constitution did the Sedition Act violate? **22.** Why did the embargo fail? **23.** Did the United States gain anything by the War of 1812? **24.** Contrast Washington's and Jefferson's method of averting war. **25.** What different theories are there of Burr's actions? **26.** What was the origin of "The Star-Spangled Banner"? **27.** Connect important events with the dates 1793, 1795, 1800, 1803, 1807, 1811, 1815.

CHAPTER VII

THE NATION AND THE SECTIONS

CHANGING AMERICA

233. The Two Currents. In the years from the close of the second war with England to the administration of Andrew Jackson (1815–1829) two opposing currents were flowing through American life: the one setting strongly toward a proud consciousness of our destiny as a powerful united nation, the other tending toward the realization of its own peculiar needs and interests by each of the great sections, North, South, and West. It was the conflict of these currents and their relative intensity that determined the course of American history during the period. At first the national current was so strong that it seemed to carry everything before it. Bills were enthusiastically passed, creating a new army and navy, rechartering the national bank, and raising the tariff rates, which had already been doubled in 1812 to meet the expenses of the war. Statesmen from all parts of the country supported these measures, and every manifestation of a narrow, sectional spirit, like that of the Hartford Convention, was rebuked on the floor of Congress and in the columns of the press as unpatriotic. Then gradually the strength of the opposing current of sectional interest increased until it stopped and turned back the tide of nationalism.

234. The Lessons of the War. If the change in a few years from a generous nationalism to a snarling sectionalism seems sudden, the explanation is simple. The long period of our preoccupation with questions arising out of the wars and diplomacy of the European powers had somewhat blinded our statesmen to the particular interests which were developing in the various sections of our own country. Moreover, the War of 1812 revealed weaknesses and embarrassments in the national government which called for an immediate remedy. It showed the folly of dependence on militia; the difficulty of transporting men and supplies without adequate roads, bridges, or canals; the danger of bankruptcy from relying upon the uneven currency of the state banks, which had multiplied enormously since the recharter of the National Bank had been defeated in 1811.[1] Worst of all, the war had revealed an alarming amount of indifference toward the national government and even the danger of secession in the New England states. At times it seemed as if the Union might go to pieces. No wonder the duty of putting the United States in a position to maintain their credit, their authority, and their very existence took precedence of every other consideration.

235. Nationalist Measures. As a result of the war, our coast defenses were strengthened, our interior forts remanned, and our coastwise trade confined to ships of American registry. The regular army was increased to ten thousand, and nearly $5,000,000 was appropriated for the use of the War and Navy Departments. In 1811 Henry Clay had led the opposition to the recharter of the National Bank, but now he descended from the Speaker's chair to urge the charter of a new bank with a capital three and a half times as large as the old one. President Madison, "surmounting the prejudices of a lifetime," signed the bill for the charter of the Bank in April, 1816. Seventeen days later he signed another bill which gave even stronger proof of the new nationalistic spirit. In order to make the United States independent of Europe in case another war should vex our commerce, a tariff bill was passed encouraging the manufacture of iron, glass, hardware, leather, woolen, and especially cotton fabrics by duties averaging more than 20 per cent. Votes for the tariff of 1816 came from every section of the country. Only a few men, like John Randolph, called attention to the fact that it favored the Northern manufacturer at the expense of the Southern farmer. "I lay the claims of the manufacturer entirely out of view," replied John C. Calhoun of South Carolina. "It is the duty of the country as a means of defense to encourage the domestic industries of the country."

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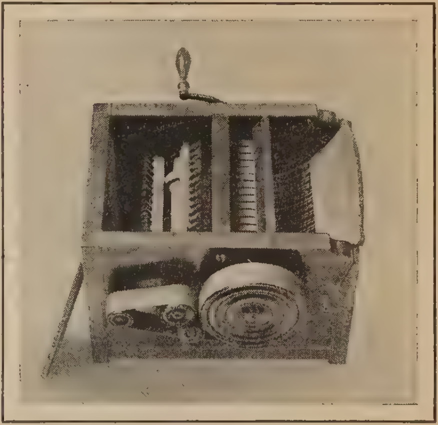
[1] These banks had issued notes to the amount of $170,000,000 on a basis of only $15,000,000 in gold and silver. The notes circulated at various rates of discount, and in 1814 all the banks of the South and West were obliged to suspend specie payment, thereby throwing most of the country back upon the paper-currency basis of the Revolutionary days. Only the New England banks continued to pay specie.

236. The Veto of Calhoun's Bonus Bill. When President Madison signed the bank and tariff bills and Thomas Jefferson declared that "we must now place the manufacturer by the side of the agriculturist," it was evident that the old Republican opposition to a strong central government was yielding to new national needs. Madison had even gone so far as to contemplate the expenditure of public money for the improvement of the means of transportation and commerce, urging Congress in his last message (December, 1816) to turn its particular attention to "effectuating a system of roads and canals such as would have the effect of drawing more closely together every part of our country." A few days later Calhoun introduced a bill into Congress devoting to such "internal improvements" the $1,500,000 which the government was to receive as a bonus for the establishment of the second National Bank as well as all the dividends accruing to the government on its stock in the bank. "We are great and rapidly (I was about to say fearfully) growing," he cried. "The extent of our country exposes us to the greatest of all calamities next to the loss of liberty, *disunion*. . . . Let us bind the republic together with a perfect system of roads and canals." After careful consideration Madison vetoed the Bonus Bill on his last day of office (March 3, 1817), not because he disapproved the purpose but because he thought the Constitution would have to be amended in order to give Congress the necessary power. His successor, Monroe, was also reluctant to "stretch" the Constitution as far as Clay and Calhoun wished, and so the policy of internal improvements undertaken at the expense of the United States Treasury was defeated.

237. The Emergence of Sectional Interests. It was not so much, however, constitutional objections to infringing the rights of the states that slowed up the currents of nationalism, as certain economic interests that had been developing in various sections of the country for several years. With our present rapid means of transportation and communication by the railroad and the airplane, the telegraph, the telephone, and the radio; with our tremendous interstate commerce binding section to section; with our network of banks and brokerage houses maintaining financial equilibrium between the different parts of our country, — we find it hard to realize the isolation and the consequent antagonism of the various geographical sections in the early years of the nineteenth century. The wonder really is that our country held together as well as it did, and not that it tended to separate into sections. For in spite of the temporary unifying effect of the second war with Great Britain, it was not until the crisis of the great Civil War that the United States became an assured Union. We shall better appreciate the United States of Monroe's administration if we think of our country as a huge geographical framework containing several distinct communities with widely differing social and industrial interests.

238. The Industrial East. Though there had been manufactures of various sorts on a small scale in New England, New York, New Jersey, and eastern Pennsylvania since the colonial days, agriculture and shipping had been the predominant industry of this region. We have seen how the European war in its first years (1793–1805) stimulated American foreign trade [**215**]; but with the new policy of British orders and Napoleonic decrees which began in 1806, and which finally involved us in the War of 1812, a great change came. Embargo, nonintercourse, and war virtually ruined American shipping. Our foreign trade dropped from $246,800,000 in 1807 to $19,800,000 in 1814. Capital to the amount of $100,000,000 was diverted from shipping into manufactures. By 1815 New England had invested $40,000,000 in cotton factories alone, of which there were one hundred and forty within a radius of thirty miles of Providence, Rhode Island. When the war was over England began "dumping" the accumulated products of her factories on the American market at ominously cheap prices, "in order," as Lord Brougham said in Parliament, "to stifle in the cradle those rising manufactures in the United States which the war has forced into existence."

In a single year England sent $90,000,000 worth of merchandise to our shores. Crates of merchandise and bales of cotton goods were piled on the docks of Philadelphia, Baltimore, New York, and Boston to be sold to eager bidders at auction. Obviously, it was to the interest of this industrial section to have a tariff to protect its manufacturers against British competition, an abundant supply of labor for its factories, a sound banking system for the safety of its business, and an expanding market in which to sell its goods.



ELI WHITNEY'S COTTON GIN

239. The Planters of the South. The economic interests of the South were exactly opposed to those of the North. They had been determined by the invention of a Yankee school-teacher named Eli Whitney, who had been obliged to go south for his health. In 1793 Whitney, watching the negroes of a Georgia plantation laboriously picking the seeds from the cotton fiber, invented the cotton "gin," which enabled a man to clean three hundred pounds of cotton in the same time that it had taken to clean a single pound by hand. Whitney's invention was one of the most fateful in history, for it made the production of cotton so profitable ~~that the~~ plantation system, and therewith slave labor, ~~was fixed~~ upon the South. The cotton crop increased from 2,000,000 pounds in 1791 to 40,000,000 pounds in 1801, 80,000,000 pounds in 1811, and 177,000,000 pounds in 1821. Since cotton culture exhausts the soil quickly, the Southern planters were always looking for fresh lands. They occupied the fertile regions of the Mississippi Territory (which the campaigns of Andrew Jackson had freed from the terror of the savages) so rapidly that by 1821 more than a third of the cotton crop was raised in the states west of the Alleghenies. As manufacturing was excluded from the South by the plantation system, the planter was dependent for necessary supplies upon other sections of the country or upon Europe. His bacon, pork, and wheat came largely from the West. His clothing, tools, furniture, and other manufactured goods from the North or from Europe. The tariff was a burden on him because it raised the price of every article that he bought and enriched the manufacturers of the North at his expense. He did not hire labor, and so had no concern whether wages were high or low. He was not vitally interested in the prosperity of the New England cotton mills because they used only about a quarter of his cotton crop. His chief market was overseas.

AN EARLY STEAMBOAT ON THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER

240. The New West. Over against the industrial society of the North and the planters' society of the South, the West presented a pioneer society with its own peculiar needs. The ever-moving westward frontier has been one of the most important influences in American history. It bred a type of settlers who, in their struggle to subdue the wild forest and the wilder savages, became self-reliant, resourceful, and remarkably courageous. As the frontier held no attraction for people of wealth and offered little opportunity for social distinction, a stark democracy was developed which constantly reflected an influence upon the older communities of the seaboard. The tide of emigration to the West varied with the political fortunes of the government. So long as England and Spain were in a position to encourage the Indians in their resistance to our westward expansion, only the more adventurous pioneers went beyond the mountains. Each victory in diplomacy and arms, however, opened the West to more thousands of settlers. A series of treaties with the Indians, often forced upon them against their will, extinguished the red man's claims to vast tracts of land just ahead of the advancing tide of white migration. Three events of the year 1811 hastened the development of the new West: (1) Harrison's victory at Tippecanoe [**222**] freed the Northwest from the Indian menace; (2) the first contracts were let for the construction of the Cumberland Road, a stone-surfaced national highway to run from Cumberland, Maryland, to Wheeling, Virginia, on the Ohio, and later extended through Indiana and Illinois; (3) the first steamboat was launched on the "western waters" to make the trip from Pittsburgh down to New Orleans, superseding the old scows, arks, and flatboats which had drifted down with the current and had been "poled up" against it. A veritable exodus to the Western country began after the Treaty of Ghent. New immigrants from Europe, especially from Germany and the British Isles, arrived to swell the tide. "The old America seems to be breaking up and moving westward," wrote an English emigrant in 1817. Five new Western states were added to the Union in rapid succession: Indiana (1816), Mississippi (1817), Illinois (1818), Alabama (1819), and Missouri (1821). In the decade 1810–1820 the new Western communities were growing by leaps and bounds while the population of the older states remained almost stationary.[1] By the

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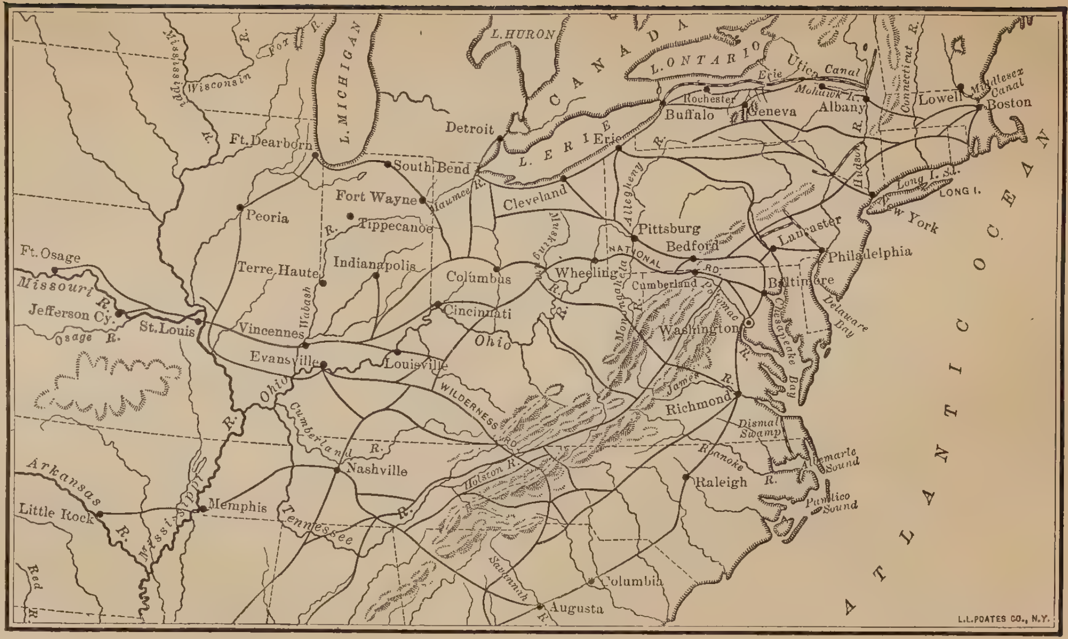
[1] Census reports for 1810 and 1820:

	Massachusetts	New York	Virginia	Indiana	Missouri	Mississippi
1810	472,040	959,049	974,600	24,520	19,783	40,352
1820	523,287	1,373,812	1,065,386	147,178	66,586	75,448

census of 1820 more than a quarter of our population (2,600,000 out of 9,600,000) dwelt in the trans-Allegheny states, which sent 16 of the 46 senators and 47 of the 213 representatives to the national Congress.

241. The Economic Needs of the West. The settlers of the Western domain, which a generation before had been, in the language of Daniel Webster, "a fresh, untouched, unbounded, magnificent wilderness," were now in a position to demand consideration for their economic needs from the government. As they were practically all farmers with hardly enough cash to meet the payments on their land, they could not themselves pay for the roads and canals that were necessary to carry their surplus agricultural products to the markets of the East. Freight was drawn in heavy wagons by horses and mules and oxen along poor roads at incredibly slow speed and high cost. The trip from Baltimore to Cincinnati often took a month. In Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky the roads were so poor that it did not pay to raise grain or tobacco fifty miles from a navigable river.

242. Clay's American System. It was the hope of the nationalists like Clay, Calhoun, and Adams that the interests of the various sections of the country could be harmonized. Clay especially urged that we should no longer have regard to Europe but should build up "a genuine American policy," in which the factories (supported by the tariff) would create a market of industrial consumers for the products of agriculture and in turn supply the farmers with the manufactured goods which they needed. But, unfortunately, the interests of the three great sections tended to rivalry rather than harmony. The industrial East did not favor the cheap land policy which drew men to the West and so tended to make the wages of labor higher. Neither did the conservative East approve the extreme democracy of the new West, whose rapidly growing representation in Congress threatened to destroy the supremacy of the seaboard states. The South bought its food from the West, but sold its cotton crop partly to the North and chiefly to England. It had no interest in seeing the West connected with the North by roads



ROUTES TO THE WEST, 1815–1825

and canals for which it would have to bear a share of the expense. The West, unable to consume its own agricultural surplus and without the capital to develop an industrial population to consume it, was willing to vote for the tariff so long as some of its proceeds should be devoted to the building of roads and canals. But as a debtor community the West opposed the National Bank, which deprived it of the cheap and easy credit of the state notes. To attempt to reconcile these conflicting economic interests was like trying to square the circle. That is why, in spite of the fervid oratory of Henry Clay, the current of sectionalism turned back the current of nationalism, and the "era of good feeling" which immediately followed the War of 1812 changed a decade later into an era of hard feeling between the rival sections of the country.

243. John Marshall and the Supreme Court. Nevertheless, there were important and permanent results of the national consciousness in this epoch; none more so than the strengthening of the federal government by the decisions of the Supreme Court. John Marshall of Virginia, a moderate Federalist, was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court by John Adams in January, 1801. Marshall held this highest judicial office in the country for thirty-four years and, by his famous decisions interpreting the Constitution, made for himself the greatest name in the history of the American bench. Down to the Treaty of Ghent our national judiciary had shown but little signs of the great prestige which it was to enjoy in our history. Only three important cases had come before it in the years 1803–1815.[1] But when the peace turned the attention of the country from foreign entanglements to the development of the national domain, many questions arose as to the exact limit of the powers of the national government and of the states.

244. Four Great Cases. In the case of Martin *vs.* Hunter's Lessee (1816) Marshall overruled the highest court of Virginia, which had refused to allow an appeal from its decision to be taken to the Supreme Court. In the Dartmouth College case (1819) the Court annulled an act of the legislature of New Hampshire altering the charter of the college against the will of the trustees, on the ground that the charter was a contract and that the impairment of contracts by the state is forbidden by the Constitution (Art. I, sect. 10, par. 1). The majority of the Court was won to this decision by the impassioned plea of Daniel Webster in behalf of the college, which was his alma mater. The same year, in the famous case of McCulloch *vs.* Maryland, the Court forbade the state to lay a tax on the business of the branch of the National Bank established in Baltimore. Finally, in the case of Gibbons *vs.* Ogden (1824), Marshall destroyed the monopoly granted to Robert Fulton and Robert Livingston by the legislature of New York of the exclusive control of steam navigation within the waters of the state. By this momentous decision the control of all the waterways of the country was brought within the power of the federal government.

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[1] In one of these (Marbury *vs.* Madison, 1803) the Court had for the first time declared an act of Congress unconstitutional and void; in another (Fletcher *vs.* Peck, 1810) it had declared an act of the state legislature of Georgia null and void because it conflicted with the Constitution.

245. Changes in Social Conditions. Many indications of a new American spirit in this period are to be seen in our social life and institutions. The movement and mingling of population in immigration from Europe and emigration to the West was rapidly breaking down the social privileges and prejudices of sections of our country. South Carolina amended her constitution in 1810, giving the franchise to all white male adults, and Massachusetts (1821), New York (1824), and Connecticut (1845) followed suit. The old Puritan dominion in New England approached its end. Connecticut did away with religious qualifications for office in 1818. New Hampshire passed a Toleration Act in 1819, and the next year the Massachusetts convention for framing a constitution was torn with dissensions between the new Unitarians and the old Orthodox believers. The Episcopal Church in the Southern states also lost its predominance with the increase of Scotch-Irish Presbyterian immigrants and the growth of the Methodists and Baptists in the frontier communities. The progress of industry began to attract workers from the rural districts to the cities. Boston, New York, and Philadelphia increased about 30 per cent in the decade 1810–1820, and Baltimore nearly doubled her population. Popular movements looking toward the improvement of labor conditions, the establishment of public schools, the health and cleanliness of cities, and the humane treatment of criminals, debtors, and the feeble-minded began to be agitated in these years.

246. Literature and Education. The beginnings of a truly American literature appeared. *The North American Review*, our first creditable magazine, was started in 1815. Two years later William Cullen Bryant wrote "Thanatopsis." In 1819 appeared Washington Irving's "Sketch Book." James Fenimore Cooper began shortly afterwards his famous series of novels dealing with Indian life. Hitherto the work of American writers in all but political and religious subjects had been a feeble copy of the contemporary English models. But in Bryant, Irving, and Cooper America produced her first distinctively native talent, which drew its inspiration from the natural beauties, the historical traditions, and the novel life of the western world. Our foreign visitors recognized the distinctive American types, contrasting the still rude and unformed West with the Puritan culture of New England and the baronial life of the old Southern planters. As yet the great mass of people were without educational opportunities beyond the primary grades, though literary funds were raised from various sources, like marriage fees or tavern licenses, for the establishment of schools. Thomas Jefferson drew up a plan in 1817 for a state-wide system of education in Virginia from the primary school to the college, and labored incessantly for the promotion of the nonsectarian University of Virginia, which he had the satisfaction of seeing opened in 1825, the year before his death. In 1818 Benjamin Silliman of Yale started *The American Journal of Sciences and Arts*, but the teaching of science in our universities long lagged far behind the old and hallowed curriculum of classical and theological studies. There were no genuine scientific schools like Sheffield at Yale and Lawrence at Harvard until after 1830, and it was not until 1840 that the census of the United States took notice of the data of education, when it found that over 80 per cent of the inhabitants of the country had no education beyond the primary schools and less than 1 per cent had been to college. America had not yet begun to heed in earnest the warning of Jefferson in 1816, that a democracy could never expect to remain free if it remained uneducated.

247. The Reëlection of Monroe. On April 13, 1818, our new national flag, with its thirteen alternate stripes of white and red and its twenty white stars on an azure field, was raised over the Capitol.[1] It was a happy symbol of the new America. When the election of 1820 approached there was no rival candidate to Monroe in the field. The Federalist party, with the exception of a few irreconcilables, who, in the witty language of one of their number, reminded themselves of the "melancholy state of a man who has remained sober when all his companions have become intoxicated," had been entirely merged with the nationalized Republicans in the "era of good feeling." Monroe received the vote of every elector but one, who cast his ballot for John Quincy Adams. Even the old Federalist leader of Massachusetts, John Adams, served as an elector on the Monroe ticket.

The Missouri Compromise and the Monroe Doctrine

248. Slavery in the American Colonies. Up to this point we have only occasionally mentioned the institution of negro slavery, which led to the greatest crisis in our country's history — disunion and the Civil War. Negro slavery existed in America from the earliest colonial days. In the year 1619 a Dutch vessel brought twenty slaves from the West Indies to the Virginia colony of Jamestown; but it was not until about a century later, when the English secured the monopoly of the African slave trade, that the negroes began to be imported in large numbers to cultivate the tobacco and rice plantations of the Southern colonies. Their coming was due not so much to the demand of the colonies as to the cupidity of the British companies which controlled the slave trade and of the New England merchants who made large profits by exchanging the rum of their distilleries for African negroes, whom they brought to the West Indies to exchange for molasses to make more rum with which to purchase more negroes — the famous "triangular traffic" of rum, negroes, and molasses. By the end of the colonial period there were over half a million negro slaves in the country, nine tenths of them in the states south of the Potomac River. Before the close of the eighteenth century every state north of Maryland (except New Jersey) had provided for the immediate or gradual abolition of slavery, while Whitney's cotton gin had fixed the institution firmly upon the South. The English colonies in America, therefore, were not a free land which was gradually encroached upon by slavery, but a land in all of whose extent slavery was at first recognized by law, and only later excluded from the portions where it was economically unprofitable.

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[1] By an act of April 4, 1818, the flag designed by Betsy Ross for the thirteen states in 1777, and slightly modified in 1794, was altered to fit our growth. The act provided that a new star be added to the blue field on the Fourth of July succeeding the admission of each new state to the Union. At first the cluster of white stars was arranged in the form of a large star, but later the stars were arranged in horizontal lines.

249. Early Antislavery Sentiment. Many of the plantation owners, like Washington, Jefferson, and Randolph, influenced by the spirit of humanity and philanthropy which was abroad in the later years of the eighteenth century, had misgivings as to the justice of holding slaves.[1] Thomas Jefferson, the most pronounced of the antislavery slaveholders, suggested in his "Notes on Virginia" (1784) that the slaves be purchased by the state and sent to form a colony in the West Indies. He also, the same year, tried in vain to persuade Congress to exclude slavery from all the territory west of the Alleghenies. Antislavery societies existed in Kentucky, Delaware, Tennessee, North Carolina, Maryland, and Virginia before a single one was formed in New England. A Colonization Society, founded in 1817 and supported almost wholly by the South, attempted to remove the free negroes to Liberia, a tract of land on the western African coast; but it was like trying to bail out the sea with a dipper. More negroes were born into slavery in a week than were restored to Africa in fifteen years. However much the enlightened men of the South deplored the existence of slavery from the point of view of ethics and humanity, they found themselves part of an industrial system which seemed to demand the negro slave for its very existence.

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[1] Jefferson, in discussing slavery, said, "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just." Washington wrote to his secretary, Tobias Lear, that he was anxious to "dispose of a certain kind of property [negro slaves] as soon as possible." John Randolph, who liberated his slaves in his will, declared that "all other misfortunes of life were small compared with being born a master of slaves."

250. The Political Status of Slavery. The Constitution recognized the institution of slavery [**166**], in spite of the assertion of the Declaration of Independence that "all men are created equal," and even made provision (Art. IV, sect. 2, par. 3) for the return of fugitive slaves to their masters. Aside from the prohibition of slavery in the Northwest Territory in 1787 and the law forbidding the further importation of slaves into the United States (1807), Congress refused to interfere with slavery in the first forty years of our existence as a nation. Kentucky (1792) and Tennessee (1796) were admitted to the Union with constitutions sanctioning slavery. The Louisiana territory was purchased from Napoleon in 1803 under terms which protected slavery wherever it existed, and nine years later the lower end of the territory was admitted to the Union as the slaveholding state of Louisiana. The planters carried their slaves freely into the new Mississippi territory of the Southwest (1798), out of which the two slaveholding states of Mississippi and Alabama were later formed. Since the states north of the Ohio River excluded slavery by the terms of the Northwest Ordinance,[1] that river formed the continuation of Mason and Dixon's line as the boundary between slave and free soil.

251. Missouri applies for Statehood. When Louisiana was admitted to the Union in 1812 the name of the territory above 33° north latitude was changed to Missouri. The wave of westward migration which followed the Treaty of Ghent did not stop at the banks of the Mississippi. St. Louis on the Missouri side had already become the receiving center for the extensive fur trade of the Far West. Before 1820 more than fifty steamboats were plying up and down the Mississippi, doing a business of $2,500,000 a year, and 66,000 settlers had established themselves in the lower valley of the Missouri, where they formed prosperous communities, cultivating the fertile soil and exploiting the deposits of lead and salt. There were about 10,000 slaves in the territory, brought by the emigrants from the neighboring states of Kentucky and Tennessee. In 1818 the inhabitants of the region applied to Congress, through their territorial delegate, for admission to the Union as a state. When the Missouri bill was laid before the House for debate the Southern members were surprised, in view of the indifference of the government hitherto toward the slavery question, to see a determined opposition to the admission of Missouri as a slave state. James Tallmadge of New York immediately proposed an amendment "that the further introduction of slavery or involuntary servitude be prohibited . . . and that all children born within the said state after admission thereof into the Union shall be free at the age of twenty-five years." The amendment passed the House by a narrow margin, but was promptly rejected by the Senate (31 to 7). Congress expired on March 4, 1819, with Missouri's application for statehood pending.

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[1] In spite of the antislavery clause of the Ordinance, immigrants from the slaveholding states had taken a good many slaves across the Ohio into the southern part of Indiana and Illinois, especially into that section of lower Illinois around Cairo, between the Ohio and the Mississippi, known as "Egypt."

252. Importance of the Missouri Question. During the summer of 1819 excitement over the Missouri question was roused throughout the country. The legislatures of several of the Northern states passed resolutions against the admission of Missouri as a slave state. Mass meetings in the North condemned the extension of slavery, and in the South demanded the rights of the slave-owners under the Constitution. When Congress met in December, 1819, it was overwhelmed with petitions for and against the Tallmadge amendment. There were several important points involved in the admission of Missouri. In the first place, there were an equal number of free and slave states (11 each) in the Union at the close of 1819, which made an even balance between the two sections in the Senate. Secondly, the admission of Missouri with slavery would form a precedent for all the other states to be carved out of the Louisiana Purchase territory. Furthermore, by the third article of the treaty with Napoleon the inhabitants of the Louisiana territory had been guaranteed "protection of their liberties, property and religion." Many planters had taken their slaves into the Missouri territory, relying on this guarantee. Could Congress now fairly deprive them of their "property" by emancipating all negroes born in the new state?

253. The Debate on the Missouri Bill. The main question was whether or not Congress had the power to pass the Tallmadge amendment. The Constitution reads, "New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union" (Art. IV, sect. 3, par. 1), but says nothing about imposing restrictions upon these states as a condition of admission. The Northern orators, led by Senator Rufus King of New York, argued that the power of Congress to *admit* necessarily implied the power to *refuse to admit*, and hence the power to make conditions on which it *would admit* new states to the Union; and they cited the cases of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, which had been required to frame antislavery constitutions. On the other side, William Pinkney of Maryland insisted that the Union was one of *equal states*, and that Missouri, if admitted, must be as free as South Carolina or Massachusetts to determine her domestic institutions. Otherwise she came in "shorn of her beams, with the iron collar of servitude about her neck instead of the civic crown of republican freedom upon her brow." Congress might indeed refuse admission to Missouri, but it could not prescribe the terms on which the state should come into the Union. Passion ran high in the debate and the words "disunion" and "civil war" were boldly uttered. John Quincy Adams wrote in his diary that if the battle must come it had better come on this issue; and Cobb of Georgia warned Tallmadge that he had kindled a "fire which only seas of blood could extinguish." However, a way of compromise was found.

254. The Missouri Compromise. The province of Maine, which since 1677 had been a part of Massachusetts, got the consent of Massachusetts to separate from it and to apply to Congress for statehood. Accordingly, in December, 1819, Maine, with an antislavery constitution already prepared, asked for admission into the Union. By way of compromise the Senate combined the Maine and Missouri bills and added to them, in place of the Tallmadge amendment, one by Senator Thomas of Illinois, which prohibited slavery in all the Louisiana Purchase territory lying above 36° 30′ north latitude, except the proposed state of Missouri. In return for the admission of Maine as a free state and for the exclusion of slavery from five sixths of the Louisiana Purchase territory, the House by a vote of 90 to 87 accepted the Maine-Missouri-Thomas compromise and dropped the Tallmadge amendment. President Monroe signed the bills for the admission of Maine and Missouri early in March, 1820, and the balance between the free and slave states in the Senate was still preserved.[1] The Missouri Compromise may have averted civil strife for the moment. But the fierce debate in Congress aroused a spirit of hostility between the sections which, in spite of all efforts for reconciliation and adjustment, ended forty years later in secession and war. The aged Jefferson wrote: "This momentous question, like a fire bell in the night, awakened me and filled me with horror. I considered it at once as the knell of the Union." John Adams called the compromise the "title-page to a great tragic drama." The North had accused the South of willfully maintaining an inhuman and barbarous institution, and the South, believing that its economic prosperity and its social security were bound up in the continuation of the slave system, began to forsake the national doctrines which Calhoun and others had advocated a few years before and to grow more and more insistent on the sovereignty of the states.

255. John Quincy Adams's Diplomacy. The logical outcome of the Missouri struggle would have been the formation of a pro-

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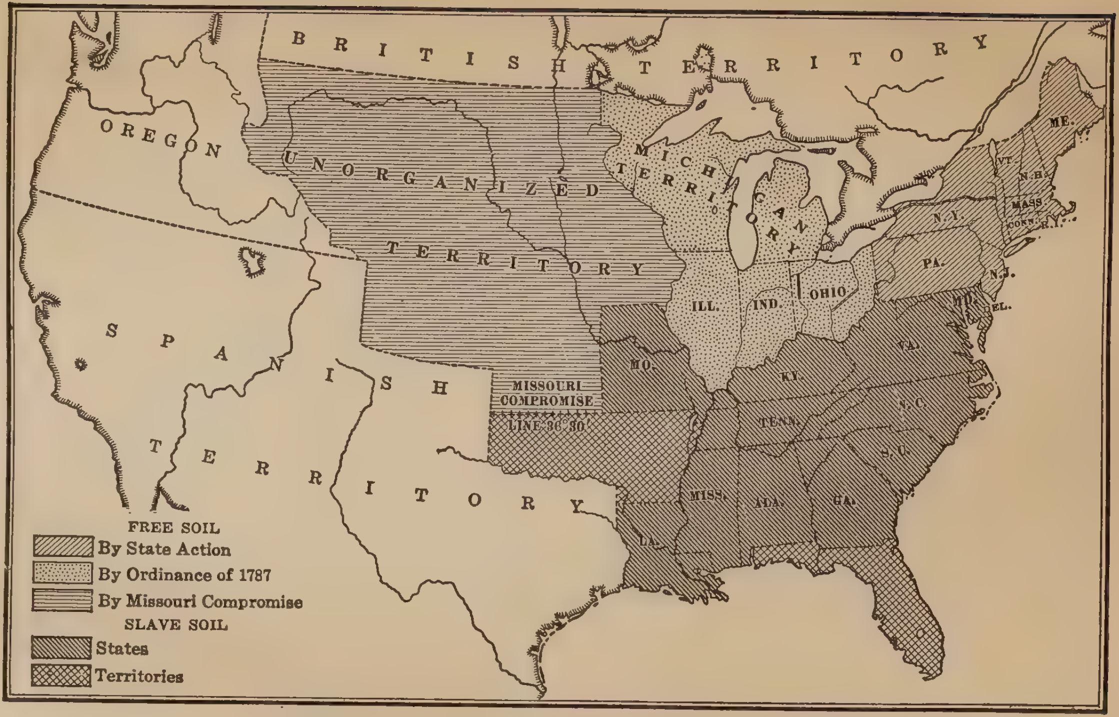
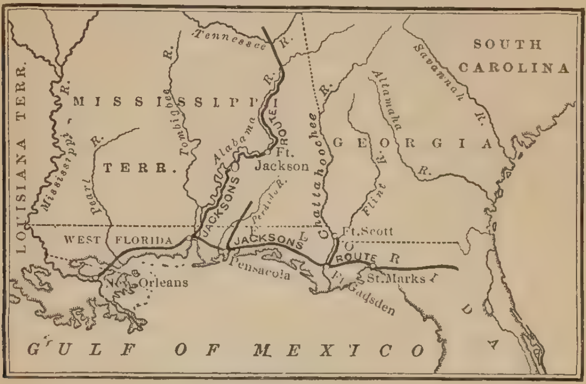
[1] As a matter of fact Missouri, owing to her incorporation of a clause in the new constitution, prohibiting free negroes from entering the state, was not admitted until August, 1821. It is important to note here, in view of a later controversy, that Congress, by this compromise bill, *excluded slavery from territory of the United States*, and that all of the 75 votes in the House from the states south of Pennsylvania were cast in favor of the bill.



STATUS OF SLAVERY BY THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE slavery state-rights party in the South. But such a party was delayed. The Missouri Compromise was passed in the very year of the almost unanimous reëlection of James Monroe [**247**]. The years of Monroe's presidency were distinguished by diplomatic successes under Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, which made attachment to the Union, pride in its achievement, and confidence in its future strong on both sides of Mason and Dixon's line. In 1817 we entered into an agreement with Great Britain (maintained to this day) by which each country pledged itself not to keep war fleets on the Great Lakes. The next year we made a treaty with Great Britain, running the boundary between Canada and the United States from the Lake of the Woods along the forty-ninth parallel of latitude to the Rocky Mountains (see map opp. p. 208) and providing for a joint occupation of the Oregon country from the Rockies to the Pacific for a period of ten years. The Oregon agreement was renewable in 1828 and terminable by either party only after a year's notice of such intention. No definite boundaries had been fixed for the Louisiana territory when we purchased it from Napoleon in 1803. It simply comprised the region drained by the western branches of the Mississippi. As the treaty of 1818 with Great Britain defined the northern boundary of this territory, so a treaty with Spain in 1819 fixed the western boundary by a line running from the Sabine River in a stairlike formation north and west of the forty-second parallel of latitude, and thence west to the Pacific Ocean (see map opp. p. 208). Finally, in 1824, Adams negotiated a treaty with Russia, who was threatening to extend the colony of Alaska down the Pacific coast to California, limiting the southern boundary of Alaska to the parallel of 54° 40′.

256. The Acquisition of Florida. The most satisfactory stroke of diplomacy in the Monroe administration, however, was the settlement of a long-standing quarrel with Spain. The possession by Spain of the entire shore of the Gulf of Mexico, with the exception of a small piece near the mouth of the Mississippi, was an embarrassment to the United States [**211**]. Not only was the Gulf of Mexico our "natural boundary" on the south and the rivers flowing into it the natural outlets for the cotton of Georgia and the Mississippi territory, but the Spanish strip of Gulf coast also furnished a refuge for the hostile Seminoles and Creeks, and had been used by England in the War of 1812 as a basis of operation against our commerce. Spain had promised in the Pinckney treaty of 1795 [**197**] to prevent the Indians of Florida from marauding our border but had miserably failed to keep her word. Finally, the Indians grew so dangerous that Monroe ordered General Jackson, in December, 1817, to pursue them even into Spanish territory. Jackson swept across East Florida, reducing the Spanish strongholds of Pensacola, Gadsden, and St. Marks, executed by court-martial two British subjects who were inciting the negroes and Indians to murder and pillage, and by the end of May, 1818, was on his way back to Tennessee, leaving Florida a conquered province. Jackson's campaign brought the Florida question to a crisis, and Secretary Adams persuaded the President to uphold Jackson's action. "We shall hear no more apologies from Spanish governors and commandants of their inability to perform the solemn contracts of their country," wrote Adams to Minister Erving at Madrid. ". . .The duty of this government to protect the persons and property of our fellow citizens on the borders of the United States is imperative — it *must* be discharged." But Spain was in no condition in 1818 to perform her



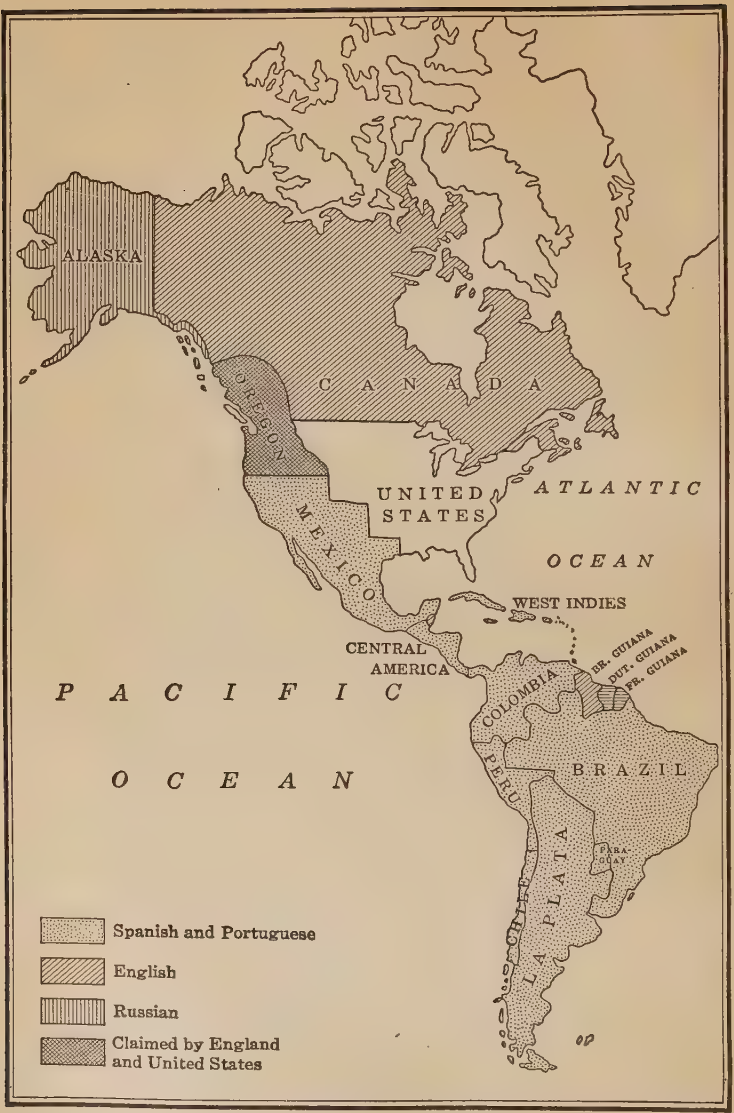
JACKSON IN FLORIDA

"solemn contracts." Her colonies in South and Central America, taking advantage of the overthrow of her dynasty by Napoleon (1808), had revolted and established themselves as independent republics. Embarrassed by these difficulties, the Spanish court decided to abandon Florida to the United States. The treaty was signed at Washington, February 22, 1819. The United States assumed about $5,000,000 of claims of its citizens against Spain for damages to our commerce in the Napoleonic wars, and in return received the whole of Florida.

257. Our Interest in Spanish America. Meanwhile we were watching with great interest the progress of the revolution in the Spanish colonies in "the southern portion of our hemisphere." Henry Clay tried to force President Monroe into a hasty recognition of the Latin-American republics. But Secretary Adams was more cautious. He had little confidence that the new republics would be able to maintain their independence, and he furthermore feared that interference by the United States in the affairs of the "rebellious colonies" of South America would offend the Spanish court and so endanger the success of the negotiations for the acquisition of Florida. However, when Spain finally ratified the treaty ceding Florida, in 1821, we were free to act. And when the allied powers of Russia, Prussia, Austria, and France (having pledged themselves by the "Holy Alliance" to the restoration of the power and the possessions of all the "legitimate thrones" which the Napoleonic wars had overthrown) began to listen to Spain's request to subdue revolts in Madrid and restore the rebellious colonies in South America, President Monroe recognized these colonies as independent republics.

258. The Monroe Doctrine. Neither Great Britain nor the United States could view with indifference the intervention of the allied powers of Europe to reduce the South American republics to submission to Spain. These republics had naturally thrown off the commercial restrictions of Spain with her political authority. They had already, by 1822, built up a trade of $3,000,000 a year with Great Britain, and their market was too valuable a one to lose. Our own government was distressed by the rumors that France would take Mexico, and Russia would seize California, with perhaps Chile and Peru to boot, as a reward for their part in crushing the rebellious governments. Accordingly the English Foreign Secretary, Canning, suggested to Richard Rush, our minister in London, that the United States join Great Britain in making a declaration to the allied powers to keep their hands off the new South American states. Monroe was anxious to act on Canning's suggestion, and the two ex-presidents, Madison and the aged Jefferson, replied to his request for advice by letters of hearty approval. Secretary Adams declared we ought not to follow England's lead, trailing "like a cockboat to a British man-of-war," but rather assume full and sole responsibility ourselves for the protection of the republics on the American continent. He therefore advised President Monroe to incorporate in his annual message to Congress of December 2, 1823, the famous statement of the policy of the United States toward the territory and government of the rest of the American continent which has ever since been celebrated as the Monroe Doctrine.

259. Analysis of the Doctrine. The message declared that the continents of the Western Hemisphere were "henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers," — this to prevent the encroachments of Russia on the Pacific coast, and the designs of France on Mexico. Further, it announced the determination of the United States neither to meddle with the European systems of government nor to disturb the existing possessions of European powers in the New World. "But," it continued, "we owe it to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system [of the Holy Alliance] to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." In other words, the South American republics, whose independence we had, "on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged," were no longer existing possessions of Spain; and any attempt to impose upon them the absolutism of the Spanish court by the powers of continental Europe would be "viewed as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United



THE AMERICAN CONTINENTS IN 1823

States." From the acknowledgment of the South American republics, then, in 1822, the United States advanced in 1823 to the defense of their territory and of their republican form of government against European interference.

260. Interpretations of the Doctrine. The Monroe Doctrine has been called "the cornerstone of American foreign policy." It goes back for its basal idea to George Washington's warning against "entangling our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambitions and rivalries," in his Farewell Address of 1796; and it has been ardently defended whenever there is a question of settling a boundary or collecting a debt in the Spanish-American states. Our statesmen have gradually stretched the doctrine far beyond its original declaration of the protection of the territory and the government of the republics of Central and South America. It has been invoked as a justification for our interference with the affairs of the Latin-American republics by assuming control of their finances, forcing them to make treaties favorable to our interests in the Caribbean region, and occupying their ports with detachments of American marines. It has been urged as a reason for annexing territory to the United States to prevent its being seized by some European power. With the acquisition of the Philippines by the Spanish War of 1898, and especially with the entrance of the United States into the great World War, in April, 1917, and the conspicuous participation of our president in the adjustment of complicated world problems at the Peace Conference at Paris (1919), that part of the Monroe Doctrine which regarded the world as divided into two separate and remote "spheres of influence" was rendered obsolete. If we still maintained that our interests were "paramount" in the Western Hemisphere, we no longer refrained from interfering in the political and territorial questions of the Eastern Hemisphere.

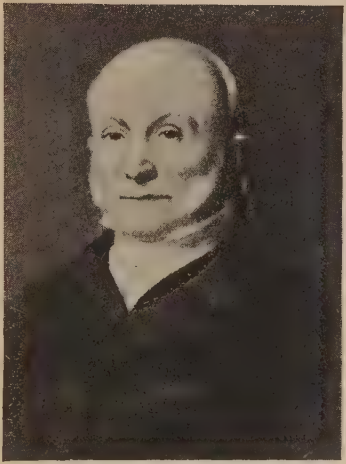
THE ERA OF HARD FEELING

261. The Close of Monroe's Term. Few presidents in our history have been able to look back upon their administrations with more satisfaction than James Monroe. Our territory had been enlarged and defined, our defenses strengthened, our debt reduced from $123,000,000 to $79,000,000. Foreign commerce, though it had not yet fully recovered from the setback of embargo and war days, was increasing steadily, and a larger per cent of it was carried in American vessels from 1820 to 1830 than in any other decade in our history. The American ship *Savannah* crossed the ocean under sail and steam in the summer of 1819, and within a few years steam "packets" were plying regularly between New York and Liverpool. The Erie Canal, connecting the Great Lakes with the navigable water of the Hudson, was begun the year Monroe entered office (1817) and completed with fitting ceremonies the year he retired (1825). In spite of the bitter controversies over the admission of Missouri, Chief Justice Marshall declared that the administration "was not darkened by a single cloud." Nevertheless, if we contrast the decade which preceded the announcement of the Monroe Doctrine with the decade which followed it, this remarkable fact stands out: that every single act and policy of the earlier period in support of nationalism — the increase of the army and navy, the recharter of the Bank, the sale of public land on liberal terms, the increased authority of the Supreme Court, the high tariff, and even the Monroe Doctrine itself — became the subject of violent controversy in the later period.

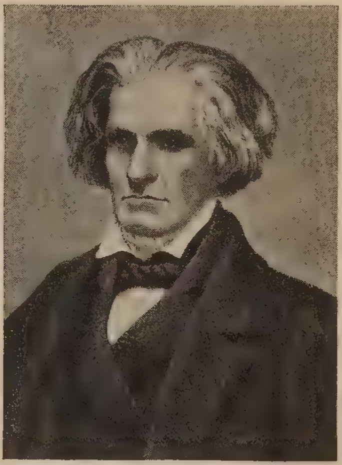
262. The Favorite Sons. The rivalry of the sections first showed itself in the fight for the presidency in 1824. It was not a contest of parties; for since the fall of the Federalists in 1816 the nationalized Republican party had stood without a rival in the field. But in 1824 there was no single candidate acceptable to East, West, and South as a successor to Monroe. Instead, there was a group of remarkably able statesmen who, in spite of their own desire to cherish the broad national spirit of the second decade of the century, found themselves drawn year by year into the more exclusive support of those economic and social interests of the sections which we have described in earlier pages [**237–242**].

263. John Quincy Adams, 1767–1848. New England was represented in this group by John Quincy Adams and Daniel

Webster. The former was one of the best-trained statesmen in all our history. He was the son of the distinguished patriot and Federalist president, John Adams. As a boy of eleven he had accompanied his father on a diplomatic mission to Paris (1778), and during the next forty years had served his country in the capacity of secretary, minister, or special envoy at the courts of Russia, Prussia, the Netherlands, Sweden, France, and England. He served as United States senator from Massachusetts from 1803 to 1808, when he lost his seat for his conversion to the Jeffersonian party. President Monroe called him, in 1817, to the first place in his cabinet, a position which he filled with great success during the eight years of Monroe's administration. For all his cosmopolitan experience, Adams retained the noble austerities of the New England Puritan, — unswerving conscientiousness, unsparing self-judgment, unflagging industry, unbending dignity, unyielding devotion to duty. He rose before daylight, read his Bible with the regularity of an orthodox clergyman, and in his closely written diary of a dozen volumes recorded the affairs of his soul as faithfully as the affairs of state.



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS



JOHN C. CALHOUN

264. Daniel Webster, 1782–1852. Daniel Webster, fifteen years Adams's junior, had by no means reached the latter's level as a statesman at the close of Monroe's administration. He had neither been a member of the cabinet nor filled a diplomatic post. The son of a sturdy New Hampshire farmer, he had secured a college education at Dartmouth, at some sacrifice to his family, and had amply justified their faith in his promise by a brilliant legal career. In 1813 he had been sent to Washington as congressman from a New Hampshire district. A few years later he moved his law office to Boston, and from 1823 to the middle of the century continued almost uninterruptedly to represent the people of Massachusetts in the national House and Senate. By his famous plea in the Dartmouth College case [**244**], his Plymouth oration on the two-hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims (1820), and his speeches in Congress, he had already won a national reputation as an orator before the close of Monroe's administration. When it was known that Webster was to speak, the gallery and floor of the Senate chamber would be crowded with a throng eager to sit or stand for hours under the spell of his sonorous and majestic voice. Like Adams, Webster inherited and appreciated New England's traditions of learning, and took just pride in the contribution of its Puritan stock to the mental and moral standard of our country; but he was not a Puritan in temper and habits, like Adams, who wrote himself down in his diary as "a man of cold, austere, and forbidding manners." When Webster erred it was rather on the side of conviviality than of austerity.

265. William H. Crawford, 1772–1834. Among the brilliant group of orators and statesmen from the South, William H. Crawford of Georgia and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina stood preëminent. Crawford had a powerful mind in a powerful body. He entered the United States Senate in 1807, at the age of thirty-five, was made minister to France in 1813, and was in the cabinet continuously as Secretary of War and of the Treasury from 1815 to 1825. A most accomplished politician, he came very near defeating Monroe for the Republican nomination for the presidency in 1816, despite the latter's hearty support by

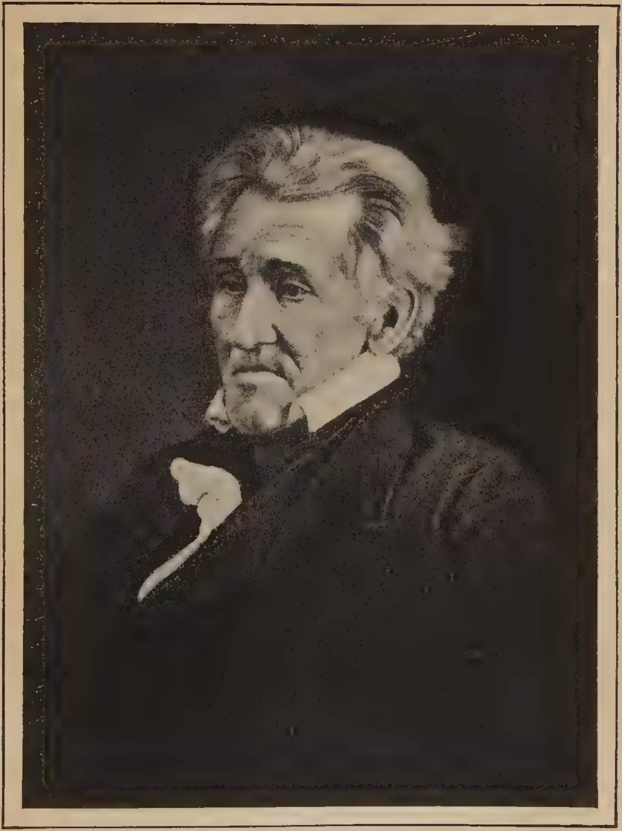
Madison. Crawford was retained by Monroe as the head of the Treasury Department, where he won from so high an authority as Gallatin the praise of having "a most correct judgment and inflexible integrity."

266. John C. Calhoun, 1782–1850. John C. Calhoun probably has even today but one rival in the hearts of Southern patriots, — the gallant warrior-gentleman, Robert E. Lee. Calhoun, just past thirty, was one of the brilliant group of "new men" in the 12th Congress, who in their national enthusiasm forced Madison to declare war on England in 1812, and followed the successful conclusion of the war with the liberal legislation on army, bank, tariff, and internal improvements [**233**]. Monroe offered Calhoun the War portfolio in 1817, and, like Adams and Crawford, the South Carolinian remained in the cabinet during both of Monroe's terms. Some of Calhoun's contemporaries feared that "the lightning glances of his mind" and his passion for national expansion sometimes disturbed his solid judgment in these early years; but Adams, who sat for eight years at the same council board with him, described Calhoun in his diary as "fair and candid, of clear and quick understanding, cool self-possession, enlarged philosophical views, and ardent patriotism."

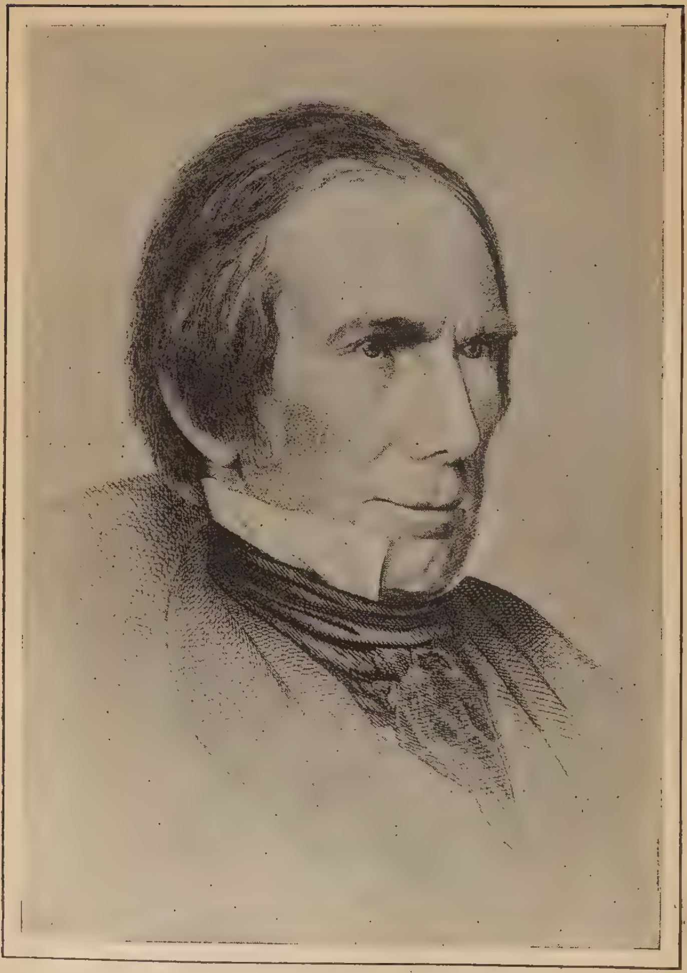
267. Thomas H. Benton, 1782–1858. The West boasted of three men of national reputation in Benton, Clay, and Jackson, all of whom had emigrated from the South Atlantic states. Thomas Hart Benton, born in North Carolina in 1782, had gone west in early life to help build up the commonwealth of Tennessee; and, following the impulse of the pioneer, had continued farther to the trans-Mississippi frontier. In 1821 he was sent by the new state of Missouri to the Senate, where he continued for thirty years to plead the cause of westward expansion with an almost savage enthusiasm. He denounced the "surrender of Texas" to Spain in the treaty of 1819 [**255**] with all the zeal of an ancient prophet, and foretold the day when the valley of the Columbia River should be the granary of China and Japan.

268. Henry Clay, 1777–1852. The name of Henry Clay has already appeared frequently on these pages, for no account of the War of 1812 and the system of national development which followed could be written without giving Clay the most conspicuous place. He was a born leader of men, adapting his genial personality to the humblest and roughest frontiersman without a sign of condescension, and meeting the lofty demeanor of an Adams with an easy charm of manner. When still a young law student of nineteen Clay had migrated from Virginia, in 1796, to the new state of Kentucky, where his great gifts of leadership and marvelous oratory obtained for him in 1806 a seat in the United States Senate before the legal age of thirty years. In 1811 he entered the House, and as Speaker of the 12th Congress began a career of leadership in American politics which was to extend over four decades to his death in 1852. If Webster's voice was the most convincing that ever sounded in the halls of Congress, Henry Clay's was the most winning. He spoke to the hearts of men. He was not merely the "choice" of his supporters; he was their idol. And when he was defeated for the high office of president, it is said men wept like children.

269. Andrew Jackson, 1767–1845. Finally, in Andrew Jackson of Tennessee the Southwest had a hero of the pure American democracy. Jackson was born of Scotch-Irish parentage in the western uplands on the border between North and South Carolina in 1767. He joined the tide of emigration to Tennessee, where his energy, pluck, and hard sense gained for him a foremost place in local politics, while his prowess as an Indian fighter won him a generalship in the War of 1812. The victory of New Orleans (1815) made Jackson the most conspicuous soldier of the republic, and the "conquest of Florida" in the Seminole War, three years later, brought him before the cabinet at Washington and the court of Madrid as the decisive factor in the long negotiations over the Florida territory [**256**]. Jackson was a man of action, not words. His bitter rival, Henry Clay, never tired of calling him a mere "military chieftain." Away back in Washington's administration Jackson had entered Congress from the new state of Tennessee (1796) in his backwoodsman's dress, "a tall, lank, uncouth-looking personage, with long locks of hair hanging over his face, and a cue down his back tied in an eelskin." Jefferson, who was president of the Senate when Jackson was a member of



Andrew Jackson



HENRY CLAY

that body, in 1797–1798, said that he had often seen this violent member from Tennessee struggling in vain to speak on the floor, his voice completely choked by rage. But Jackson left the halls of Congress in 1798, not to return for a full quarter of a century, — and then crowned with the laurels of his great victories and already the choice of the legislature of his state for president.

270. The Election of 1824. Four of these "favorite sons" of the various sections of the country were rivals for the presidency in 1824, — General Jackson, Henry Clay, and Monroe's cabinet officers Adams and Crawford. Calhoun also coveted the honor, but as the legislature of South Carolina had named William H. Lowndes as its choice as early as 1821, Calhoun was content (for the time being) with the second place on the ticket. During the whole of Monroe's second term these men were laying their plans to gain the coveted honor. Crawford secured the support of the congressional caucus,[1] while the other candidates were enthusiastically nominated by state legislatures and mass meetings. It was the first popular presidential campaign in our history, abounding in personalities, cartoons, emblems, banners, songs, speeches, and dinners. "Old Hickory" clubs were formed for Jackson, and men wore black silk vests with his portrait stamped upon them. The support of the New England states was pledged to Adams; Tennessee, Alabama, and Pennsylvania declared for Jackson; and Clay secured the legislatures of Kentucky, Missouri, Ohio, and Louisiana. In New York there was a battle royal, resulting in the distribution of the 36 electoral votes of the state among the four candidates. When the vote was formally counted it was found that Jackson had 99 votes, Adams 84, Crawford 41, and Clay 37.

271. Adams chosen by the House. As no candidate had received the majority of the electoral votes required by the Constitution for the choice of a president, the House of Representatives had to select from the three highest names on the list (Amendment XII). Clay, being out of the race, decided quite naturally to throw his influence on the side of Adams, who was not, like Jackson, his rival in the West, and whose political views were much closer to his own on such questions as internal improvements, the tariff, the Bank, and other points of the "American System," than were those of the "military chieftain" Jackson. Adams was chosen by the House, and immediately offered Clay the first place in his cabinet. The Jackson supporters were furious. The "will of the people" had been defeated, they said. The House was morally bound, they claimed, to choose the man who had the greatest number of electoral and popular votes. They declared that the aristocratic Adams and Henry Clay, "the Judas of the West," had entered into a "corrupt bargain" to keep the old hero of New Orleans out of the honors which the nation had clearly voted him.[1] Jackson resigned his seat in the Senate, and with an able corps of managers in every section of the country began a four years' campaign against Adams, Clay, and the whole "dynasty of secretaries," to restore the government of the American republic to the ideals of its founders and to servants of the people's choice.

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[1] Since John Adams's day it had been customary for the members of Congress of each party to meet in a caucus, or conference, and select the candidates for president and vice president. But by 1824 the increasing democratic sentiment of the country made this exclusive method of selecting presidential candidates unpopular. It was soon superseded by the national nominating convention [**173**].

272. The Republican Split. The upright Adams was under no delusions as to his popularity. In his message to his first Congress (in which his supporters won the Speakership by a margin of only five votes) he said: "Less possessed of your confidence in advance than any of my predecessors, I am deeply conscious of the prospect that I shall stand more and oftener in need of your indulgence." But he received no indulgence. His appointments were held up in the Senate. The governor of Georgia successfully defied him by taking possession of the Indian lands in the state, which were protected by a treaty negotiated with the Creeks and Cherokees in 1826. Our invitation to take part in a congress of the newly liberated republics of Latin America at Panama was frustrated by the delay of the Senate to confirm the nomination of Adams's envoys. The policy of internal improvements at national expense, to which Adams and Clay were ardently devoted, met with the same opposition. Let the government give us the lands which are now being bought up by Eastern speculators, and we will take care of our own development, said the West. Let the government reduce the tariff duties which are enriching the Northern merchants at our expense, said the South, and it will not have so much money to spend in "charity" on roads and canals. The Republican party was now definitely split. The Adams-Clay wing were known as National-Republicans because they still supported the nationalist measures (bank, tariff, and internal improvements) of the decade following the War of 1812. The Calhoun-Crawford wing returned to the old state-rights doctrine of the Jeffersonian school, opposing the tariff as detrimental to the industry of the South and realizing ever more clearly the danger to the slavery interests of the extension of the power of the national government over the territories.

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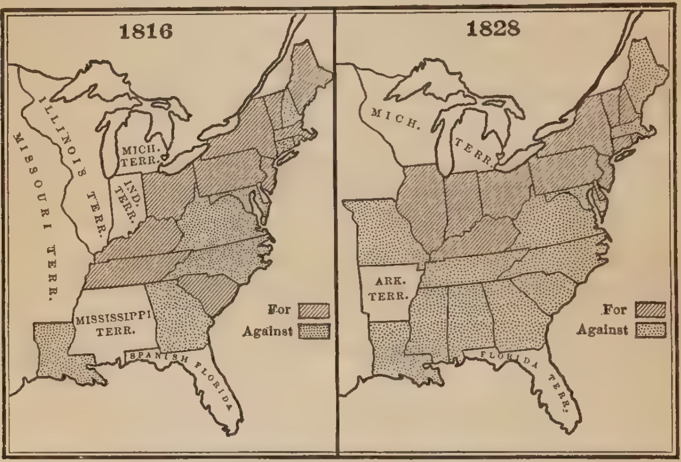
[1] There is no proof that Jackson was "the choice of the people" in 1824. Legislatures chose the electors in one fourth of the states, and in those states where the people chose them the majority of the votes were not cast for Jackson. Nor did Jackson himself seem to think that any injustice had been done to him in the method of the election. He congratulated Adams on the evening of his choice by the House. It was the appointment of Clay rather than the election of Adams that roused Jackson's anger.

273. The "Tariff of Abominations." It was on the tariff question that the great battle was waged. The North, with its manufacturing interests, kept demanding higher tariff rates to protect its industries against the competition of Europe, where labor was cheap and abundant. In 1824 a bill was passed which was purely "protective" (since the revenues were already producing a surplus in the Treasury) and purely sectional (since only three votes were cast for it from the states south of the Potomac River). When a still higher protective tariff was demanded by the Northern woolen and iron manufacturers in 1827, there was vigorous protest from the South that it was "high time to calculate the value of the Union." The Southerners were not strong enough to keep a new high-tariff bill out of Congress in 1828, but they resorted to a shrewd trick to defeat it. Instead of seeking to lower the tariff rates proposed, they joined with the Western farmers in greatly increasing them.

A presidential election was approaching, and the South appealed to the large anti-Adams sentiment to frame a tariff bill so preposterous that New England would reject it, and so bring dishonor and defeat upon Adams's cause. John Randolph sarcastically referred to the bill as having nothing to do with manufactures except "the manufacture of a president." New England wanted a high duty on manufactured woolens to exclude English goods, but at the same time it wanted cheap raw wool for its factories.



THE VOTE ON THE TARIFF BILLS OF 1816 AND 1828

It wanted a high duty on cordage to protect its shipbuilding industries, but it wanted cheap raw hemp for its ropewalks. It wanted a high duty on iron manufactures, but cheap pig iron for its forges. All New England's demands for protection to manufactures were granted in the bill, but their benefits were largely neutralized by the addition of high duties on raw wool to please the sheep-raisers of Ohio, on hemp to satisfy the farmers of Kentucky, and on pig iron to conciliate the miners of Pennsylvania. In spite of this shrewd plan of the South to match the West against New England, and thus to please nobody by pleasing everybody, the fantastic bill was passed by narrow margins in both Houses and was signed by President Adams on May 19, 1828.

274. Calhoun's "Exposition and Protest." When this "Tariff of Abominations" was passed, flags were flown at half-mast in Charleston. Southern orators advised boycotting all trade with the protected states and even advocated the resignation of the Southern members from Congress. Senator Hayne of South Carolina wrote to Jackson that nineteen twentieths of the men of his state were convinced that the protective tariff would ruin the South and destroy the Union. George McDuffie called the Stamp Act of 1765 and the tariff of 1828 "kindred acts of despotism." Vice President Calhoun, on his return from Washington to Charleston, wrote and presented to the legislature of his state the famous attack on the "Tariff of Abominations," called the "Exposition and Protest." Calhoun maintained, first, that the tariff act of 1828 was unconstitutional, since Congress had the power to lay taxes only for a revenue; secondly, that the act was sectional, since by it the South, which had but one third of the votes in the House (76 out of 213), paid over two thirds of the customs duties; and thirdly, that, as our government was an agreement or compact between the states, the national government created by that compact could not be superior to the states in sovereignty and could not be itself the judge of what its proper powers were. The states, which had bestowed on Congress its powers, were the ultimate judges of whether or not Congress was overstepping those powers. And hence, at any time, a state might challenge an act of Congress and appeal to its sister states for the verdict. Congress must then secure the votes of three fourths of the states in ratification of an amendment giving it the express power in dispute.

275. The Election of Andrew Jackson. The presidential election of 1828 took place a few weeks before Calhoun laid his "Exposition and Protest" before the legislature of South Carolina. The Jackson forces had been working steadily for four years and their victory was complete. Every state west of the Alleghenies and every state (except Maryland and Delaware) south of Mason and Dixon's line gave its entire vote to Jackson, and he had all the electors of Pennsylvania, 20 out of 36 in New York, and 5 out of 11 in Maryland besides — a total of 178 to 83 for Adams.

Calhoun, who had been reëlected vice president, advised South Carolina to wait, before taking any radical steps, to see what Jackson would do. A Southerner and a slaveholder, the recipient of their unanimous vote for the presidency, he must, thought the men of the South, reverse the iniquitous tariff policy of his predecessor. So the commercial North and the agricultural South stood facing each other in a hostile truce, while "the people" invaded the White House on inauguration day, standing with muddy cowhide boots on the damask-covered chairs, spilling orange punch on the carpets, and almost suffocating the old "Hero of New Orleans" as they pressed round him to shake his hand and declare that his inauguration was the inauguration of the rule of American democracy pure and undefiled.

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Topics for Special Reports

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2. **John Marshall and the Supreme Court:** A. B. Magruder, *John Marshall* (American Statesmen), chap. x; H. C. Lodge, *Daniel Webster* (American States-

men), chap. iii; C. A. Beard, *Readings in American Government and Politics*, Nos. 27, 112, 113, 114, 118; Hart, *Contemporaries*, Vol. III, No. 133; Muzzey, *Readings*, pp. 243–246.

3. **American Antislavery Sentiment in the Eighteenth Century:** J. F. Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, Vol. I, pp. 12–27; Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on Virginia*; Henry Wilson, *The Rise and Fall of the Slave Power*, Vol. I, pp. 1–30; William Birney, *James G. Birney, His Life and Times*, Appendix C; Hart, *Contemporaries*, Vol. II, Nos. 102, 103, 106.

4. **Modern Interpretations of the Monroe Doctrine:** D. Y. Thomas, *One Hundred Years of the Monroe Doctrine*; A. C. Coolidge, *The United States as a World Power*, pp. 95–110; J. H. Latané, *America as a World Power* (American Nation Series, Vol. XXV), pp. 255–268; J. B. Moore, *American Diplomacy*, pp. 152–167; *Harper's Magazine*, Vol. CIX, pp. 857 f.

5. **American Literature a Century Ago:** Channing, Vol. V, pp. 274–305; McMaster, Vol. V, pp. 268–306; Adams, Vol. IX, pp. 198–214; W. E. Simonds, *Student History of American Literature*, pp. 94–146; Bliss Perry, *The American Spirit in Literature* (Chronicles of America, Vol. XXXIV).

Questions for Review

1. What weaknesses in America did the War of 1812 reveal? **2.** Name the chief measures for strengthening the government in the decade following the war. **3.** What accounts for the westward migration after the war? **4.** Trace the routes of westward travelers from New England; from Virginia. **5.** Why did the East oppose the admission of new Western states to the Union? **6.** Show why trade between Ohio and the Atlantic seaboard was difficult in 1820. **7.** What new states were admitted to the Union between 1816 and 1821? **8.** What was Clay's "American policy"? **9.** Show how the South depended on the West; on the North; on Europe. **10.** What was the decision in the case of Marbury *vs.* Madison? **11.** Why was the case of Gibbons *vs.* Ogden important? **12.** Compare public education in 1820 with public education today. **13.** What favors did the national government show to slavery before 1820? **14.** Why was the question of the exclusion or the admission of slavery so important in the case of Missouri? **15.** Distinguish between the Tallmadge and the Thomas amendments. **16.** Draw on an outline map boundary lines fixed in 1818 and 1819. **17.** Why were we so eager to annex Florida? **18.** Was the Monroe Doctrine a law? a treaty? **19.** Did we violate it when we entered the World War? when President Wilson signed the Treaty of Versailles in 1919? **20.** To which of the following cases would the Monroe Doctrine apply: (*a*) a revolution in Chile setting up a king; (*b*) the immigration of fifty thousand Germans into Brazil; (*c*) a war between Peru and Colombia; (*d*) the overthrow of the republic of Argentina by an Italian expedition; (*e*) the establishment of a naval station on the coast of California by Japan? **21.** Describe the election of 1824. **22.** Compare Calhoun's "Exposition and Protest" with Jefferson's Kentucky Resolutions. **23.** What was "abominable" in the Tariff of Abominations?

CHAPTER VIII

THE JACKSONIAN ERA

NULLIFICATION

276. The New Democracy. The fathers of the American republic had no intention of establishing democracy on these shores. The social distinctions and the political privileges which belonged to the "upper classes" of the colonial days were not diminished. No provision was made, for example, in the Constitution for admitting to participation in the government any larger share of the public. No more than one adult male citizen out of six had the suffrage. Democracy as we understand the word was nonexistent. By the time of Andrew Jackson's presidency, however, a great change had come, due chiefly to the influence of the new states of the West. In 1829 nine of the twenty-four states of the Union lay west of the Allegheny Mountains, and they contained more than one third of the 12,600,000 inhabitants of the country. In those pioneer communities differences of social rank disappeared. Vigor, self-reliance, and industry, not birth, privilege, or wealth, were the marks of distinction. The test of a man was what he could do, not how much he knew. If he could manage a wild horse, drive an ax deep, and repel an Indian raid, he was the right kind of American; and his voice and opinion were worth as much as those of any aristocratic merchant or planter in Boston or Charleston. These Westerners were "men with the bark on." The constitutions which they framed as their states followed one another into the Union were completely democratic, providing for manhood suffrage, frequent elections, and popular control of the executive and judiciary. The influence of the new democracy of the West extended to the Eastern states, where the old restrictions and privileges were gradually abolished by new constitutions [**245**] until by 1840

Rhode Island was the only state left in the Union with its old property qualifications still unmodified.[1]

277. The Rise of a Labor Class. The influence of the new West was not the only factor in the development of the democratic spirit. Since the close of the second war with England the growth of manufactures in the Eastern states had given rise to a laboring class (swelled by immigrants from Europe) which was becoming conscious of its strength and demanding legislation for its social and economic improvement. In the very year of Jackson's election a workingmen's party was formed in Philadelphia, to be followed in a few years by similar organizations in all the Eastern states north of the Potomac. In a national convention at Philadelphia in 1833 the laborers formulated demands for higher wages, shorter hours of work, free public education, abolition of monopolies, reduction of lawyers' fees, and more sanitary conditions in shops and factories. A pathetic appeal, signed by "many operators" in the cotton mills, condemned the folly and injustice of employing children six years old, who were "confined to steady employment during the longest days of the year from daylight until dark and growing up as ignorant as Arabs of the desert." Trade unions were formed, strikes occurred in various cities, and the laborers sought various measures of relief from the state legislatures. The laborers protested against the competition of goods made in prison by convict labor and denounced the laws which every year sent tens of thousands of men to jail for debt.

278. Humanitarian Movements. The period was also marked by an astonishing number of reform movements which showed growing concern for the physical, moral, and mental welfare of the people. Excessive drinking was perhaps the greatest curse of American society in the early nineteenth century. This habit, unfortunately, met so little condemnation in public opinion that even men of high position in public life were not disgraced by too free an indulgence in intoxicating liquor. An organized movement for total abstinence was started in Boston in 1826 and spread rapidly through the country. In 1827 Frances Wright, a gifted Scotchwoman, created a great sensation by appearing on the lecture platform in a day when it was held that women should be either modestly busy in the kitchen or modestly idle in the parlor. "Fanny" Wright boldly and brilliantly discussed temperance, slavery, prison reform, the care of the insane and imbecile, and the rights of women, to be followed by other enthusiasts for moral reform, like the Grimké sisters of South Carolina and the persuasive Quakeress, Lucretia Mott. In 1828 William Ladd founded the American Peace Society of New York, anticipating by nearly a century the program of Woodrow Wilson for an international guarantee against war. He advocated a Congress of Nations, meeting at fixed periods, and the establishment of a World Court to decide disputes arising between nations. These are but a few examples which, with the movements for popular education, for the abolition of slavery, for the encouragement of medical research, and for the improvement of prisons and asylums, testify to the new interest in the welfare of the common man.

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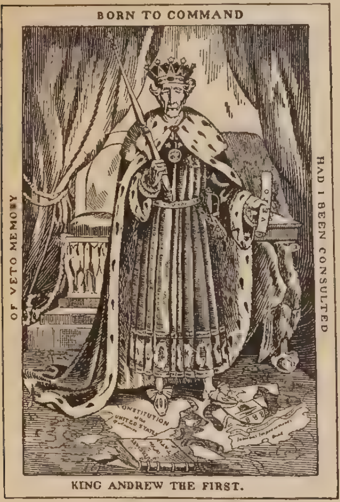
[1] Rhode Island kept its old colonial charter of 1662, which confined the suffrage to property-holders, until 1842, when, as the result of an armed rebellion led by Thomas Dorr in support of a "People's constitution," the conservatives were forced to call a convention and frame a new constitution with more liberal provisions for the suffrage.

279. The New Politics. The gathering of large groups of men in the industrial centers, and the influx of foreigners to swell their ranks, gave rise to serious political problems. Here were masses of voters to be organized by the parties. The appeal to these newly enfranchised or newly naturalized masses was not on the high level of principles, but rather through emotional stimuli or promise of material gain. The "boss" and the "machine" appeared. The art of flattering the "people" was cultivated. All the tricks of political advertisement, with catchwords, cartoons, badges, banners, and torchlights, were used to catch votes. Public offices came to be looked on less as positions of civic responsibility than as rewards for political favors. "To the victors belong the spoils" was the phrase used by a New York senator in 1832 to justify turning out of office men of the defeated party, however long or faithful their services, and filling their places with adherents of the victorious party — the famous "spoils system," which lasted for half a century to debase our politics.

280. Jackson's Idea of the Presidency. The man who was elected to the presidency at this time of social and political ferment was a striking representative of the new democracy. Andrew Jackson was the first president from the states west of the Alleghenies, and the first since Washington who owed neither his nomination nor his election to the favor of the statesmen at the capital. During the first forty years of our national history our presidents had generally regarded themselves as bound by the Constitution to execute the will of the people's representatives in Congress, but Jackson considered himself in no way bound to defer to Congress. He thought of himself rather as the champion of the great mass of the American people. Congress and the courts, he feared, had become corrupted by association with the moneyed men of the country and by too long a tenure of power. His supporters liked to compare him to the old Roman tribune, an officer chosen by the common folk of Rome to protect them from oppressive legislation by the rich patricians. His election in 1828 they interpreted as a rebuke to the "corrupt" manipulation of Congress, which had seated Adams in the presidential chair in 1825, and kept their hero out of his rightful inheritance for four years. Jackson was a man of sterling character and unblemished patriotism. But from his own intense devotion to his country he at times drew the hasty and unwarranted conclusion that all who were opposed to him were enemies of the country. He was seldom without a personal quarrel, and, like all combative natures, he often lacked the judgment to know what causes were worth a controversy and what were not. Everybody had to take sides for or against Andrew Jackson. Least of all our presidents — less even than Lincoln or Roosevelt — did he sink his personality in his office. He dominated the office and made it Jacksonian.

281. His Partisans and his Critics. Jackson's great strength lay in his popularity. The mass of the people rally to an aggressive, picturesque leader, not too far above them intellectually to be "superior" or too far removed from them in station and circumstance to be unsympathetic. Jackson was the ideal leader, the hero of the battlefield, the unspoiled son of the West, the self-made pioneer, the enemy of corporate wealth and aristocratic privilege. He gathered the elements of the new democracy to him in enthusiastic attachment as a magnet gathers the iron filings in its field. Probably no other president has ever had such able and spontaneous service as that rendered to him by a group of devoted adherents (mostly newspaper editors) in minor offices, whom his enemies in derision called "the typographical crowd" or "the kitchen cabinet." Major William B. Lewis (who lived with Jackson in the White House), Amos Kendall (the Colonel House of the administration), and Francis P. Blair (the editor of the administration newspaper at Washington, *The Globe*) gave their great talents with the zeal of missionaries to spread the gospel of Jacksonian democracy. And Jackson's partisans were matched if not equaled by opponents no less determined. For these Jackson was not a true leader but a demagogue, threatening the republic by his lust for one-man power, destroying the balanced system of politics by defying Congress, and disdaining the Supreme Court. Their cartoons represented him clothed in ermine like a monarch, trampling the Constitution under his feet, as "King Andrew the First." In their eyes he was a dangerous victim of uncontrolled caprice and inconsistent ambition.



CARTOON OF THE CAMPAIGN OF 1832

282. Jackson and the Tariff. The anti-tariff men of the South [275] got small comfort from Jackson. He had little understanding of economic questions in general and no interest in the tariff in particular. In his first message he scarcely mentioned the subject, and in his next one (December, 1830), while admitting that the tariff was "too high on some of the comforts of life," he nevertheless declared that Congress had the right to levy a "protective tariff" and that the policy was desirable. Disappointed in their hope of aid from the President, the supporters of the doctrines embodied in Calhoun's "Exposition and Protest" began to use threats. The North would not dare to provoke the planter states to secession by insisting on the tariff, said a South Carolina congressman, for then the South, with her cotton exports of $40,000,000, would control the imports of foreign merchandise and cut off the revenues which were enriching the other parts of the country; the wealth of the North would be shifted to the commercial centers of the South; the mills of Providence and Lowell would be silenced; and the New England states "would exhibit one wide, unbroken sea of desolation and ruin." Meanwhile an event had occurred in the United States Senate which greatly inflamed the hostile feeling of North and South and hastened South Carolina into a policy of defiance.

283. The Debate on the Public Lands. The sale of public lands in the West was an important source of income to the national government. The low price of these lands tempted speculators to buy them up and hold them for a rise in price. Accordingly Senator Foot of Connecticut, in December, 1829, proposed a resolution to the effect that no more public land should be put on the market for a time. The Southern and Western members of Congress attributed this motion to the selfish spirit of the Eastern merchants, who, they said, wanted to stop migration to the West in order to keep a mass of cheap laborers for their factories, just as they wanted high duties to protect the output of those factories. During the debate Senator Robert Hayne of South Carolina delivered a speech in which he developed, with a logic and eloquence rarely heard in the Senate, the doctrine that the states are sovereign and the Union is but a compact between them, from which they may withdraw legally if the spirit of the compact is violated. The only way, he said, to preserve the Union of free republics, which the "fathers" had wished this country to be, was to resist the economic tyranny of the manufacturing states, which had got control of Congress. The proper method of resistance had already been set forth by Calhoun in his "Exposition and Protest."

284. Webster's Reply to Hayne. Daniel Webster replied to Hayne in an oration which is considered the greatest speech ever delivered in the halls of Congress (January 26–27, 1830). After defending Massachusetts against the charge of sectionalism, Webster went on to develop the theory of the national government as opposed to the mere league of states which the Southern orators advocated. Not the states, he claimed, but the *people* of the nation had made the Union. "It is, sir, the people's Constitution, the people's government, made for the people, made by the people, answerable to the people." If Congress exceeded its powers, there was an arbiter appointed by the Constitution itself, namely, the Supreme Court, which had the authority to declare laws null and void. This authority could not be vested

WEBSTER'S REPLY TO HAYNE

in a state or a group of states. Pennsylvania would annul one law, Alabama another, Virginia a third, and so on. Our national legislature would then become a mockery, and our Constitution, instead of a strong instrument of government, would be a mere collection of topics for endless dispute between the sections of our country. The Union would fall apart. The states would return to the frightful condition of anarchy which followed the Revolutionary War, and our flag, "stained with the blood of fratricidal war," would float over "the dismembered fragments of our once glorious empire."

285. Jackson defends the Union. The echoes of Webster's speech were still ringing through the land when President Jackson gave a public and unmistakable expression of his view of nullification. At a dinner in celebration of Jefferson's birthday (April 13), Jackson rose in response to a call for a toast, and, lifting his glass and looking Calhoun straight in the eye, proposed "Our federal Union — it *must* and *shall* be preserved!" The vice president accepted the challenge with the toast "The Union — next to our liberty most dear — may we all remember that it can be preserved only by respecting the rights of the states." Feeling was intense. For the party of Hayne and Calhoun the Union had become a menace to liberty; for the party of Jackson and Webster it was the only condition and guarantee of liberty. When the advocates of nullification in South Carolina were warned by the Union men that their course might bring war, they contemptuously asked these "submission men" whether the "descendants of the heroes of 1776 should be afraid of war!"

286. South Carolina annuls the Tariff Acts. In the summer of 1832 a new tariff bill was passed by Congress. Its rates were somewhat lower than those of the "Tariff of Abominations" [**273**], but still it was highly protective. The Southern members of Congress wrote home from Washington that no help was to be expected from that quarter. A convention met at Columbia in November, 1832, and by the decisive vote of 136 to 26 declared the tariff acts of 1828 and 1832 "null, void, and no law." The people of the state were advised to pay no duties under these laws after February 1, 1833. At the same time the convention declared that any attempt by Congress to enforce the tariff law in South Carolina, to close her ports or destroy her commerce, would be a just cause for the secession of the state from the Union. The legislature approved the work of the convention and passed the laws necessary to carry the nullification ordinance into effect. Governor Hamilton called for 10,000 volunteer troops to defend the state. Jackson answered the nullifiers on December 10 in a strong proclamation. "I consider the power to annul a law of the United States, assumed by one state, incompatible with the existence of the Union, . . . inconsistent with every principle on which the Constitution was founded, and destructive of the great object for which it was formed." To Poinsett, collector of the port of Charleston, he wrote, "I will meet treason at the threshold. . . . In forty days I will have 50,000 men in the state of South Carolina to enforce the law."

287. Clay's Compromise Tariff. Calhoun, who had resigned the vice presidency to enter the Senate, paused at the threshold of armed resistance. Had he already heard disturbing rumors that he was to be arrested for treason? He now called on Clay to help in reconciling South Carolina's claims with the preservation of the Union. Clay, who had little desire to see the "military chieftain" in the White House directing 50,000 men against South Carolina, worked out a compromise tariff, by which the duties were to be reduced gradually, until in 1842 they should reach approximately the level of the tariff act of 1816. Clay's compromise tariff passed both Houses of Congress and was signed by Jackson, March 2, 1833, at the same moment with a "Force Bill," which gave the President the right to employ the army and navy of the United States to collect the duties in South Carolina.

288. Civil Strife Averted. The Columbia convention had adjourned after the passage of the nullification ordinance until the close of the session of Congress, to see what relief the government at Washington would afford. When it reconvened on March 11, 1833, it accepted the compromise tariff at the urgency of Calhoun and rescinded the ordinance by a vote of 153 to 4. Each side claimed the victory, — South Carolina for having compelled

Congress to lower the tariff, and the United States for having forced South Carolina to retract the Ordinance of Nullification. Jackson's strong hand had preserved the Union, but his words had not restored unity between the warring sections. The language of nullification was not forgotten in South Carolina. Twenty-eight years later it was revived and intensified in a struggle far more serious than that over tariff rates, — the great slavery controversy which precipitated the Civil War.

The War on the Bank and Slavery

289. The Complexity of History. The writer can describe and the reader can study only one thing at a time. But if we take a "cross section" of history at any moment, we can see, by glancing at the headlines of the newspaper, for example, that a great variety of events are happening. Take the first full year of Jackson's presidency — 1830. In that year the famous toasts were proposed at the Jefferson dinner and Daniel Webster was thundering against the nullification doctrine of Hayne in the Senate. In that year Jackson vetoed a bill for national aid to a turnpike in Kentucky, putting an end to the partial success of "internal improvements" under Adams and Clay; President Bustamante of Mexico issued a proclamation forbidding the further immigration of Americans into Texas; Peter Cooper's steam locomotive, the *Tom Thumb*, drew its first train of cars over the twenty-three miles of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad; the first traders' train over the Oregon Trail left St. Louis with eighty-one men, ten wagon-loads of goods, and twelve head of cattle; a law was passed authorizing Jackson to remove the Indians to reservations west of the Mississippi; the accession of Louis Philippe to the throne of France opened the way to a successful prosecution of our claims against that country for damages done to our shipping in the Napoleonic period; a new party (the Antimasons) was consolidating which was to inaugurate the custom, ever since followed by all the parties, of nominating the candidate for the presidency in the national convention; and in a dingy garret in Boston a poor and friendless young man named William Lloyd Garrison "toiled o'er his types," setting up the first number of the *Liberator*, to be published on New Year's Day of 1831, and to continue its unrelenting attacks upon negro slavery until the close of the great war which abolished the system. What a bewildering number of events in the single year 1830, in the midst of the ferment of humanitarian reform, of labor agitation, of religious revival, and much else! Some of these events we shall notice in their connection with topics to be studied later. To describe them all would take a library of volumes.

290. The Second National Bank. The Bank of the United States was very prosperous at the beginning of Jackson's administration. In addition to $8,000,000 of the public money, it held some $6,000,000 in deposits of private persons. It made a profit of $3,000,000 a year, from which it paid handsome dividends to its stockholders. Its shares of $100 par value sold frequently as high as $140 each. Besides the parent bank at Philadelphia, "with its marble palace and hundreds of clerks," there were twenty-five branches in the towns and cities of the Union. The stock of the Bank was distributed through all the countries of the world, and so high was its credit that its notes passed as gold, not only in every part of the Union but in the distant cities of London, St. Petersburg, Cairo, and Calcutta as well.

291. Opposition to the Bank. The opponents of the Bank saw how great a hold such an institution could get on the government by showing it financial favors in time of stress, and what an influence it could wield in politics by contributions from its vast wealth to the election of candidates favorable to its interests.[1] That the government should charter such an institution, they said, was contrary to the principles of democracy. As early as 1828 Senator Benton had attacked the Bank, declaring that it held $3,000,000 of the public funds, from the loans of which it realized $150,000 a year, to be distributed to stockholders, while the government was taxing the people for the payment of interest on the public debt. Jackson was in thorough sympathy with Benton on the subject. In his first message to Congress (December, 1829), although the charter of the Bank had still seven years to run, he spoke disparagingly of it. His suspicions of the political corruption exercised by the Bank were much strengthened by the fact that most of the officers of that institution were his political opponents. Daniel Webster was both counsel for the Bank and indebted to it for loans. An influential New York paper had been converted to the support of the Bank after a loan of $50,000, and the Bank's advances to embarrassed members of Congress rose from $192,000 in 1830 to $478,000 in 1832. The hostility of President Jackson injured the credit of the Bank. Its stock fell in price, and its managers began to fear that its business would be ruined. Therefore its president, Nicholas Biddle, acting on the advice of Clay, Webster, and other friends, applied to Congress early in 1832 for a renewal of the charter. The bill passed the House by a vote of 107 to 86.

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[1] The managers of the Bank actually confessed that they spent $58,000 of its funds in the campaign to elect Henry Clay in 1832. This was after Jackson had vetoed the bill for the Bank's recharter, however.

292. Jackson vetoes the Bank Bill. It was the year of the presidential election. Clay, who was Jackson's opponent, thought that Jackson would not dare to veto the bill for fear of losing his support in the Northern states, where the Bank was in favor. But Jackson promptly sent back the bill with a veto message which had "all the fury of a chained panther biting the bars of his cage." The Supreme Court had declared, in the case of McCulloch *vs.* Maryland [**244**], that Congress had the right to charter the Bank. Jackson made short work of this argument by the astonishing statement that the President's opinion of what was constitutional was as good as the Supreme Court's. "Each public officer," he wrote, "who takes an oath to support the Constitution swears that he will support it as he understands it. The opinion of the judges has no more authority over Congress than the opinion of Congress has over the judges, and on that point the President is independent of both." Jackson was reelected in November, 1832, with 219 electoral votes to Clay's 49. Even Pennsylvania gave her 30 votes to Jackson, though only one of the Pennsylvania congressmen had voted against the bill for rechartering the Bank.

293. The Removal of the Deposits. Interpreting his reëlection as a mandate from the American people to destroy the Bank, Jackson began his attack on the institution. A clause in the charter of the Bank gave the Secretary of the Treasury the right to discontinue the government deposits in the Bank if he gave his reasons to Congress. Jackson had to transfer one Secretary of the Treasury to the State Department and dismiss another before he found in Roger B. Taney of Maryland a secretary who would obey his orders. On October 1, 1833, Taney announced that the government would no longer use the Bank of the United States for its deposits. All this happened during the recess of Congress. When the Senate met it voted that the reasons given by Taney for removing the deposits were "unsatisfactory and insufficient" and refused to confirm his appointment as Secretary of the Treasury. Furthermore, it spread upon its journal a censure of Andrew Jackson, to the effect that "the President in the late executive proceedings in relation to the public revenue has assumed upon himself authority and power not conferred by the Constitution and the laws but in derogation of both." The censure was both unmerited and illegal; for the President had not exceeded his power, and if he had, the only way in which he could be legally called to account was by impeachment by the House of Representatives. After a hard fight of three years Jackson's champion in the Senate, Thomas H. Benton, succeeded in getting the offensive vote expunged from the journal.

294. The Fever of Speculation. The period following Jackson's second election was one of overconfidence in our country's growth. Our foreign trade was large, surpassing in 1835 for the first time the figures of the great boom year (1807) preceding the embargo. The country was completely out of debt in January, 1834, and the customs duties were producing a large surplus, which Congress voted to distribute among the states as a "loan" — never to be called for. Individuals, stock companies, and state governments were borrowing large sums of money to invest in land, labor, and building, believing that we were on the eve of a marvelous boom in real estate and commerce. For example, Indiana, whose population in 1836 was only about five hundred thousand, undertook to build twelve hundred miles of railroad through her forests and farm lands, thereby contracting a debt of $20 a head for every inhabitant of the state. Banks multiplied in the West, aiding rash investments by lending on easy terms. These "wildcat" banks, as they were called, issued notes far beyond the legitimate business needs of the country. The per capita circulation of paper currency increased from $6.59 in 1830 to $13.87 in 1837, and this increase in the volume of currency was mistaken for an increase in the country's wealth. The fever of speculation reached its height in the purchase of Western lands. In 1834 less than $5,000,000 worth of land was sold by the United States government. Next year the sales jumped to $14,000,000 and the following year to $24,000,000.

295. The Panic of 1837. The purchasers paid for their lands in the paper of the unreliable Western banks, and the United States Treasury was soon overflowing with this depreciating currency. In the summer of 1836 Jackson issued his Specie Circular, forbidding the officers of the Treasury to accept any money but gold and silver (specie) or bank notes based on specie in payment for further sales of public land. The Specie Circular was the needle that pricked the bubble of speculation. The wildcat banks did not have the gold and silver to redeem their notes, and the boom of the West collapsed. Land sales dropped to less than $900,000 for the year 1837. Building operations ceased. Long lines of rails were left to rust in the Western forests. Thousands of laborers were thrown out of employment. The New York *Era* reported nine tenths of the factories of the Eastern states closed by September, 1837. A poor crop and the ravages of the Hessian fly in the wheat fields of Maryland and Pennsylvania sent the price of flour up to $12 a barrel. The starving populace of New York and Philadelphia broke into the warehouses where the flour was stored and threw the barrels into the street. Over six hundred banks went down in failure, including most of the "pet banks" that held the government's deposits. The citizens of Louisville, Kentucky, presented a memorial to the Senate, in which they said: "Had a large invading army passed through our country it could not have so completely marred our prosperity. The countenances of our citizens are more gloomy and despondent than when the dread cholera was among us." At the close of the period of depression the Treasury showed a deficit of over $10,000,000.

296. The Independent-Treasury System. Five or six years passed before the country fully recovered from the panic of 1837 and confidence returned to merchants, bankers, and investors. The government did not again intrust its funds either to a National Bank or to the "pet banks" of the states. The former had been condemned as a political menace; the latter had proved themselves financially unsound. A system of government deposit was adopted under Jackson's successor, Van Buren, in 1840, which completely separated the public funds from the banking business in any form. This was called the Independent-Treasury, or the Subtreasury, system. The government constructed vaults in several of the larger cities of the country — New York, Philadelphia, Boston, St. Louis, Charleston, New Orleans — and stored its revenues in these vaults. It was not until the Civil War that our government, under the stress of enormous expenses, was again obliged to appeal to the financial institutions of the country. It then devised the present system of national banks, to which we shall refer in a later chapter.

297. The Abolitionists and the Apologists for Slavery. Though the contest of South Carolina over nullification and the war on the United States Bank were the two outstanding events of the Jackson administration, there were other important movements tending to the disruption of party ties and the strife of the statesmen. In the first number of the *Liberator*, published on New Year's Day, 1831, Garrison proclaimed war to the death on the institution of slavery: "On this subject I do not wish to think, or speak, or write with moderation. No! No! Tell a man whose house is on fire to give a moderate alarm, . . . tell the mother to gradually extricate the babe from the fire into which it has fallen — but urge me not to use moderation in a cause like the present. . . . I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice. . . . I am in earnest — I will not equivocate — I will not excuse — I will not retreat a single inch — and I will be heard." Even as Garrison was writing these words of defiance the Southern apologists for slavery were repudiating the emancipation doctrine of Jefferson and beginning to insist upon the necessity, the advantage, and the righteousness of slaveholding. Cotton was the cause. With the enormous strides in the production of cotton, rising from 75,000,000 pounds in 1810 to 325,000,000 pounds in 1825, the political supremacy of the South began to pass from Virginia to the states farther south. From 1830 on it was the leaders from South Carolina, Georgia, and the Gulf states that dictated the policies of the section. And these leaders were almost to a man ardent champions of the slave system. The economic arguments of slavery wholly outweighed the humanitarian arguments for emancipation [**249**]. Thomas R. Dew, a professor in William and Mary College, sounded the call to the defense of slavery in a pamphlet published at Richmond in 1832. He insisted that the institution was sanctioned by Scripture and justified by history. "It is in the order of nature or God," he wrote, "that the beings of superior faculties and knowledge, and therefore of superior power, should control and dispose of those who are inferior. It is as much in the order of nature that men should enslave each other as that other animals should prey upon each other."

298. Contrast between Abolitionists and Antislavery Men. The majority of the business and professional men of the North, though opposed to slavery, were scarcely less hostile to the abolitionists of the Garrison type than were the slaveholders themselves. Garrison declared that he found "contempt more bitter, opposition more active, detraction more relentless, prejudice more stubborn in New England than in the South." It was not in Charleston or Richmond, but in Boston, that he was dragged through the streets with a rope around his neck, by a "mob of respectable citizens," and was with difficulty rescued by the police and lodged in the city jail for safety. Charles Sumner (who twenty-five years later nearly paid with his life for his advocacy of free soil) declared that "an omnibus load of Boston abolitionists had done more harm to the antislavery cause than all its enemies." The antislavery men recognized that the question was exceedingly complicated, involving considerations of property, of the social order in the South, of the rights of the states, and of the established industrial system, as well as the moral issue. But the Garrison abolitionists insisted that slavery was sin, the violation of the Christian principle of the brotherhood of man. When, therefore, the moderate emancipators said that slavery was "the calamity of the South and not its crime," the abolitionists replied that it was a calamity *because* it was a crime. When the moderates pointed to the Constitution as sanctioning slavery in the states where it was established, Garrison denounced the Constitution as "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell" and burned a copy of it on Boston Common. He proclaimed as his motto "No union with slaveholders," and bade his followers neither to hold office nor to vote under a Constitution which sanctioned slavery.

299. The Controversy enters Congress. From the session of 1834–1835 on, numerous petitions for the restriction or abolition of slavery were presented in both Houses of Congress, to be immediately resented by the Southern members. In May, 1836, the enemies of abolition, North and South, united in passing a resolution "That all petitions . . . relating in any way to the subject of slavery or the abolition of slavery, shall, without being either printed or referred [to a committee], be laid upon the table, and that no further action shall be had thereon." This "gag resolution" helped the abolitionist cause more than all published numbers of the *Liberator*. John Quincy Adams, no friend of abolition before,[1] declared, "I hold the resolution to be a direct violation of the Constitution of the United States, of the rules of this House, and of the rights of my constituents."[2] The executive department, also, was drawn into the abolitionist struggle, when, in the summer of 1835, citizens of Charleston,

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[1] In 1807 he had voted in the Senate against the law to prohibit the slave trade, and in 1814, as peace commissioner at Ghent, he had insisted that the British pay for the slaves they had stolen in the United States.

[2] It was not till December, 1844, that Adams, after an eight years' fight, during which an attempt was made to censure him publicly, was able to get the gag resolution repealed by a vote of 108 to 80.

South Carolina, seized a mail-sack full of abolitionist documents from the post office and burned them. The Postmaster-General, Amos Kendall, refused to compel the postmasters to deliver abolitionist mail, and Congress sustained him by rejecting a bill punishing with dismissal, fine, and imprisonment any postmaster who intentionally detained mail matter from reaching the person to whom it was addressed.

300. The Doom of Emancipation. Thus, whatever chance there was of getting rid of slavery by peaceful methods (like England's emancipation of the slaves in her West Indian colonies in 1833, by compensating their owners) was ruined by the mutual provocation of the abolitionists and the ardent defenders of the slavery system. Persecution shows the way to martyrdom rather than to accommodation. When the Southern planter who had inherited his slaves with his acres was denounced as a man of cruelty and sin, and when the abolitionist editor of the North saw the mob wrecking his press and even seeking his life, there could be little hope for calm reasoning on either side. Calhoun was utterly mistaken when he remarked in 1834, "There cannot be a durable republic without slavery." But the only way to convince him and those who shared this opinion with him of their error was for the men of good will on both sides of Mason and Dixon's line who were opposed to slavery to work together until they could find a way to end it.

The Triumph of the Whigs

301. Jackson's Popularity. When President Jackson entered on his second term in March, 1833, he was at the height of his popularity. The West adored him as the champion of the plain people against the monopolies and privileges of the rich. His firm proclamation against the nullifiers of South Carolina had won the hearty support of Unionists like Daniel Webster, and though the veto of the recharter of the Bank had alarmed the financial circles, Jackson had not yet begun his real attack on the institution by the removal of the deposits. The Specie Circular, the abolitionist agitation in Congress, and the panic of

1837 were still in the future. In the early summer of 1833 Jackson made a tour of New England, where he was received with a welcome that almost rivaled that given to Lafayette eight years before. Harvard College conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws, to the great disgust of John Quincy Adams, who most unfairly called Jackson "a barbarian who could not write a sentence of grammar and hardly could spell his name." Cities vied with one another in providing receptions, reviews, and banquets until they almost killed the President with kindness.

302. The New Whig Party. Nevertheless, Jackson had not been in office many months of his second term before his conduct made him many public opponents and private enemies. In December, 1834, the *New York Courier and Inquirer* suggested that the opponents of "King Andrew" adopt the old name of Whigs, which in the eighteenth century had stood for the foes of executive tyranny. The nucleus of the Whig party was the faithful group of National Republicans led by Henry Clay. To these were now added the Southerners whom Jackson had offended by his rebuke of the nullifiers, and the people in all sections of the country who were opposed to his financial policy, his personal conduct of the government through a group of favorites, and his adoption of the odious spoils system. As the Jacksonians had revived the party name of Democrats there were now again two well-defined parties in the field.[1]

303. The Election of Van Buren. The only cement that held together the elements which made up the Whig party was a common hatred for Andrew Jackson. It was an anti-Jackson coalition rather than a true political party. So diverse were its interests that it held no convention and made no presidential nomination for the campaign of 1836. Instead, the Whigs relied upon a group of anti-Jackson men in various sections of the country (Daniel Webster in New England, Senator H. L. White in Tennessee, William Henry Harrison in the West) to carry enough states to prevent Jackson's personal choice for a successor, Van Buren, from receiving a majority of the electoral votes. But the scheme failed. Andrew Jackson's star was still in the ascendant. The people were really voting for him in voting for his faithful lieutenant, Martin Van Buren, and their votes came from every part of the country. Webster carried only the state of Massachusetts, White only Tennessee and Georgia, Harrison only three states west of the Alleghenies. Van Buren's electoral vote was 170 to 124 for all his opponents combined.[1] His popular majority, however, was but 25,000 as compared with Jackson's 157,000 in 1832. After enjoying the peculiar satisfaction on inauguration day of seeing Van Buren (whom the Senate had

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[1] Since the foundation of our government two great parties have generally been opposed to each other (Federalists and Republicans, 1790–1816; Whigs and Democrats, 1834–1852; Republicans and Democrats, 1854 to the present). However, many minor parties (or "third parties"), formed on various issues, have appeared in our politics since 1830, but so serried have been the party ranks that only thrice since the Civil War (in the elections of 1892, 1912, and 1924) have third parties had sufficient strength to carry states and so appear in the electoral column. The political parties are rather difficult to keep clearly distinguished, owing to the

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various uses of the names "Republican" and "Democrat" at different times in our history. The following chart will aid the student:

Date				Page
1791–1792	Federalists (for strong national government)	vs.	Democratic Republicans (for strictly limited national government)	
1793			dropped the name Democratic and became simply the Republicans	183f.
1816 *cir.*	died out, leaving only the			
1820 *cir.*	Republicans ("era of good feeling")			235
	who split on the question of "internal improvements," such as national aid for the construction of canals and roads, and the charter of the National Bank, into two wings:			249
1825–1830	National Republicans	vs.	Democratic Republicans	
	the nucleus of a new party which, in opposition to Jackson, took the name of		who dropped the name Republican and became simply	255
1834	Whigs	vs.	(Jacksonian) Democrats	278
	On the great question of slavery the Whig party went to pieces soon after 1850, and the present Republican party was organized.			

[1] The Jacksonian candidate for the vice presidency, Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky, failed by a single vote of getting a majority in the electoral college. For the first and only time in our history the choice of a vice president then devolved upon the Senate, which immediately elected Johnson.

refused to confirm as minister to England) sworn into office by Chief Justice Taney (whom the Senate had refused to confirm as Secretary of the Treasury), Jackson issued a farewell address to the people of America and left Washington to spend the eight remaining years of his life at the Hermitage in Nashville, still the oracle of his party as Jefferson had been in his retirement at Monticello.

304. Contrast between Van Buren and Jackson. Other presidents besides Van Buren have discovered how difficult it is to succeed a man who has built up a devoted following by the popular appeal of his personality or his military achievements. Van Buren's administration is sometimes called "Jackson's third term." The new President announced his intention to "tread in the footsteps" of his "illustrious predecessor," but his political shoes did not fit the prints. He was an adroit politician, whose cleverness in party management and skill in evading uncomfortable situations had won him the nicknames of "the Little Magician" and "the Red Fox." Beside Jackson's fearless and aggressive challenge to opponents of every stripe on every issue, Van Buren's caution seemed like cowardice and his invariable affability like weakness. Moreover, Van Buren, however faithful he might be to Jackson's political ideas, represented an entirely different social station from that of the hero of the unspoiled West. He was a wealthy New Yorker, whom his political opponents pictured as living in splendor at the White House, eating with gold spoons and drinking costly wines from silver coolers. Even Jackson's immense influence had not been able to carry his own state of Tennessee for his favorite.

305. The Trials of the Administration. Aside from the handicap of his personal qualities, Van Buren had a succession of difficult problems to meet. The panic of 1837 [**295**] broke upon the country early in his administration and the blame for it naturally fell upon the man in office. Van Buren's attempts to rehabilitate the public finances and bring order into the currency system were hampered by the Whigs, who laid all the evils in finance to the destruction of the National Bank. Van Buren was no friend of the abolitionists, but he was a Northerner with antislavery sentiments. He could hardly expect to be popular with the cotton planters, who controlled the politics of the South. During his whole term he discouraged the movement for the annexation of the slaveholding republic of Texas to the Union, incurring thereby the hostility both of the planters, who wanted more territory for the production of cotton, and of the expansionists, who wanted to see our flag carried to the Rio Grande, slavery or no slavery. To crown it all, Van Buren was accused of the unpardonable sin in an American official; namely, of truckling to Great Britain.[1]

306. The Whig Assault. During the whole administration the Whigs were consolidating into a real party, and when their national convention met at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, in December, 1839, they were ready to contest the return of Van Buren to the White House. Henry Clay, the towering genius of the party, confidently expected the nomination. But his very prominence was against him. He had been badly beaten in the elections of 1824 and 1832. Many old Jackson men, disgusted with Van Buren, could be counted on to vote for any other Whig nominee than Jackson's lifelong enemy, Henry Clay. Finally, the growing antislavery sentiment of the North made it desirable for the Whigs to oppose to Van Buren, who was an antislavery man from a free state, not the slaveholder Clay, but a representative of the free North, who could also appeal to the frontier enthusiasm of the new West. They found such a man in William Henry Harrison, the hero of Tippecanoe [**222**], who had polled more votes in the election of 1836 than all the other opponents of Van Buren combined, and who had a creditable record of nearly fifty years of public service as a soldier on the northwest border, governor of the Northwest Territory, and representative and senator in Congress. John Tyler of Virginia, a state-rights and antibank man, whose only bond of sympathy with the Whigs was hostility to Andrew Jackson, was nominated as vice president.

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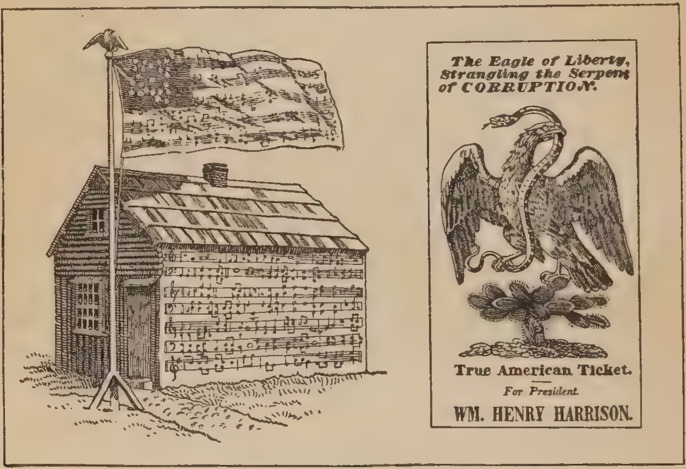
[1] During a rebellion in Canada in 1837 English soldiers had seized and burned the American vessel *Caroline*, which was being used to transport men and supplies from Vermont and upper New York to the rebels. Our people on the Canadian border, claiming that an American citizen had been killed on the *Caroline*, clamored for war with England. But Van Buren by skillful diplomacy averted trouble.

307. The Triumph of Harrison. A Democratic paper in Baltimore made the sneering comment on the choice of Harrison: "Give him a barrel of hard cider and settle $2000 a year on him, and . . . he will sit the remainder of his days in his log cabin . . . by the side of his fire studying moral philosophy." The Whigs immediately took up the challenge and made the homely virtues and simple tastes of the old hero, who actually lived in a very comfortable mansion on a 2000-acre farm on the banks of the Ohio, the chief issue of the campaign. "Yes, he has lived long enough in the log cabin," they said, "and we intend to give him rent-free after March 4, 1841, the great White House at Washington." Hard cider was the beverage on tap at the Whig rallies all over the country. The feature of every Whig procession was its log cabin, with the latchstring out and the coonskin nailed to the door, wheeled along to the uproarious shouts of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," and "Van, Van is a used-up man!" The Whig ticket swept the country. Harrison got 234 electoral votes to 60 for Van Buren. The Whigs secured both branches of Congress too, with a majority of seven in the Senate and forty-four in the House. In the excitement of the campaign the appearance of a


The Eagle of Liberty, Strangling the Serpent of CORRUPTION.
True American Ticket.
For President.
WM. HENRY HARRISON.

CAMPAIGN EMBLEMS, 1840

new political party, which polled 7000 votes, passed almost unnoticed. But the Liberty party, which was quietly launched by delegates from six states meeting at Albany on the first of April, 1840, was destined to grow through a score of years into the mighty force which shattered the Whig party into fragments and sent the Democrats down to a long defeat.

308. The End of an Era. The Whig triumph of 1840 marks the end of the Jacksonian era, which closed as it had begun with the overwhelming victory of an old soldier hero of the new West. The Jacksonian era was perhaps the period of all our history most fruitful in democratic innovations, with its enlargement of the suffrage, its extension of elective offices, its revised state constitutions, its national nominating conventions, its organization of labor, its popular discussion — on the lyceum platform, in the pulpit, and especially in the multiplying sheets of a cheap press — of such burning issues of the day as abolition, immigration, the annexation of Texas, and the settlement of Oregon. It was the era of humanitarian reform in debtors' laws and the keeping of jails and asylums, in the curricula of the schools, in the encouragement of temperance, and in many other matters which would fill a volume of social history.

309. New Inventions and Discoveries. We are accustomed to think of battles as the exciting events which have brought the changes in a nation's life — and it is true that some few "decisive battles" have altered the course of history. But the steady, silent work of the head and hands of a people engaged in invention and industry has done more to shape the course of history than all the array of armies with bugle and sword. The patenting in 1834 of the McCormick reaper was the prophecy that our great wheat and corn fields of the West would some day produce enough to feed half the world. The utilization of the immense anthracite coal deposits of Pennsylvania in the process of iron smelting in 1836 foreshadowed this mighty age of steel which has superseded our fathers' age of wood. The appliance of the screw propeller to ocean steamers in 1839 opened the way for the *Leviathan*. And, chief of all, the appearance in 1830 of a steam locomotive on the new 23-mile track of the Baltimore and Ohio

Railroad gave promise of the network of over 250,000 miles of railroad track which covers our country today, bringing the Pacific coast within five days of New York City. It is an interesting coincidence that while the steam locomotive was being tested, and its advocates were laboring to overcome the foolish prejudices against its adoption,[1] statesmen in Congress were ridiculing the idea of our taking any interest in the Oregon region beyond the Rockies, on the ground that it would take a representative from that country a year to make the journey to Washington and back.

310. Effect of the Railroads on Economic Development. By the end of the thirties the twenty-three miles of railroad had increased almost a hundredfold, and steam trains were running in all the Atlantic states from New York to Georgia. This improvement in transportation over wagon and canal stimulated business in every direction. The demand for the products of American farms and factories increased with the extension of the means of transportation. As the volume of freight traffic grew, cities began to develop rapidly at certain distributing or terminal points. Large sums of money were concentrated in these cities in business schemes or invested in the stocks and bonds of the new railroads. With the gathering of population and capital in the cities, and the enlargement of the small local business concerns into joint-stock companies employing hundreds of workmen, the conditions of the laboring class and the relations of labor to capital began to claim serious attention [**277**].

311. The Great Issue. Finally, the close of the Jacksonian era marks the moment when the different sections of our country had become fully conscious of their conflicting interests. Two irreconcilable forms of civilization had been developing during the quarter of a century which followed the War of 1812. In the North the democratic, diversified life of manufacture and commerce was attended by rapid growth of population through natural increase and immigration from Europe. In the South a more stationary and aristocratic civilization was founded on the wealth of the cotton fields, which were cultivated by an army of two million negro slaves. The conflict of these two forms of civilization, with their utterly opposite economic needs, their diverging political views of the relative rights of the states and the Union, their jealousy of each other's extension into the West, and their deepening disagreement as to the moral right of one man to hold another man in bondage, began about 1840 to overshadow all the other questions of the period which we have been studying, — the Bank, the tariff, the public lands, and internal improvements. Not a national election was held from 1840 to the Civil War that did not turn chiefly or wholly on the slavery issue. At the close of his term of office Jackson had written to Congress, "Unless agitation on this point cease, it will divide the Union."

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[1] The locomotive, it was said, would spoil the farms by its soot and ignite barns and dwellings by its sparks. Its noise would frighten the animals so that hens would not lay and cows would refuse to give their milk.

A RAILROAD TRAIN OF 1830 COMPARED WITH A MODERN LOCOMOTIVE

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5. **Early Railroads:** Faulkner, pp. 325–333; Hart, *Contemporaries*, Vol. III, Nos. 165, 166; Muzzey, *Readings*, pp. 278–282; E. R. Johnson, *American Railway Transportation*, chap. ii; Callender, pp. 326–344, 359–387; Channing, Vol. V, pp. 23–27; C. F. Adams, *Railroads, their Origin and Problems*, chaps. i, ii; McMaster, Vol. VI, pp. 77–95; MacDonald, pp. 136–147.

Questions for Review

1. Define the terms "spoils system," "kitchen cabinet," "nullification," "removal of the deposits," "pet banks," "gag resolution," "Tippecanoe and Tyler too." **2.** How did the new democratic West influence the older states? **3.** What reforms did the laborers demand in the Jacksonian period? **4.** What social reforms did Frances Wright advocate? **5.** What was Jackson's ideal of the presidency? **6.** What were Webster's arguments in his debate with Hayne? **7.** Compare Webster's and Calhoun's theories of the Constitution. **8.** Did South Carolina win in the nullification controversy? **9.** Why did Jackson oppose the Bank? **10.** Was Jackson's censure by the Senate merited? **11.** What is meant by "executive tyranny"? **12.** What caused the panic of 1837? **13.** Why did the antislavery sentiment die out in the South? **14.** Why did the slavery question enter national politics? **15.** How did the Jacksonian democracy differ from the Jeffersonian democracy? **16.** Why did the sale of public lands in the West drop sharply in 1837? **17.** What extension of the suffrage has there been since 1860? **18.** Why did the leadership of the South pass from Virginia to the lower South? **19.** Why were the abolitionists persecuted in the North? **20.** Why was it easier for England to get rid of slavery in the West Indies than for the United States to get rid of slavery in the South? **21.** What part of the Constitution did the "gag resolution" violate? **22.** Why was Jackson less popular in New England in 1834 than in 1832? **23.** What new political party appeared in the election of 1840? **24.** What held the Whig party together? **25.** Name some important discoveries and inventions in Jackson's time.

CHAPTER IX

EXPANSION TO THE PACIFIC COAST

OREGON AND TEXAS

312. The Indian Frontier. During the Jacksonian period the United States believed that they had settled forever the problem of the Indians. Many treaties had been made with the Indian tribes, locating them in the trans-Mississippi country, and in his message of December, 1835, Jackson declared that this country was "forever secured and guaranteed to the Indians by the pledge of Congress."[1] This policy was based on an idea long current that the Western plains were nothing but an arid waste, "combining," as a traveler wrote in 1816, "within their frightful and extensive territory the steppes of Tartary and the moving sands of the African Desert." Stephen H. Long returned to St. Louis, after a trip from the Platte to the headwaters of the Arkansas and Red rivers in 1820, with the report that the country was "almost wholly unfit for cultivation and of course unhabitable by people dependent upon agriculture." The Indian might live there by hunting. As if to sanction the new Indian frontier, Congress proceeded to organize the region adjacent to it. Arkansas was admitted as a state in 1836 and Michigan the next year. In 1836 the territory of Wisconsin was erected and two years later the territory of Iowa.

313. Waves of Westward Migration. Even before the Indian frontier had been fixed adventurous Americans were pressing into the Spanish territory of the Southwest and the regions beyond the Rockies — traders following the trail to Santa Fé; hunters and trappers poling up the Missouri in their "bull-

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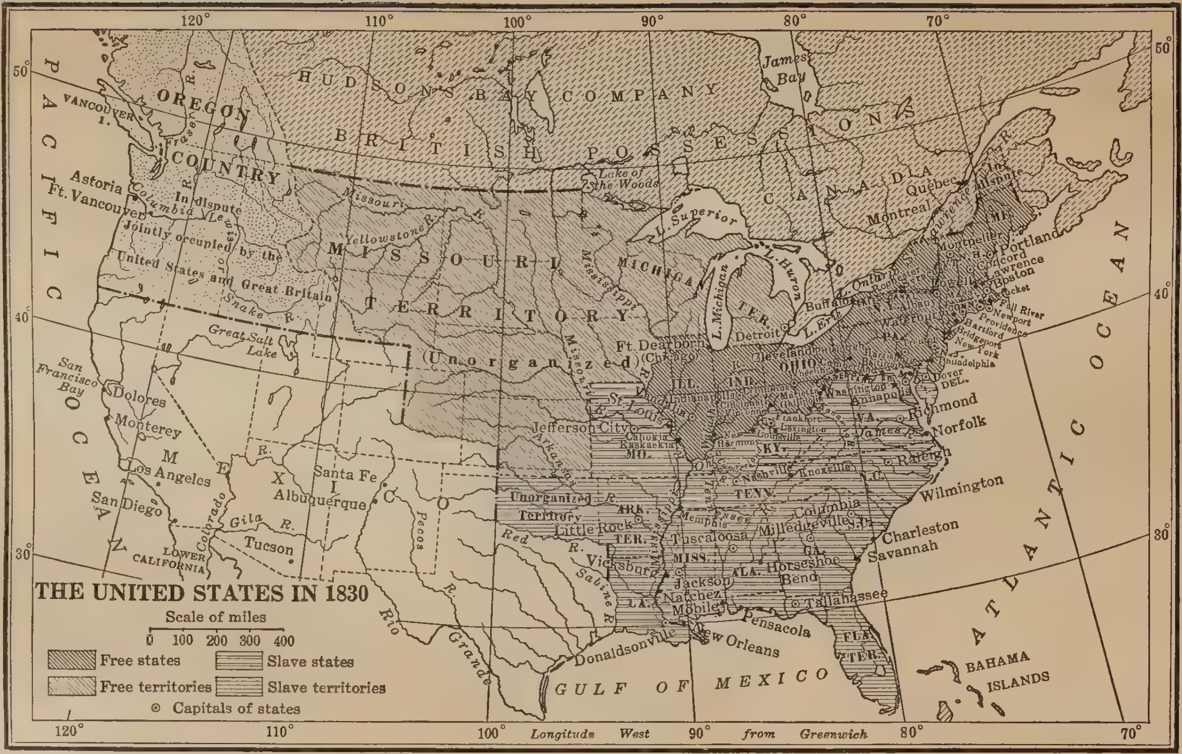
[1] The removal of the tribes was not always easy. The Sauk and Fox Indians, for example, under Chief Black Hawk, defended their lands in Illinois in a war (1832) in which Abraham Lincoln served as a captain. The Seminoles in Florida resisted removal beyond the Mississippi for more than a decade.



THE UNITED STATES IN 1830

boats" of saplings covered with buffalo hide; explorers discovering the great south pass in Wyoming, which led them through the Rockies to the Columbia valley, as the Cumberland Gap had opened the way for the early pioneers through the Appalachian range to the "western waters" of Kentucky and Tennessee. No law or ordinance, from the famous proclamation of 1763 down, had availed to check the westward march of the American pioneers seeking fresh land, marts of trade, new adventures, and relief from the trammels of the older settled communities. The westward movement has been characterized by successive waves of migration. The first great wave followed the expulsion of the French from North America in 1763. A second wave followed the War of 1812, filling the Indiana and Illinois territories on the north and the Mississippi and Missouri territories to the south and bringing new Western states rapidly into the Union. The third and greatest era of our westward expansion (1830–1848) carried our boundary across the Rockies and the Sierras to the Pacific Ocean.

THE WESTWARD MARCH

From "The Covered Wagon"

314. Claims to the Oregon Region. It will be remembered that we had concluded a treaty with Great Britain in 1818 by which we agreed to share with that power for ten years the great Oregon region lying beyond the Rocky Mountains (between 42° and 54° 40′ north latitude) [**255**]. The agreement was fair, for both countries had claims on Oregon, based upon exploration and settlement. For the Americans, a Boston sea captain named Gray had sailed into the mouth of the Columbia River in 1792; the famous Lewis and Clark expedition had traversed the region to the Pacific in 1804–1806; and John Jacob Astor had established the fur post of Astoria near the mouth of the Columbia in 1811. For the English, the Hudson's Bay Company had established several trading posts north of the Columbia River. Some of our Western statesmen, led by Senator Benton, who realized the importance of our extension to the Pacific, urged a settlement of the Oregon question which should give the United States full title to the land at least as far north as the forty-ninth parallel (our northern boundary east of the Rockies). But public opinion was not yet sufficiently aroused to the value of Oregon; and the agreement of 1818 was renewed, in 1827, for an indefinite period, either party having a right to terminate it on a year's notice to the other.

315. The Settlement of Oregon. In spite of the indifference of the government and the people at large, a few enthusiasts labored hard during the Jacksonian period to secure settlers for the Oregon region. A group of about fifty adventurers went out in the summer of 1832, under Nathaniel Wyeth of Massachusetts, to establish a post for trade with the United States and China, but only eleven reached Fort Vancouver. Two years later the Methodists sent out Daniel and Jason Lee as missionaries to the Indians who dwelt north of the Spanish missions in California. The Presbyterians sent missionaries the next year, and the Jesuit Father de Smet established a Catholic Mission a few years later. Dr. Marcus Whitman of New York, a missionary sent by the American Board of Missions, was a most indefatigable worker for the settlement of Oregon. He went out in 1835, came back the next year for helpers, then returned to Oregon with his newly married wife and another missionary couple. When there was some danger that the Board would discontinue its stations in

Oregon, Whitman again came East, making the trip of nearly four thousand miles alone on horseback, to plead for the maintenance of the missions. On his return journey he was of great service to a group of several hundred emigrants from the Middle West to the Columbia valley. By this time (1843) the settlers in Oregon had increased to about one thousand. Their presence was henceforth our strongest claim to the region.

316. Americans in Texas. While Oregon was thus being opened for American settlement, a most exciting incident in the great drama of expansion was being enacted on our southern borders, in Texas. Two years after the treaty of 1819 with Spain, which fixed our southwestern boundary at the Sabine River [**255**], Mexico joined the long list of Spanish-American colonies which had established their independence of the mother country. The government of the new republic of Mexico was very weak, however, especially in the provinces lying at a distance from the capital. Texas formed one of these provinces and for several reasons chafed under the control of Mexico. In the first place, since the beginning of the nineteenth century Americans had been crossing the Sabine into Texas, until by 1830 there were nearly 20,000 of them in the province.[1] They had been welcomed at first and given large tracts of land on easy terms. But in 1830 President Bustamante issued an edict forbidding all further immigration from the United States into Texas.

317. Texas wins its Independence. Incensed by this treatment and encouraged by their American neighbors across the Sabine, the Texans declared their independence on the second of March, 1836, and drove the Mexican troops across their border. Santa Anna, the new Mexican president, a man of perfidious and cruel character, led an army in person to punish the rebellious province. His march was marked with horrible atrocities. At the Alamo, a mission building in San Antonio, a garrison of 166 Texans was absolutely exterminated, even to the sick in the hospital ward; and a little further on, at Goliad, the defenders were massacred in cold blood after their surrender. Santa Anna with some 1200 troops was met at the San Jacinto River (April 21, 1836) by a force of about 750 Texan volunteers under General Sam Houston, a veteran of the War of 1812 and an ex-governor of Tennessee. The Mexican army was utterly routed and Santa Anna himself fell into Houston's hands as a prisoner of war. The independence of Texas was won. A republic was set up with Houston as president, and a constitution was adopted patterned after those of the American commonwealths. Slavery was legitimized in the new republic, but the importation of slaves from any place except the United States was forbidden. Some 50,000 out of the 68,000 inhabitants of Texas were Americans, and the sentiment of President Houston, the legislature, and the people at large was overwhelmingly in favor of annexation to the United States.

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[1] Alexis de Tocqueville, our most distinguished foreign critic in the first half of the nineteenth century, wrote shortly after 1830: "In the course of the last few years, the Anglo-Americans have penetrated into this province [Texas], which is still thinly peopled. They purchase land, they produce the commodities of the country, and supplant the original population. It may be easily foreseen that if Mexico takes no step to check this change, the province of Texas will soon cease to belong to her" ("Democracy in America," Vol. I, p. 448). In a hundred years Spain had brought less than 3000 white colonists to Texas, while in the single decade 1817–1827 about 12,000 Americans crossed the borders into the province.

318. The Question of Annexation. Aside from the fact that three quarters of the inhabitants of Texas were Americans, there were other reasons why annexation was favored in the United States. The expansionist sentiment was strong: the country was "destined to reach its natural boundaries." Moreover, many believed that Texas had been included in the Louisiana Purchase of 1803 and that we had "surrendered" Texas in our treaty of 1819 with Spain. John Quincy Adams had offered Mexico $1,000,000 for the province, and President Jackson had twice tried to purchase Texas, raising Adams's offer to $5,000,000. It is probable that if the victory of San Jacinto and Texan independence had come at any other time than in the spring of 1836, our government would have accepted the overtures of the Texans for annexation. But in 1836 the abolitionist controversy was stirring the country. It was a presidential year and Jackson was determined not to endanger Van Buren's chances by the annexation of a large slaveholding territory.

Therefore the Texan offer was declined at Washington. Van Buren maintained diplomatic relations with the republic of Texas, but he refused to consider any proposition for annexation. So the whole matter slumbered through Van Buren's administration and played no part in the turbulent election of 1840, which overthrew the Jackson régime [**307**].

319. President Tyler and the Whigs. The triumph of the Whigs in 1840 was short-lived. President Harrison died a few weeks after his inauguration. Vice President Tyler, who succeeded to his place, was opposed to the policy of Whig leaders like Adams, Clay, and Webster, who would never have put him on the ticket if they had dreamed that he would have more to do with the administration than to preside over the Senate in dignified obscurity. Henry Clay expected to manage the "ship of state," with President Harrison as a sort of ornamental figurehead. Clay had already drawn up an elaborate plan of legislation for the restoration of the Bank, the increase of the tariff, and the distribution of the money from land sales in the states for the furtherance of internal improvements — the revival, in short, of the "American system" [**242**]. When Tyler wrecked this program by his veto of the Bank bill and his refusal to support the distribution scheme or a tariff high enough to create a surplus in the Treasury, he was read out of the Whig party (to which he had never really belonged) as a "traitor" and an "apostate" and a miserable "President by accident." Clay resigned from the Senate in disgust and all the Whig members of the cabinet left their posts except the Secretary of State, Daniel Webster.

320. The Webster-Ashburton Treaty. Webster remained in the cabinet perhaps because there were just then important diplomatic questions pending with Great Britain.[1] Our relations with England were, in fact, more strained in 1841 than they had been at any time since the War of 1812. Many British investors had lost money in the depression following the panic of 1837. The slaveholders were incensed against England because a shipload of negro slaves who were being transported from Norfolk, Virginia, to New Orleans on the brig *Creole*, and who had mutinied and brought the ship to the British island of Nassau, were liberated by the authorities there. The British were jealous of the increasing American immigration to Oregon. And finally war had actually broken out between the lumbermen of Maine and New Brunswick, who were disputing the location of the northeastern boundary between the United States and Canada by the treaty of 1783. A fortunate change in the British ministry in 1841 brought Lord Aberdeen, a friend of the United States, into the foreign office in place of the hostile Palmerston. Aberdeen sent Lord Ashburton to Washington, where he concluded an important treaty with his personal friend Webster (August, 1842), settling most of the points of controversy between the two nations. The Webster-Ashburton treaty fixed our northeastern boundary at its present limits, dividing the disputed territory of 12,000 square miles fairly equally between the United States and Canada. The next spring Webster, being unable to work further with the administration, retired from the cabinet.

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[1] This reason does not appear in the correspondence between Webster and Tyler, from which we gather that Webster was ambitious to retain his office. Perhaps also he was unwilling to be classed as an "underling" of Clay, and thought that with the Kentucky senator removed to private life he himself might be the directing force in the administration, paving his way for the presidency.

321. The Texas Question Reopened. With both the great Whig leaders out of the way, President Tyler, who was an ardent annexationist, turned his attention to Texas and looked for his support to the men of the South. Upshur of Virginia succeeded Webster in the State Department and began negotiation with Texas for a treaty of annexation. In February, 1844, Upshur was killed by the explosion of a cannon on the warship *Princeton* and was succeeded by John C. Calhoun, an even more ardent annexationist. Meantime, the English government was giving unmistakable proof of its determination to keep Texas from being joined to the United States. Mexico owed about $15,000,000 to British capitalists, for which the lands to the north and west of the Rio Grande were mortgaged. Besides, an independent state of Texas under British protection would furnish England plentiful supplies of cotton and a market for her manufactures, unhampered by the tariff of the United States. Finally, Lord

Aberdeen wrote a letter to the British minister at Washington, in which he expressed the hope that slavery would be kept out of Texas, as it had been abolished in the British West Indies. It was even reported that Great Britain had given assurances to Texas that her separation from Mexico would be recognized if she would promise to remain a free-soil republic independent of the United States. "There is scarcely any sacrifice England would not make," wrote our minister at Paris, "to prevent Texas from coming into our possession."

322. Calhoun's Treaty of Annexation Rejected. Calhoun negotiated a treaty with Texas in April, 1844, by which that republic would become a territory of the United States, surrendering her public lands and in return securing the assumption of her debt by the United States. But the Senate rejected Calhoun's treaty by the decisive vote of 16 to 35. The vote shows that the plan to annex Texas was not a "gigantic conspiracy" to bring more slave territory into the Union; for besides the free-soil men of the North many Southerners voted against the treaty for various reasons: because they saw in the treaty a bid on Calhoun's part for the presidency; because they thought that Calhoun deliberately misrepresented Great Britain's attitude in order to hasten annexation; because they knew that many speculators in Texan lands were trying to influence senators in the lobbies of Congress to vote for the treaty; because they were not ready to invite war with Mexico; because they doubted that the Constitution gave power to the President and Senate to annex an independent foreign state to our Union by treaty.

323. Clay's Third Defeat for the Presidency. While Calhoun's treaty was being discussed in the Senate, the national conventions met to select their candidates for the presidential campaign. The Whigs unanimously nominated Henry Clay. On the subject of expansion their platform was silent. In the Democratic convention the friends of annexation carried the day after a hard battle. Van Buren was rejected, and James K. Polk was nominated on the ninth ballot. Polk had been a member of Congress from 1825 to 1839 and Speaker of the House during the stormy days of the abolitionist debates. From 1839 to 1841 he had been governor of Tennessee. He had not been regarded as a presidential possibility before the convention met.[1] The Democrats went into the campaign of 1844 with the slogan "The *re*-occupation of Oregon and the *re*-annexation of Texas." The *re* in this confident declaration meant that Oregon was already ours by discovery and settlement; and that Texas had been really purchased with Louisiana in 1803. Clay tried to "straddle" the issue of annexation, publishing a letter against it when he thought that the antiannexationist Van Buren was likely to be his opponent, and one in favor of it when the annexationist Polk was actually nominated, and concluding in the end that "the subject of slavery ought not to affect the question one way or the other." Disgusted with Clay's instability, enough Whigs in New York and Michigan cast their votes for the abolitionist James G. Birney, the candidate of the Liberty party, to give those two states, and therewith the election, to Polk. The electoral vote was 170 to 105, but Polk's popular plurality was less than 40,000.

324. The Annexation of Texas. In spite of this narrow victory Tyler interpreted the election of Polk as the indorsement by the American people of the policy of the immediate annexation of Texas. At his suggestion Congress passed a resolution in February, 1845, annexing Texas to the Union, and President Tyler signed the resolution three days before his retirement from office. The people of Texas welcomed annexation with a rejoicing almost as tumultuous as that which had greeted the news of the victory of San Jacinto. Late in the year 1845 the republic of Texas became a state of the Union on generous terms. She left to the United States government the adjustment of her boundaries with Mexico; handed over to the United States her ports and harbors as well as her fortifications, arsenals, and public buildings, keeping, however, her public lands and her debt; and agreed to the prohibition of slavery in that part of the state north of the Missouri Compromise line of 36° 30′. With her consent four additional states might be made out of her territory.

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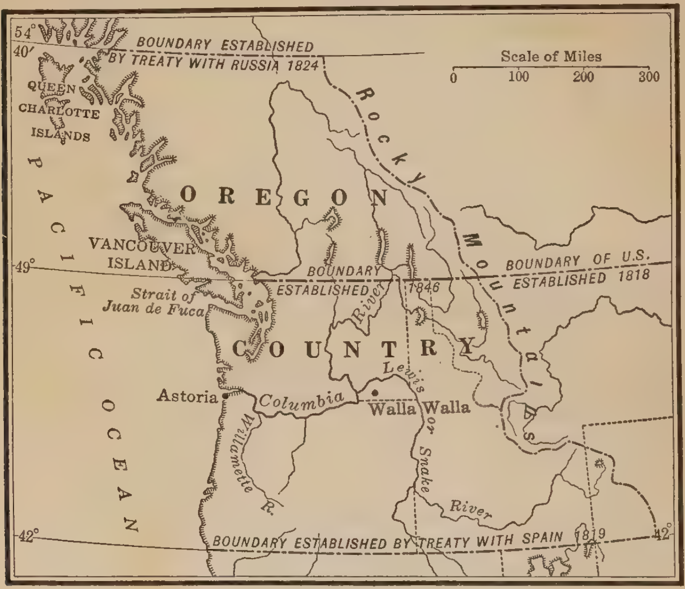
[1] Polk was the first example of the "dark horse" in a convention. The term is borrowed from the language of the racetrack to denote a horse of whose qualities and speed nothing is known. It was used in politics of an obscure candidate who comes up from behind and wins the race for the nomination.

325. Settlement of the Oregon Boundary. Texas being safely in the Union, President Polk began to redeem his campaign pledge for the "reoccupation" of Oregon. In his first message to Congress (December, 1845) he asserted the claims of the United States to the whole of the Oregon region from the Spanish-Mexican boundary on the south (42°) to the Russian boundary on the north (54° 40′). Great Britain must retire from the whole of Oregon, back to the Hudson Bay territory. "Fifty-four forty or fight" was the popular war cry in which the victorious Democrats voiced their preposterous claims to the whole of Oregon. However, as Mexico began to make preparations for carrying out her threats of war, the administration at Washington grew more moderate in its claims to Oregon. Neither Polk nor Congress had any intention, at such a crisis, of going to war with



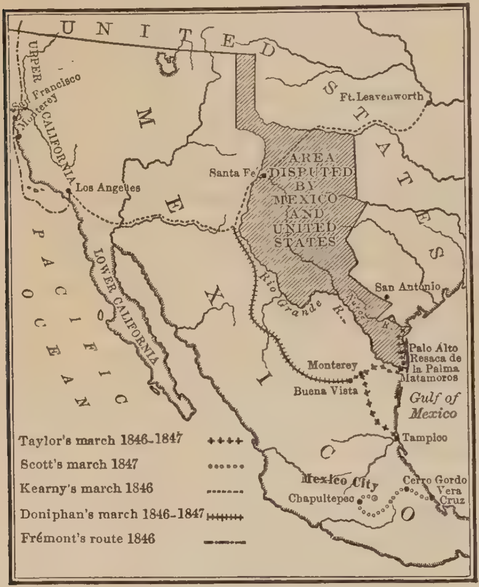
THE OREGON COUNTRY

England over a difference of five degrees of latitude on our northwestern boundary. So, after a rather amusing campaign of correspondence, in which the President and the Senate each tried to throw on the other the responsibility of deserting the blustering platform of "Fifty-four forty or fight," a treaty was made with Great Britain (June, 1846) continuing the parallel of 49°, from the Rockies to the Pacific, as the northern boundary of the United States.

THE MEXICAN WAR

326. Mexico and Texas. The annexation of Texas was a perfectly fair transaction. For nine years Texas had been an independent republic, whose reconquest Mexico had not the slightest chance of effecting. We were not taking Mexican territory, then, in annexing Texas. The new state had come into the Union claiming the Rio Grande as her southern and western boundary. By the terms of the annexation treaty all boundary disputes with Mexico were referred by Texas to the government of the United States. Therefore, in the autumn of 1845, President Polk sent John Slidell of Louisiana to Mexico to adjust the Texan boundary claims. Slidell was authorized to offer Mexico $25,000,000 for California and $5,000,000 for New Mexico and "at all events to take up the matter in a prudent and friendly spirit and to conciliate the good will of the Mexicans." But though Slidell labored for months to get a hearing, two successive presidents of revolution-torn Mexico refused to recognize him and he was dismissed from the country in August, 1846.

327. The Mexican Defiance. Most American historians have denounced the Mexican War as "a blot upon our national honor" and have represented the United States as the wolf in La Fontaine's fable inventing an excuse for eating the lamb. Rhodes says, for example, that we "goaded Mexico into war." But it was Mexico that insisted on the war and actually began the fighting. The Mexican press teemed with insults to our country. Mexican outrages upon the property and lives of Americans had been so flagrant that President Jackson had declared as early as 1837 that we had ample justification for armed intervention. The Mexican military authorities whipped up the war spirit, declaring that our army was contemptible and cowardly, and that their own brilliant generals would easily chastise "the bullies of the north." Polk was reviled by the Mexicans for trying to force not war but peace upon them. It is true that Mexico was a weak nation of 7,000,000 and the United States a prosperous and stable country of 20,000,000; but mere weakness does not justify continued insolence and bad faith.



THE CAMPAIGNS OF THE MEXICAN WAR

328. Taylor attacked on the Rio Grande. General Zachary Taylor, in command of about two thousand regular troops in the Mississippi Valley, had been ordered to Texas in the summer of 1845 and had established his camp at the mouth of the Nueces River. Mexican troops were grouped at Matamoros on the Rio Grande, about one hundred and forty miles to the south. When the news came, early in 1846, that the Mexican government would not receive Slidell, Taylor was ordered to advance to the Rio Grande. He erected a fort opposite Matamoros as a warning to the Mexicans not to cross the river. When he refused to return to the banks of the Nueces at the order of the Mexican commander, a Mexican detachment crossed the Rio Grande and captured a scouting party of about sixty American dragoons under Captain Thornton, killing or wounding sixteen of them (April 25, 1846). The Mexicans then crossed the river in force.

Taylor met them at Palo Alto, about ten miles north of the Rio Grande, on May 8, and inflicted a severe defeat upon them. The next day he drove them from the wooded ravine of Resaca de la Palma back to the south side of the river. On the eighteenth he crossed the river and occupied the town of Matamoros. The invasion of Mexico was begun.[1]

329. The United States declares War. Polk was preparing to recommend the forcible collection of our claims of $6,000,000 on Mexico when the news of the attack on Captain Thornton reached the White House. He immediately sent a special message to Congress declaring that war already existed "by the act of Mexico herself," notwithstanding all our efforts to avoid it. "After reiterated menaces," he said, "Mexico has passed the boundary of the United States . . . and shed American blood upon the American soil." In spite of opposition from the Whigs, a bill to raise 50,000 troops and $10,000,000 for the prosecution of the war was passed by majorities of 174 to 14 in the House and 40 to 2 in the Senate. The war once begun, the response of the country was prompt, except in New England, where the abolitionist spirit was strongest. Twenty-three thousand volunteers from the Western and Southern states were soon under arms. The plan of the administration was to take possession of New Mexico, California, and the northern provinces of Mexico (in all of which distant regions the authority of the Mexican government was weak) and, holding these provinces in pawn, to force Mexico to the terms which we had been unable to get by negotiation.

330. Frémont in California. The "conquest" of this vast territory in the summer and autumn months of 1846 offered little difficulty beyond the resistance of mountain and desert. Indeed, California, which had no more than two thousand white inhabitants under Spanish rule in the early forties, was already practically in the possession of the Americans before the war broke out. John C. Frémont, an officer of engineers, had journeyed along the Sierras from the Columbia valley to southern California in 1843–1844, and in the next year several hundred Americans had crossed the continent to California, branching off from the Oregon trail near Fort Hall in southern Idaho. Larkin, our consul at Monterey, was instructed to stir disaffection with Mexico among the Californians and "arouse in their bosoms that love of liberty and independence so natural to the American continent." Commodore Sloat, in command of our squadron on the Pacific coast, had been ordered to seize San Francisco if he should "learn with certainty beyond a doubt" that Mexico had declared war. On June 14, 1846, Frémont's band seized the town of Sonoma and proclaimed the republic of California under the "Bear flag." Then came the news of the battles on the Rio Grande, and Sloat immediately seized the Californian port of Monterey, while Frémont, replacing the Bear by the Stars and Stripes, hastened to join Commodore Stockton (who had superseded Sloat) in completing the conquest of California.

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[1] Since Mexico claimed the whole of Texas, Taylor's presence on the Nueces, or, for that matter, anywhere west of the Sabine with an army, was as much an "invasion" of Mexican territory as was his presence on the Rio Grande.

IN THE GARDEN OF SANTA BARBARA MISSION, CALIFORNIA, BUILT IN 1786

331. The Conquest of New Mexico. As soon as the war broke out, Colonel S. W. Kearny was ordered to invade New Mexico. Setting out from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, near the end of June, and toiling over hundreds of miles of arid country, Kearny entered Santa Fé in August with about 1800 men. The mixed Mexican and Indian force of 4000 retreated before him without a fight. Raising the American flag, he declared the territory of

New Mexico "incorporated in the United States" and absolved the inhabitants from their allegiance to Mexico. A few days later he published a code of laws for the territory. After garrisoning the post of Santa Fé, Kearny detached Colonel Doniphan with 850 men to march through the northern provinces of Mexico and join General Taylor's forces, while he himself continued his long journey of fifteen hundred miles to California. He entered San Diego in December, after a brief skirmish at the border, and joined forces with Frémont and Stockton. Thus, "at the end of 1846 soldiers and sailors of the United States were in possession of the most important places in northern Mexico from the shores of the Pacific to the Gulf."

332. Taylor's Victory at Buena Vista. When the Mexican government refused the offer of peace negotiations, President Polk, with the unanimous consent of his cabinet, decided to strike at the heart of the enemy's country. General Winfield Scott was put in command of an army of 10,000 men, nearly half of whom were detached from Taylor's command, to land at Vera Cruz and fight his way up the mountains to the capital of Mexico. The Mexican dictator, Santa Anna, heard of this plan and hastened north with 16,000 troops to surprise and destroy Taylor's reduced army before Scott should have time to take Vera Cruz. Taylor, with less than 5000 troops, awaited the Mexican "Army of Liberation" at the ranch of Buena Vista, a magnificent defensive position flanked by a ravine and gullies. Here on the afternoon of February 22, 1847, with the watchword "Honor of Washington" passing down the American line, the battle began which lasted till the evening of the following day. Again and again it seemed as if the little American army must be swept off the field, but Taylor was worth thousands of troops as he sat intrepid and imperturbable on the back of "old Whitey" directing the battle, while our soldiers cheered him and fought like demons. At nightfall of the second day Santa Anna's army withdrew, leaving their pickets and camp fires to indicate that they would renew the battle in the morning. But when morning came the exhausted Americans, springing to their guns, saw the backs of their retreating foes. It was a remarkable victory against the largest army that American troops had ever met. It made Zachary Taylor the next president of the United States.

333. Scott takes the Mexican Capital. Meanwhile Scott's troops were being conveyed down the Gulf of Mexico to Vera Cruz, where they landed in March and began their romantic march up through the mountains to the city of Mexico. After a single defeat at Cerro Gordo, the Mexican soldiers opposed the Americans only here and there in guerrilla warfare, while the civil population, wearied with the taxes and oppression of the revolutionary factions, and assured by Scott's respect for their property, generally welcomed the Americans to their towns with good-natured curiosity and the hope of unusual profits. In August Scott reached the outskirts of Mexico City, where he paused by the President's orders to allow the Mexicans still another chance to accept the terms which Polk offered — the cession by Mexico of New Mexico and California in return for a large payment of money. The Mexican commissioners, however, insisted not only on retaining California and both banks of the Rio Grande, but also on receiving damages from the United States. These claims were preposterous coming from a defeated government, and Scott resumed military operations. He stormed the fortified heights about the city and on the thirteenth of September entered the Mexican capital and raised the Stars and Stripes over the "palace of the Montezumas."

334. Polk's Efforts to secure Peace. President Polk's purpose was to "conquer a peace," waging war with the sword in one hand and the olive branch in the other. He had kept Slidell in Mexico long after the opening of hostilities and had sent Nicholas Trist, chief clerk of the State Department, as special peace commissioner to join Scott's army at Vera Cruz and to offer Mexico terms of peace at the earliest possible moment. He had allowed Santa Anna to return to Mexico from his exile in Cuba in the summer of 1846, because that wily and treacherous dictator held out false promises of effecting a reconciliation between Mexico and the United States. He had asked Congress for an appropriation of $2,000,000 for peace negotiations when

General Taylor was still near the Rio Grande, ten days before General Kearny had taken Santa Fé, and before General Scott's campaign had been thought of.

335. The Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo. The fall of Mexico City eliminated Santa Anna and brought to power a government desirous of peace. Trist had already been recalled to Washington, but he stayed to conclude the peace of Guadalupe-Hidalgo on February 2, 1848, in which the Mexicans were given almost as liberal terms as those offered to them before Scott had occupied their capital. Mexico acknowledged our title to Texas, New Mexico, and upper California, and in return we paid Mexico $15,000,000 and assumed claims of our citizens against the Mexican government for $3,250,000 more. Secretary of State Buchanan and some other members of the cabinet were in favor of taking a part or the whole of the republic of Mexico itself, but Polk held to the line of the Rio Grande. Considering the fact that California was scarcely under Mexican control at all, that New Mexico was still the almost undisturbed home of Indian tribes, that the land from the Nueces to the Rio Grande was a desert, and that the American troops were in possession of the Mexican capital, the terms of peace granted to Mexico were certainly generous.

336. Opposition to the Mexican War. Though the Mexican War was declared with greater unanimity in Congress than any other war in our history, it was most bitterly opposed by the abolitionists and the Whigs for moral and political reasons. James Russell Lowell in his satirical "Biglow Papers" ridiculed our army, openly counseled resistance to enlistment, and charged the administration with wickedly precipitating the war only to get "bigger pens to cram with slaves." Such writing when we entered the World War in 1917 would have quickly landed the author in Leavenworth prison. Whig orators in Congress hoped that the Mexicans would welcome our soldiers to "hospitable graves." Whig newspapers declared that "every heart worthy of American liberty" would rejoice to hear "that the hordes under Scott and Taylor were, every man of them, swept into the next world." Some of the denunciation of the war came from the abolitionists, the honest "conscientious objectors" of the time. But most of it was Whig policy. When the "Mexican Whigs" declared that they hoped the United States would be beaten by Mexico, what they really meant was that they hoped that President Polk would be beaten by an unsuccessful war. "Clay, Webster, and the other Whigs," wrote an officer from Vera Cruz, "have done more to prevent peace than as though they had arrayed ten thousand Mexicans against Scott." It is proof enough of the insincerity of the Whig protest against the injustice of the war that they took advantage of the popularity of the victorious General Zachary Taylor to make him their candidate for the presidency in 1848. It was the prospect of defeat at the polls and not on the battlefield that really disturbed them.

337. Completion of the Program of Expansion. With our acquisition of the Oregon territory to the forty-ninth parallel by the treaty of 1846 with Great Britain, and the cession of California and New Mexico by the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo in 1848, the boundaries of the United States reached practically their present limits.[1] The work of westward extension was done. Expansion, the watchword of the decade 1840–1850, was dropped from our vocabulary for fifty years, and the immense energies of the nation were directed toward finding a plan on which the new territory could be organized in harmony with the conflicting interests of the free and slave sections of our country.

THE COMPROMISE OF 1850

338. The New Far West. An area larger than the original territory ceded to the United States by Great Britain at the close of the War of Independence in 1783, and larger than the vast Louisiana region purchased from Napoleon in 1803, was added to the United States between 1845 and 1848 by the annex-

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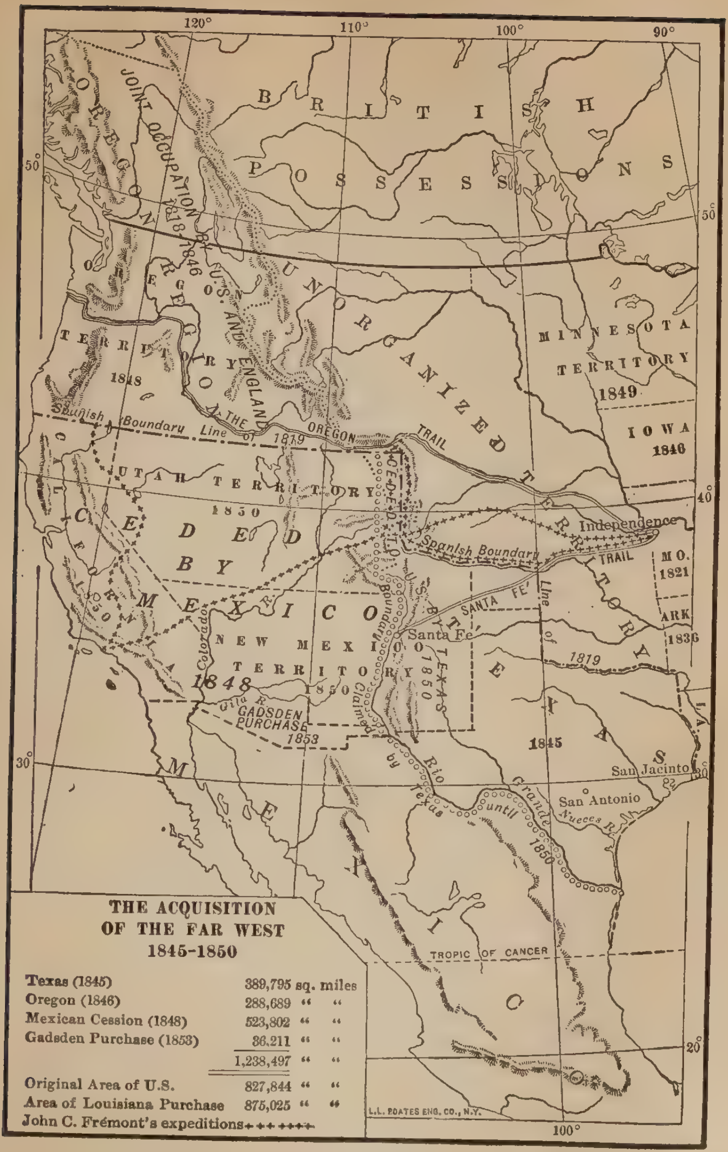
[1] A small strip south of the Gila River (southern Arizona) was bought from Mexico, through Mr. Gadsden, in 1853, because it offered the best route for a railroad across the southern Rockies to the Pacific coast. The large sum of $10,000,000 paid for the Gadsden Purchase has been called by the critics of the Mexican War "conscience money" paid to Mexico for the provinces of which we "robbed" her.



THE ACQUISITION OF THE FAR WEST 1845-1850

Texas (1845)	389,795	sq.	miles
Oregon (1846)	288,689	"	"
Mexican Cession (1848)	523,802	"	"
Gadsden Purchase (1853)	36,211	"	"
	1,238,497	"	"
Original Area of U.S.	827,844	"	"
Area of Louisiana Purchase	875,025	"	"

John C. Frémont's expeditions ++++++++

ation of Texas, the Oregon treaty, and the Mexican cession of California and New Mexico.[1] The land varied in value. Between the rich cotton areas of Texas and the smiling valleys of California were the arid plateaus and majestic canyons of the Rockies. In Oregon fine timber and farm lands were awaiting the settler. The sudden acquisition of the Pacific coast, in an unbroken line of more than a thousand miles from Puget Sound to San Diego, opened our view upon the great western ocean and made us neighbors of China and Japan. The new region, although sparsely populated by white men, was still not entirely unknown. Ever since the days of the Lewis and Clark expedition there had been adventurous explorers beating into wagon roads the Indian trails to Oregon, California, and Santa Fé, and reporting to the government at Washington what rivers and mountains, what rocks and soils and plants and peoples, they found on their journeys. The most noted of these Western explorers was John C. Frémont, "the Pathfinder," who made several wonderful expeditions to Oregon and California in the years 1842–1848 (see map, p. 307).

339. The Situation in New Mexico and California. When the ratification of the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo in the spring of 1848 made New Mexico and California American soil, Polk urged the prompt organization of a territorial government for these provinces, which had been under military régime since their conquest two years before. There were several ways of dealing with the question of slavery in the newly acquired region. It might be excluded entirely by the Wilmot Proviso,[2] or admitted freely according to the Calhoun-Davis theory that slaves were private property with which Congress had nothing to do.

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[1] AREA OF U. S. BEFORE 1845

		Sq. Miles
Original area, 1783 . . .	(about)	830,000
Louisiana Purchase, 1803 .	"	875,000
Florida Purchase, 1819 . .	"	65,000
		1,770,000

ADDITIONS, 1845–1848

		Sq. Miles
Texas, 1845	(about)	390,000
Oregon, 1846	"	290,000
Mexican Cession, 1848 . .	"	520,000
		1,200,000

[2] The Wilmot Proviso was an amendment introduced into the House by David Wilmot of Pennsylvania, August 3, 1846, providing that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude . . . should ever exist in any part" of the territory that should be acquired from Mexico by the war. The House passed the Wilmot Proviso several times, but it was always defeated in the Senate.

The Missouri Compromise might be applied, dividing California and New Mexico into free and slave sections by the extension of the line of 36° 30′ to the Pacific coast. Finally, the question of freedom or slavery might be left to the settlers of the territories themselves. This last proposition was known as the doctrine of "popular sovereignty," or, more familiarly, "squatter sovereignty." The new territories according to this doctrine should be open to settlers without restrictions. Those territories which were suitable for slave labor would naturally attract slaveholders and would eventually come into the Union as slave states; while the others would naturally fill up with a free population and come into the Union with constitutions forbidding slavery.

340. The Campaign of 1848. Both the great political parties wanted to keep in favor with both sections of the country. The Democrats nominated Governor Lewis Cass of Michigan, who was reputed to be "a northern man with southern principles" — popularly known as a "doughface." The platform defended the Mexican War as "just and necessary" and denied the power of Congress to disturb the domestic institutions of the states. Every attempt to discuss the Wilmot Proviso was shouted down by the convention. The Whigs nominated General Taylor of Louisiana, the hero of Buena Vista [**332**]. Taylor was a sugar planter and the owner of three hundred slaves. But he repudiated the extreme proslavery doctrine of Calhoun and Davis. He had had no experience in political affairs and for years he had not even voted. When asked his opinions on the Bank and the tariff he replied with his bluff honesty that he had "had no time to investigate them." The Whigs hoped that his brilliant record in the Mexican War would earn him the sweeping victory that General Harrison had won in 1840. "Old Rough and Ready" was the campaign cry, recalling the "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" of eight years before [**307**]. The old issues of bank currency, tariff, and internal improvements were worn threadbare. But the lines of the new struggle over slavery in the territories were not yet clearly drawn. Each party was looking for votes wherever they could be found — the Whigs with a Southern slaveholder whose military record commended him to the North; the Democrats with a Northern frontiersman whose views on slavery were not offensive to the South.

341. The New Free-Soil Party. In striking contrast to the evasive attitude of both Whigs and Democrats on the slavery question was the platform of a new party, the Free-Soilers, who declared that it was "the settled policy of the nation not to extend, nationalize, or encourage slavery, but to limit, localize, and discourage it." They nominated Van Buren, and inscribed on their banner, "Free soil, free speech, free labor, free men." The new party differed from the Garrison abolitionists in that it prized the Union and accepted the Constitution with all its compromises on slavery. It even differed in a most important respect from the Liberty party of 1840 [**307**], which it largely absorbed. For the Liberty party wished to abolish slavery in the Southern states, where it was protected by the Constitution, whereas the Free-Soilers demanded only its exclusion from the *territories* of the United States. This distinction is of great importance, because it was the free-soil doctrine and not the abolitionist doctrine that was made the basis, a few years later, of the new Republican party. The Free-Soilers did not carry any states, but they elected enough congressmen to hold the balance between Whigs and Democrats in the sessions of 1849–1851, and took enough votes from Cass in New York to give that state, and consequently the election, to Taylor, by an electoral vote of 163 to 127.

342. Gold discovered in California. President Polk's term expired March 4, 1849, without any step having been taken by Congress toward the organization of New Mexico and California. But while Congress was thus deadlocked, events occurred on the Pacific coast which gave a new aspect to the question. Just as the final negotiations for peace with Mexico were begun (January, 1848), gold was discovered in the Sacramento valley in California. As the news of the richness of the deposits spread, a wild rush into the gold fields began. Merchants, farmers, physicians, lawyers, artisans, shopkeepers, and servants abandoned their business to stake out claims in the gold valleys, from which thousands took their fortunes in a few weeks.[1] The fever extended to the Atlantic coast. Men started on the nine months' sail around Cape Horn or, crossing the pestilence-laden Isthmus of Panama, fought like wild animals for a passage on the dirty, crowded ships plying up to the Californian coast. Others went "overland," across the great plains of the West, braving starvation, the fever of the alkali wastes, and the danger of Indian attacks, and leaving a telltale track of broken wagons, dead animals, and human bones. The immigration by sea and land in the single year 1849 raised the population of California from 6000 to over 85,000 souls. The "Forty-niners," as these gold seekers were called, came largely from the free states of the North. Consequently, when delegates from the new Californian immi-

WASHING GOLD WITH PAN AND ROCKER ON THE AMERICAN RIVER, NEAR SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA

Photograph by Ewing Galloway

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[1] The product of the California mines and washings was fabulous. The country was hailed as a modern El Dorado. Five years after the discovery, the annual gold yield was $65,000,000.

grants met at Monterey, in September, 1849, to devise a government, they drew up a constitution excluding slavery by a unanimous vote. When Congress met in December, 1849, therefore, California was no longer waiting to be organized as a territory, but was ready for admission to the Union as a state with a free constitution.

343. The Thirty-first Congress. Probably no other gathering of public men in our history, except the convention which met at Philadelphia in 1787 to frame the Constitution of the United States, contained so many political geniuses of the first rank as the Senate which assembled in December, 1849. There met, for the last time, the great triumvirate of American statesmen, Clay, Webster, and Calhoun, — all three born during the Revolutionary War, and all so identified with every public question for a generation that to write the biography of any one of them would be to write the history of our country during that period. With them came a number of brilliant men, — Benton, Cass, Bell, Douglas, Davis, Seward, Chase, and Hale, the last three being the first pronounced antislavery delegation in the Senate. In the House, Democrats and Whigs were so evenly matched (112 to 105) that the thirteen Free-Soilers held the balance of power.

344. Clay's Omnibus Bill. In this critical situation the aged Henry Clay, whose voice had been raised for moderation and conciliation ever since the days of the Missouri Compromise thirty years before, again came forward with measures calculated to reconcile the opposing sections (January 29, 1850). Clay proposed (map following page 322) that (1) California should be admitted as a free state; (2) the rest of the Mexican cession should be divided by the thirty-seventh parallel of latitude into the territories of Utah on the north and New Mexico on the south, both organized on the "squatter-sovereignty" principle; (3) the boundaries of the slaveholding state of Texas should be cut down from 379,000 to 264,000 square miles, but in return Texas should receive $10,000,000 from the government to pay her war debt contracted before 1845; (4) the slave trade (but not slavery) should be prohibited in the District of Columbia; (5) a new fugitive-slave law should be enacted, making the recovery of runaway negroes much easier than under the old law of 1793. This proposal of Clay's was called the Omnibus Bill, on account of the number of provisions which it included.

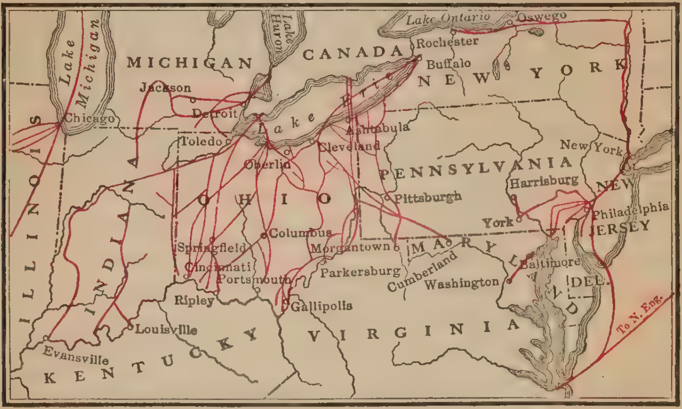
345. Conflicting Demands of North and South. We can see what a difficult task Clay had undertaken when we compare the demands of the radical leaders, North and South, on these questions. On the

Question of	*The South demanded*	*The North demanded*
(1) California	organization as a territory, admitting slavery	immediate admission as a free state
(2) New Mexico	legalization of slavery by Congress (at least below 36° 30′)	the application of the Wilmot Proviso
(3) Texas	the same boundaries as the Texan republic claimed in 1836	a reduction in the size of Texas without any money compensation
(4) District of Columbia	no interference with slavery by Congress	abolition of slavery
(5) Fugitive slaves	a strict law enforced by national authority, with no jury trial for negroes	jury trial for every negro claimed as a fugitive slave

346. The Debate in the Senate. The debates on the compromise measures called forth some of the finest speeches ever made in the Senate. Clay's fervid plea for harmony, in introducing his bills, was enhanced by the fact that the venerable statesman, now in his seventy-fourth year, and freed from the tormenting ambition for the presidency which had shaped his course and often blurred his better judgment, had left the quiet of his well-earned retirement to make this supreme effort for the preservation of the Union. Calhoun was to speak on the fourth of March, 1850. But he was too enfeebled by the ravages of consumption to deliver his carefully prepared speech. He was borne to his place in the Senate chamber, where he sat, alive only in the great deep eyes which still flashed beneath his heavy brows, while his colleague, Senator Mason, read his speech. It was a message of despair. The encroachments of the North on the constitutional rights of the slaveholders had already proceeded so far, he said, that the great Kentuckian's plan of compromise was futile. The North was the aggressor. *Her* institutions were not attacked, *her* property was not threatened, *her* rights were not invaded. She must cease all agitation against slavery, return the fugitive slaves willingly, and restore to the South her equal rights in all parts of the Union and all acquired territory. Otherwise, the cords which had bound the states together for two generations would every one be broken, and our Republic would be dissolved into warring sections. It was Calhoun's last word. Before the month closed, he had passed beyond all earthly strife.

347. Webster's Seventh-of-March Speech. Daniel Webster spoke on the seventh of March. Webster had put himself squarely on record against the extension of slavery into new territory "irrespective of lines and latitudes, taking in the whole country and the whole question." The antislavery men of the North, therefore, to many of whom Webster was almost an idol, were bitterly disappointed when he spoke in favor of Clay's compromise measures. His love of the Union, and his desire to see peace reëstablished between the two sections, proved stronger than his hatred of slavery. He maintained that there was no danger that New Mexico would become slave territory, because the physical geography of the region forever excluded the cotton planter from its deserts and high plateaus. "I would not take pains," he said, "uselessly to reaffirm an ordinance of nature nor to reënact the will of God. I would put in no Wilmot Proviso for the mere purpose of a taunt or a reproach." He spoke in behalf of the fugitive-slave law, because such a law had always been on the statute books of the country. He denounced the abolitionists as men who had no right to set up their conscience in opposition to the law. In a fine peroration he implored his countrymen of the South to dismiss the awful thought of secession and cherish the Union forever.

348. The Passage of the Bill. Other speeches followed. William H. Seward, the new Whig senator from New York, appealed to "a higher law than the Constitution," namely, the moral law of freedom. Salmon P. Chase, a Democrat converted to the free-soil doctrine, denounced the compromise as a cowardly surrender to empty threats from the South, denying Calhoun's assertion that the North was the aggressor. The great debate seemed no nearer its end in July than it had been in January. Senator Seward's influence over the President was so strong that any bill favoring the extension of slavery was likely to be vetoed. But when President Taylor died suddenly, July 9, 1850, the whole aspect of the question was changed. Vice President Fillmore, who succeeded him, was in favor of the compromise, and with the help of the administration the bills were passed through the Senate and the House by fair majorities, and signed by the President in August and September. The chief gain for the North in the compromise measures of 1850 was the admission of California as a free state.[1] The South, on the other hand, secured the opening of the whole of the Mexican cession east of California to slavery. The reduction of the boundaries of Texas was no disadvantage to the slave cause, since slavery was not forbidden in the territory transferred from Texas to New Mexico, while the payment of $10,000,000 to Texas set that state on the path to prosperity, which made it a powerful aid to the Confederate cause in the great struggle of the Civil War ten years later.



CHIEF ROUTES OF THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD

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[1] Since there were fifteen free and fifteen slave states at the beginning of 1850, the admission of California gave the Senate a majority for the North. After 1850 no new slave states were admitted.

349. The New Fugitive-Slave Law. Finally, the new fugitive-slave law brought the whole machinery of the United States into play, if necessary, to recover a runaway negro. The fugitive was not allowed to testify in his own behalf or given a jury trial, either in the state where he was seized or in the state from which he had fled. The magistrate's fee was twice as large when he handed the negro over to the claimant as when he declared the negro free. The United States marshals were heavily fined if they let the reclaimed fugitive escape. At the call of the marshals all good citizens of any state must aid in the seizure of the runaway negro. For several years there had been in operation in New York, Pennsylvania, and all along the northern bank of the Ohio River a system called the "underground railroad," whose object was to give food, shelter, and pecuniary aid to the negro escaping across the line into the free states. Prominent citizens were engaged in this work, offering their barns and sheds, and even their houses, as "stations" on the "underground." The fugitive was passed on from station to station with remarkable secrecy and dispatch until he reached the shores of Lake Erie and took ship for Canada. The people of the free states felt fairly secure in breaking the old fugitive-slave law of 1793, because that law depended on the state authorities for its execution, and in a notable case (Prigg *vs.* Pennsylvania), in 1842, the Supreme Court of the United States had decided that the Constitution did not compel the officers of a state to assist in restoring fugitive slaves. The new law of 1850, however, if strictly enforced, would have closed every station on the "underground."

350. The Finality of the Compromise of 1850. The compromise measures of 1850 were regarded by the vast majority of the people of the United States as a final settlement of the sectional disputes over slavery. The status of slavery was now fixed in every square mile of our domain from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Henry Clay was hailed as "the great Pacificator," and the foremost statesmen of both parties devoted their best talents to proving that the Compromise of 1850 was the just and sole basis on which the Union could be preserved. The agitation over slavery in the new Western territory had caused much talk of disunion in the South. A convention was assembled at Nashville, Tennessee, in the early summer of 1850, to decide on what terms the cotton states would still remain in the Union. But the passage of the compromise measures quieted the disunion movement. The Unionists were triumphant in the elections of 1851 in every Southern state but South Carolina. In the presidential campaign of 1852 the Democrats nominated General Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire, a man of winning personality, with a creditable record as a legislator and soldier. The Whigs, with both their great leaders gone,[1] made a desperate attempt to win the presidency with their third military candidate, General Winfield Scott, "the hero of Lundy's Lane and Mexico." Pierce carried all the states of the Union but four, with 254 electoral votes to 42 for Scott. He announced in his inaugural address that a "sense of repose and security had been restored throughout the country," and expressed the "fervent hope that no sectional or fanatical excitement might again threaten the durability of our institutions or obscure the light of our prosperity."

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[1] Clay died in June, 1852, carrying to his grave the Whig party, which he had called into existence twenty years before, when he forced through Congress the bill for the recharter of the Bank (1832) and rallied to his standard the forces of opposition to Andrew Jackson. Webster followed Clay to the grave in October, 1852.

Topics for Special Reports

1. **The Legend of Marcus Whitman:** James Schouler, *History of the United States*, Vol. IV, pp. 504–514; E. G. Bourne, *The Legend of Marcus Whitman* (*American Historical Review*, Vol. VI, pp. 276–300); H. H. Bancroft, *Works*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 391–424, 446–469, 508–554; William Barrows, *Oregon*, pp. 160–254.

2. **John C. Frémont, "the Pathfinder":** R. G. Thwaites, *Rocky Mountain Exploration*, pp. 228–243; J. C. Frémont, *Memoirs of my Life*; Old South Leaflets, Vol. II, No. 45; Jessie Benton Frémont, *Souvenirs of my Time*, pp. 189–209; Channing, Vol. V, pp. 570–574; John Bidwell, *Frémont and the Conquest of California* (*Century Magazine*, Vol. XIX, pp. 518–525, 759–780 — with interesting illustrations).

3. **The Webster-Ashburton Treaty:** MacDonald, No. 96 (for text); G. T. Curtis, *Life of Daniel Webster*, Vol. II, pp. 94–107, 130–172; H. C. Lodge, *Daniel Webster*, pp. 241–263; T. H. Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, Vol. II, pp. 420–452; Schouler, Vol. IV, pp. 403–406; Jared Sparks, *The Webster-Ashburton Treaty* (*The North American Review*, Vol. LVI, pp. 452 ff.); E. D. Adams, *Lord Ashburton and the Treaty of Washington* (*American Historical Review*, Vol. XVII, pp. 746–782).

4. **Gold and Politics in California:** Josiah Royce, *California*, pp. 220–246, 278–356; E. E. Sparks, *Expansion of the American People*, pp. 336–350; J. B. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, Vol. VII, pp. 585–614; J. S. Hittell, *The Discovery of Gold in California* (*Century Magazine*, Vol. XIX, pp. 525–536); Walter Colton, *Three Years in California*, pp. 242–290; Hart, *Contemporaries*, Vol. IV, No. 18; Muzzey, *Readings*, pp. 335–340.

5. **Daniel Webster's Seventh-of-March Speech:** Rhodes, Vol. I, pp. 137–161; Alexander Johnston, *American Orations*, Vol. II, pp. 161–201; H. C. Lodge, *Daniel Webster*, pp. 301–332; W. C. Wilkinson, *Daniel Webster and the Compromise of 1850* (*Scribner's Magazine*, Vol. XII, pp. 411–425); Hart, *Contemporaries*, Vol. IV, Nos. 20, 21; Muzzey, *Readings*, pp. 340–346.

Questions for Review

1. How did the motives for westward migration differ in the years 1770, 1820, and 1840? **2.** What part did missionaries have in the settlement of Oregon? **3.** How and when did Texas become an independent state? **4.** Why did the Texans want to be annexed to the United States? **5.** Why did Van Buren oppose and Calhoun favor annexation? **6.** Was Tyler a traitor to the Whig party? **7.** Explain why our relations with England were strained in 1840. **8.** Why was England interested in keeping Texas independent of the United States? **9.** Explain Clay's "straddle" on the annexation of Texas. **10.** Why were we not content with our boundaries in 1840? **11.** Why has the Mexican War been condemned by American historians generally? **12.** How did the addition of territory to the United

[illegible]

States in the decade 1840–1850 embitter the slavery question? **13.** Why was the conquest of New Mexico and California so easy? **14.** What does the phrase "Mexican Whigs" mean? **15.** On an outline map trace the boundaries of Texas as annexed in 1845; of the land secured from Mexico by the treaty of 1848; of Oregon in 1846. **16.** Compare the size of our new territory secured in 1840–1850 with that of the Louisiana Purchase; with the original territory of the United States. **17.** Define "squatter sovereignty"; the Wilmot Proviso. **18.** Describe Clay's three attempts to win the presidency. **19.** What other states besides California have been admitted to the Union without going through the stage of a territorial government? **20.** Why did Webster support the Compromise of 1850? **21.** Complete the table in paragraph **345** with a fourth column headed "How settled." **22.** What part of the Compromise gave most offense to the North? most satisfaction to the South?

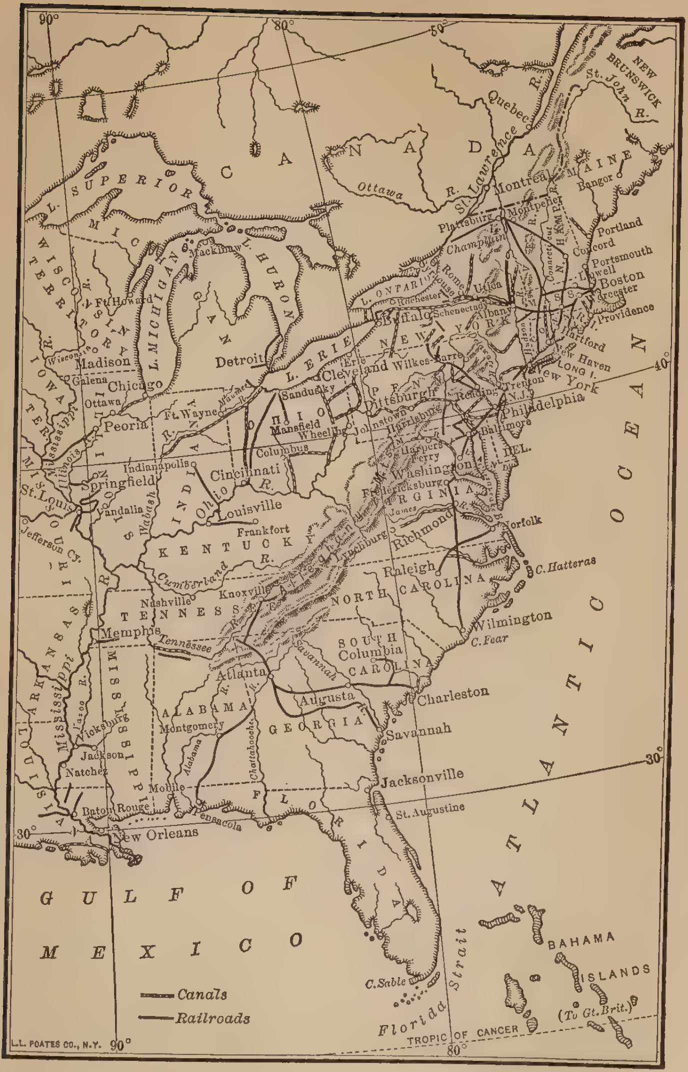
CHAPTER X

"THE HOUSE DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF"

THE COUNTRY IN 1850

351. The Prosperity of the Country. When Pierce mentioned "the light of our prosperity" he struck the real note of the truce of 1850–1854. It was a business man's peace. The commercial and industrial classes were tired of the agitation over slavery which Benton had complained of thirty years before as infesting our public life like the plague of frogs in Egypt. An era of great prosperity was opening. The discovery of immense deposits of gold in California; the extension of the wheat fields into Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota; the great increase of the products in the Northern mills and factories; and the growing fleet of our merchant marine, were all signs of rapidly increasing wealth. The railroad mileage of the country up to the year 1848 was less than 6000, but during the next ten years 16,500 miles of new track were laid. Between 1850 and 1855 the important railroads of the Atlantic coast (New York Central, Erie, Pennsylvania, Baltimore and Ohio) were all connected with the Great Lakes or the Ohio River. Thus the basin of the Mississippi, which had been connected with the Gulf of Mexico through the highway of the great river, was now joined with the Eastern states to send its growing trade through the Great Lakes and over the Atlantic-seaboard railroads.

352. The Census of 1850. The census of 1850 was the first to furnish data not alone of our territory and population, but of the moral, social, and industrial condition of our people as well. By 1850 our population had grown from a seaboard people of 3,929,000, when the first census was taken in 1790, to a continental people of 23,192,000. We had outdistanced all the states of Europe except Russia, Great Britain, Austria, and France.

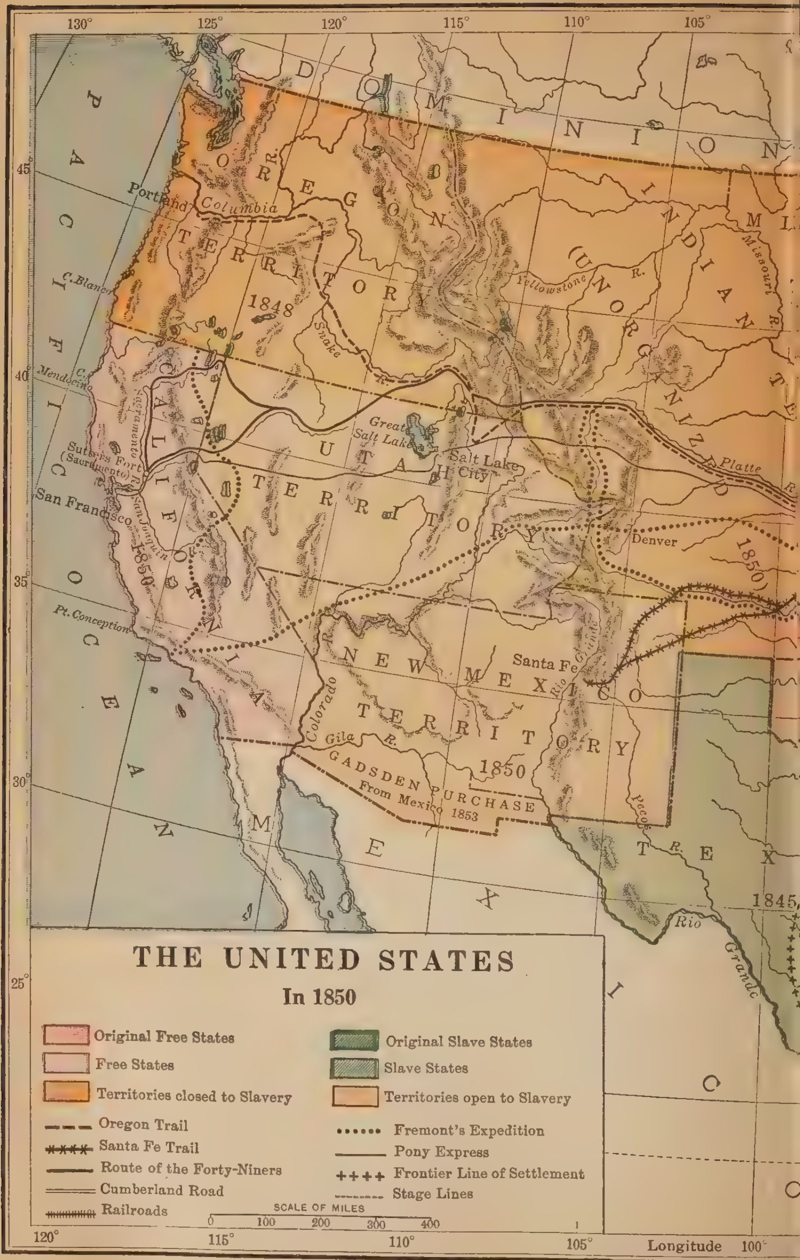


CANALS AND RAILROADS OPERATED IN 1850

More than 10,000,000 of our 23,000,000 people were living in the great central basin of the Mississippi, with a scant 120,000 in California and Oregon. The increase in our population was due almost wholly to the rapid reproduction of our native stock. Early marriages and large families were the rule, especially on the frontier, where homesteads were easy to get and sons and daughters grew up to a life of wholesome toil crowned by the clearing of their own new farms still farther west.

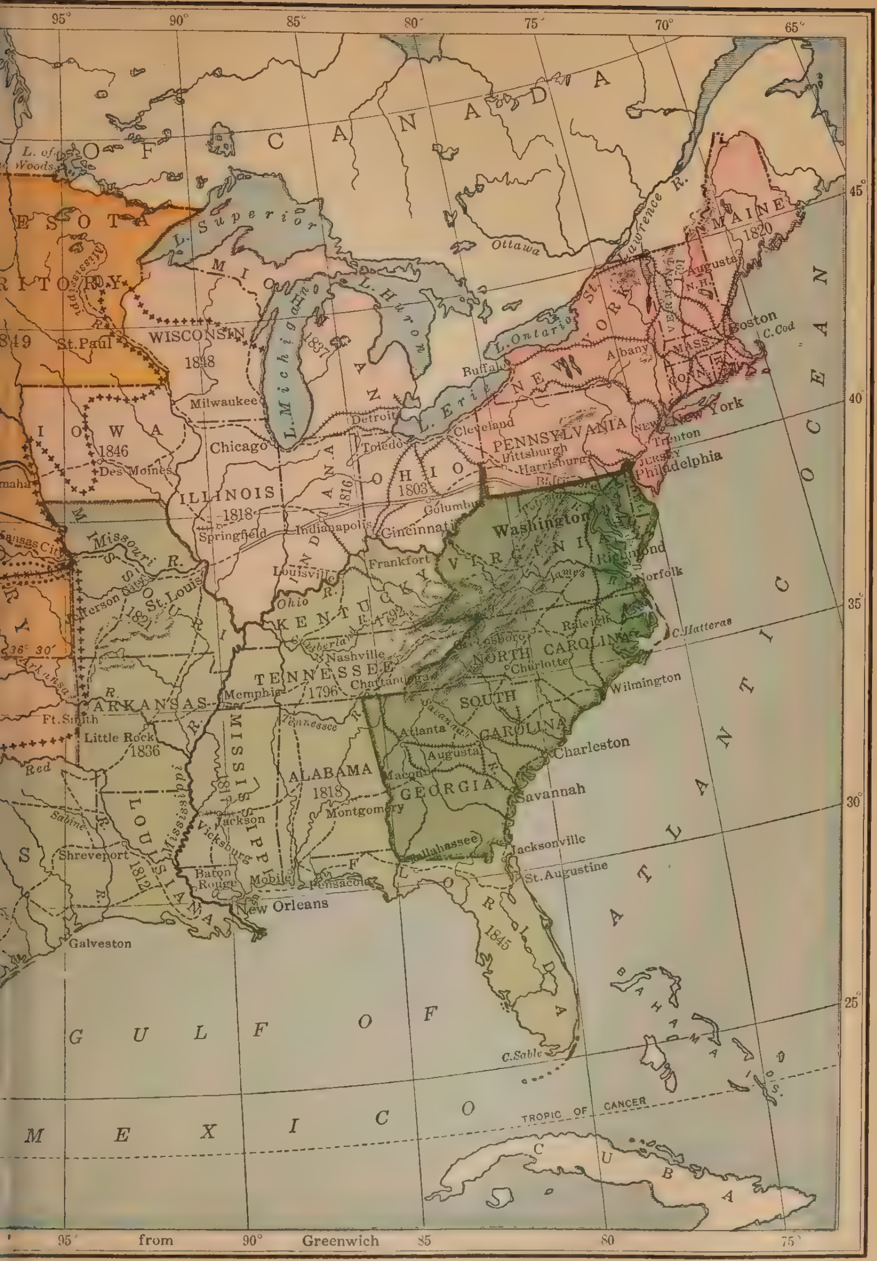
353. Immigration. There were no accurate statistics of immigration in the first part of the nineteenth century. A law of 1819 required the collectors of customs in our ports to file with the Secretary of State a description of all foreign passengers landing in their districts. From these lists it appeared that fewer than 1,000,000 immigrants had come to our shores before 1840. During the decade 1840–1850, however, more than 1,700,000 came. This influx was due partially to the demand for laborers in the United States and partially to various forms of distress in Europe. The utter ruin of the potato crop in 1845 reduced Ireland to famine, and the revolutions of the famous year 1848 threw central Europe into a political turmoil. Irish and German immigrants in large numbers sought in America a land of plenty and a refuge for democracy. The Germans tended to move into the agricultural regions of the Northwest, where there were over 80,000 of them by the census of 1850. The Irish, on the other hand, were content for the most part to remain in the cities of the Atlantic coast. New York alone had absorbed 133,000 Irish immigrants by the year 1850, and Boston, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and other coast cities followed according to their capacity.

354. The "Know-Nothings." We have already noticed some of the political effects of the concentration of the masses in our cities [279]. The coming of the foreigners precipitated racial and religious conflicts too. Much social persecution was directed against the Irish, who were devoted to the Roman Catholic Church. As early as 1834 a convent of the Ursuline Nuns near Boston had been sacked and burned. Anti-Catholic rioters in New York attacked churches and dwellings in 1842, breaking



THE UNITED STATES

In 1850


95°
90°
85°
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C A N A D A
O F
L. of Woods
L. Superior
L. Huron
L. Michigan
L. Ontario
L. Erie
Ottawa
St. Lawrence R.
MICHIGAN
1837
WISCONSIN
1848
ESOTA
RITORY
849
Mississippi R.
St. Paul
Milwaukee
Chicago
IOWA
1846
Des Moines
maha
ILLINOIS
1818
Springfield
INDIANA
1816
Indianapolis
Detroit
Toledo
Cleveland
OHIO
1803
Columbus
Cincinnati
Buffalo
NEW YORK
Albany
New York
PENNSYLVANIA
Pittsburgh
Harrisburg
Philadelphia
Trenton
NEW JERSEY
MAINE
1820
Augusta
N.H.
VERMONT
1791
MASS.
Boston
C. Cod
CONN.
Washington
VIRGINIA
Richmond
Norfolk
James R.
Frankfort
Louisville
Ohio R.
KENTUCKY
1792
Cumberland R.
Nashville
TENNESSEE
1796
Chattanooga
Memphis
Tennessee R.
NORTH CAROLINA
Raleigh
Charlotte
C. Hatteras
Wilmington
SOUTH CAROLINA
Charleston
Savannah R.
Atlanta
Augusta
Macon
GEORGIA
Savannah
Jacksonville
St. Augustine
Tallahassee
FLORIDA
1845
C. Sable
ALABAMA
1818
Montgomery
Mobile
Pensacola
MISSISSIPPI
1817
Jackson
Vicksburg
Baton Rouge
New Orleans
LOUISIANA
1812
Shreveport
Sabine R.
Red R.
Galveston
ARKANSAS
1836
Little Rock
Ft. Smith
Arkansas R.
MISSOURI
1821
Missouri R.
Jefferson City
St. Louis
Kansas City
36° 30′
BAHAMA IS.
CUBA
TROPIC OF CANCER
GULF OF MEXICO
ATLANTIC OCEAN
95°
from
90°
Greenwich
85
80
75°

the windows of the episcopal residence of Archbishop Hughes. The increased immigration of the later forties only added fuel to the flames. In 1850 the "native Americans," declaring that "popery was incompatible with free institutions," formed the order of "The Star Spangled Banner," which developed into the political party of the Know-Nothings.[1] The chaos in the old Whig and Democratic parties produced by slavery agitation drove thousands into the ranks of the Know-Nothings simply because they had no other place to go. Thus the new party carried several states in the elections of 1854–1855 and gained a momentary political significance far beyond its real importance.

355. The Growth of Industry. The boiling over of the "melting pot," however, was only a trifling sign of disorder in the midst of the general prosperity in the America of 1850. Capital was abundant, and opportunities for investment were opening on every hand. In the industrial region (north of the Potomac and east of the Mississippi) the number of mill and factory operators was increasing by tens of thousands yearly. The value of manufactured products had already surpassed that of our agricultural crops, the respective figures by the census of 1850 being $1,055,511,000 and $994,000,000. The annual production of flour and meal exceeded $100,000,000; cotton goods, lumber, and shoes had each passed the $50,000,000 mark. Anthracite coal had displaced charcoal as a smelting fuel, and the number of anthracite furnaces had grown from six to over a hundred in the decade. The age of small production, supplying narrow local markets and preserving of the apprentice system, was over. The short pieces of railroad, which had served chiefly as auxiliaries to bring products to canal and river banks, were being merged into systems and trunk lines connecting the great distributing centers east and west of the Alleghenies.

356. Land on Easier Terms for the West. The West, recovered from the panic of 1837, was resuming its policy of expansion with characteristic energy and optimism. Its growth in population during the decade of the forties far exceeded that of the

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[1] The party had secret grips and passwords, like the Masonic lodges. When asked what their purpose was, the members replied, "I know nothing."

East and the South. Under the leadership of Senator Benton of Missouri it had long been fighting for a more generous grant of public land by the government. The acts of 1800 and 1820 had reduced the price of the portions of public land and made the terms of payment easier, but they had not given any right of recognition to the "squatter," who settled on the land without title. He was a trespasser in the eyes of the government, liable to be ejected any moment. The Westerner, however, believed that the moral if not the legal title to the land belonged to the man who settled and developed it, and not to the speculator in some Eastern city. In 1841 Congress passed the Preëmption Act, which allowed the "squatter" to purchase the land on which he had settled at the minimum price before it was put up for public auction. This act foreshadowed the Homestead legislation of 1862, which abandoned the policy of regarding the public land chiefly as a source of income to the government and gave a farm of 160 acres free to the man who would settle on it and cultivate it for five years.

357. Government Aid to the Railroads. The West had caught the railroad fever, too, and was dreaming of the extension of the roads to the Pacific coast. A great rivalry sprang up between Chicago and the cities on the Mississippi (St. Louis, Memphis, New Orleans) as to which should get the advantage of being the eastern terminus in the projected Pacific line. "In 1847 not a line of railroad entered Chicago. Its population numbered about 25,000 and its property valuation approximated $7,000,000. Ten years later 4000 miles of railway connected with all points of the compass a city of nearly 100,000 people and property valuations had increased 500 per cent." This remarkable growth, which other cities of the lake region like Buffalo, Cleveland, and Detroit were showing on a lesser scale, was due partly to the promotion of Eastern bankers and European capitalists and still more to the generosity of Congress. In 1850, for example, the state of Illinois was granted over 2,500,000 acres of public land for the encouragement of the Illinois Central Railroad, to which were donated alternate sections of six square miles on each side of the track; and when the road was lengthened to connect

Chicago with the Gulf of Mexico, the same liberality was extended to the states through which it passed. Altogether the donations of Congress in the decade 1850–1860 for railroad development in a dozen of the Western states amounted to over 20,000,000 acres of public land. That all this happened under the rule of the Democratic party, which had for a score of years opposed national aid for internal improvements, shows how the economic demands of the expanding West were conquering political scruples. Even Jefferson Davis, Pierce's Secretary of War, found the authority to promote the scheme of a railroad linking Memphis with San Francisco under the plea of "national defense," and had James Gadsden, a railroad president of South Carolina, sent as minister to Mexico for the express purpose of purchasing the land south of New Mexico, which contained the lowest pass over the Rockies [**337**, note]. >

358. The Reign of "King Cotton" in the South. Cotton was the wealth of the South. Year after year this staple had been increasing at the expense of farm products in the older states of the South and monopolizing the newly opened lands of the Gulf shore and the lower Mississippi Valley. The steady trend of the negro population to the lower South,[1] the increase of 100 per cent in the price of sound field hands, and the persistent effort of the great planters to reopen the African slave trade show how completely the cotton interests dominated the life of the Southland. By 1850 the value of the cotton crop was over $100,000,000 annually, while the rice and sugar crops combined yielded less than $16,000,000. In the same year nearly 50 per cent of the exports of the United States was in cotton as against 9 per cent in manufactures and 7 per cent in flour, beef, and pork. Such a trade naturally led the Southerners to believe that slavery was the basis of the prosperity of the country. "Cotton is king," they said. "In the three million bags of cotton that slave labor annually throws upon the world, we are doing more to advance civilization than all the canting philanthropists of New and Old England will do in a century."

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[1] For example, the 300,000 slaves in Virginia in 1790 had grown to but 450,000 in 1850, although the natural rate of increase would indicate a slave population of at least 1,500,000 at the latter date. On the other hand, the 30,000 slaves of Mississippi in 1820 increased to 150,000 by 1850, or more than double the number to be expected from census predictions.

359. Effects of the Plantation System. Yet, measured not by the exports which enriched a few planters, but by the general diffusion of prosperity among its white population, the South was poor in 1850. Of the 5,500,000 whites of the section, only 350,000 were owners of slaves, and of these over 170,000 owned fewer than five slaves apiece. The few great planters, numbering not more than 5000 families, naturally became a kind of "caste," controlling politics, education, religion, and social life in general. Diversity of profitable industry was lacking, and slave labor excluded the immigrants. The planters sold cotton to buy land and slaves with which to raise more cotton to sell for more land and slaves. And as the cultivation of cotton exhausts the soil rapidly, the planters were always in search of new lands. The South had hardly any manufactures in 1850. She spun less than 2 per cent of the cotton she raised, and less than a fourth of the railroad trackage in the United States was laid upon her soil. The deposits of only $10,000,000 in the banks of the cotton belt

SLAVE CABINS ON AN OLD-TIME PLANTATION

in 1850 show the lack of fluid capital to undertake work of internal improvement. On the eve of the Civil War New York City alone had twice as much money on deposit as all the states of the South together. While public education was not as yet much advanced outside of New England, the 62,571 public schools in the free states were allotted $5,800,000 of the taxes in 1850 as compared with $1,200,000 of taxes granted to the 18,400 schools in the slave states. On the other hand, the South had more institutions of higher learning, with a larger enrollment, than the North had. The census of 1850 enumerates only 72 daily newspapers and 152 public libraries in the slave states, as against 182 newspapers and 1065 public libraries in the North; and the statistics of illiteracy show about $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent among the whites of the South as against 3 per cent in the free states. Culture, like wealth, was not diffused in the South. It tended more and more to be the exclusive privilege of the planter class.

360. Our Commerce in the Mid-Century. No better index of the prosperity of the country could be found than the figures of our commerce. Great Britain repealed the last of her Navigation Acts in 1850, and the trade of the East Indies was opened to the world. An exciting rivalry began between the Yankee clipper ships and the new British vessels built on their model for the carrying trade in the tea and spices of the Orient. In 1853 Congress voted an annual grant of $385,000 to Edward K. Collins, who built four side-wheel steamers for the European trade. The tonnage of our merchant marine in the same year exceeded that of Great Britain by 15 per cent, and over 70 per cent of our foreign commerce in the decade 1850–1860 was carried in American ships.

361. Social Ferment. Professor Commons of Wisconsin has called the decade of the forties "the hot-air period of American history," on account of the great variety of schemes for social uplift that claimed the support of our people. The Democratic revolution, which was gathering strength in the Jacksonian era, now came to its social fruition. A nation-wide temperance movement began with the founding of the Washington Society for Total Abstinence in 1840. The slavery issue furnished poets like Whittier and Lowell with material for appeal to human rights as against property rights. Ideal communities were founded in which men were to dwell together in harmony, sharing their goods and their labor and practicing plain living and high thinking. Some of these communities, like Brook Farm and Bronson Alcott's Fruitlands in Massachusetts, were designed chiefly to liberate men from the material cares and competition which interfered with their intellectual life. Others were more distinctly religious associations with all sorts of queer practices and prophecies. A certain William Miller, for example, convinced himself by studying the books of Daniel and Revelation that the world was coming to an end on a certain day in 1843, and thousands of his followers wound up their business affairs in the anticipation of being translated to heaven. At the same time, the more popular forms of Christianity gained a great number of adherents, especially in the new regions of the West. Missionaries rode thousands of miles through the frontier, exhorting the people in religious revivals in which men and women shouted in ecstasy and fell exhausted to the ground. The staid austerity of the Puritans, the logical theology of the Presbyterians, and the formal worship of the Episcopalians found little favor in these communities. But the Baptists and Methodists increased from a few tens of thousands to over two million in the first half of the nineteenth century.

362. The Mormons. The most conspicuous example of the rise of a sect combining a special religious revelation with a social and economic organization was furnished by the Mormons, who still maintain their church in Utah, Idaho, and other states of the Far West. Founded by Joseph Smith, who claimed to have discovered a divine revelation written on golden plates on a hillside near Palmyra, New York, in 1827, the Mormons attracted thousands of converts in America, England, and the countries of western Europe. They attempted to found a permanent community, first in Ohio, then in Missouri, whence they were driven out on the suspicion of abolitionist sentiments. In 1840 they were allowed to settle in Illinois, where their city of Nauvoo (the "beautiful place") surpassed Chicago in growth and their farms were the best in the state. But the suspicion of disrespect for the law of the Gentiles, coupled with the practice of polygamy, brought the wrath of their neighbors upon them. Joseph Smith and his brother were murdered, and the Mormons under the guidance of their new leader, Brigham Young, moved in a body westward, until in the summer of 1847 they reached the valley of the Great Salt Lake, beyond the boundary of the United States. Our acquisition of New Mexico the next year, however, again brought the Mormons within the borders of the country. And the trains of emigrants passing through Salt Lake City to the gold fields of California during the next few years were glad to exchange their surplus tools and wagons and their emaciated horses and cattle for the products of the Mormon farms. The Mormons are the only ones of the many religious-communistic groups of the nineteenth century to maintain their organization to the present day.

363. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. It seemed as though no decade of our history could pass without some new cause for ill feeling toward Great Britain. To the perpetual quarrel over the rights of our fishermen off the Newfoundland coast, and the disputes over our northern boundaries, there was added in the middle of the nineteenth century an important controversy in Central America. We had looked forward for years to building a canal cutting the isthmus which connects the two great continents of the Western Hemisphere, and had even made a treaty in 1846 with the Spanish-American republic of New Granada (now Colombia), in which we agreed to keep open to all nations, on the same terms, any canal or railroad built across the Isthmus of Panama. The discovery of gold in California shortly afterwards (1848) set American capitalists, headed by Cornelius Vanderbilt, actively to planning transportation routes across the Isthmus. Here they came into collision with the British, who had a colony in Central America, and were attempting to extend their "protectorate" over miles of the coast. After long negotiations, Clayton, our Secretary of State under President Taylor, came to an agreement with the British minister, Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer, in 1850. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, which remained in force until the beginning of the twentieth century, provided that the United States and Great Britain should jointly guarantee the neutrality of any canal built across the Isthmus. Each government pledged itself not to seek exclusive control over the canal, never to erect any fortifications upon it, or to acquire any colonies in Central America. Each promised that it would extend its protection to any company that should undertake the work of building a canal, and would use its influence with the governments of Central America to give their aid to such a project.

364. Our Interest in Cuba. The most critical incident in our mid-century diplomacy, however, concerned Cuba. That rich island possession of Spain, lying just off our coast, had always been regarded with especial interest by our statesmen. Expansionists had wanted it for the United States: others had been afraid that it might pass into the hands of a strong power like England or France. When President Polk offered Spain $120,000,000 for the island (eight times the price paid for the great Louisiana territory), the ministers at Madrid replied that they "had rather see Cuba sunk in the ocean than transferred to any power." Still, Spanish rule in Cuba was oppressive, and the island was in a chronic state of revolt. In 1851 about fifty American citizens, some of them young men belonging to the best families of New Orleans, joined a noted adventurer, named Lopez, in a desperate attempt to seize Cuba. When the men were captured on the Cuban coast and promptly shot, a mob at New Orleans sacked the Spanish consulate, tore down the ensign of Castile, and defaced the portrait of Queen Isabella. Daniel Webster[1] apologized for this insult to Spain, but a little later a successor of Webster's in the State Department, William L. Marcy, was asking the ministry at Madrid to apologize to the United States for the unjust seizure and condemnation of the American steamer *Black Warrior* by the authorities at Havana. Relations between the United States and Spain were severely strained.

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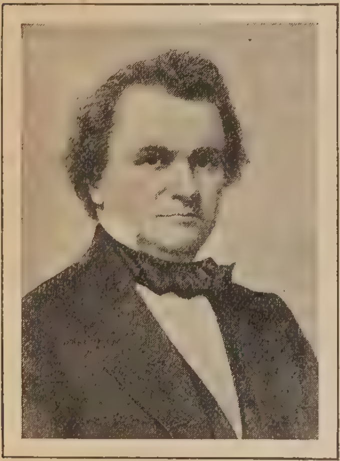
[1] Webster had become Secretary of State for a second time when Vice President Fillmore succeeded Taylor in 1850. The most dramatic act of Webster's was his letter of defiance to the Austrian chargé at Washington, who complained of our sympathy for the Hungarians in their revolt against Austrian oppression. Louis Kossuth, the great Hungarian patriot, visited the United States as the nation's guest in 1851–1852, but failed to get substantial help for his cause.

365. The Ostend Manifesto. During Pierce's administration (1853–1857) the influence of the South was strong at Washington; and the South wanted Cuba for the extension of its slave area. Pierce sent as minister to Spain Pierre Soulé of Louisiana, the most ardent annexationist in the country. Soulé met Mason, our minister to France, and Buchanan, our minister to England, at the Belgian town of Ostend in the summer of 1854, and there the three ministers issued the famous Ostend Manifesto which declared that the possession of Cuba was necessary to the peace of the United States. If, "actuated by stubborn pride and a false sense of honor," Spain should refuse to sell Cuba, then we were "justified by every law, human and divine," in wresting the island from her by force. There was, as a matter of fact, no law, human or divine, that could justify the language of the Ostend Manifesto or the deed of pure robbery which it proposed. The cautious Marcy disowned the Manifesto and a few months later accepted Spain's tardy apology for the *Black Warrior* affair. It was reserved for a far greater disaster to another American vessel forty-four years later — the destruction of the *Maine* in Havana harbor — to precipitate the war which cost Spain "the Pearl of the Antilles."

THE REPEAL OF THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE AND THE FORMATION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

366. The Louisiana Purchase Territory in 1850. While the attention of the country had been fixed on the annexation of Texas, the acquisition of Oregon, and the Mexican War, the Louisiana territory had remained almost unnoticed. Since the admission of Arkansas in 1836, only the single state of Iowa (1846) and the single territory of Minnesota (1849) had been formed out of it. The rest of the region, extending from the Missouri River to the Rockies, was unorganized Indian territory in 1850, with less than one thousand white inhabitants. The addition to our domain, however, of the land west of the Rockies made the organization of the middle part of this territory (then known as Nebraska) important as a link between the Mississippi Valley and the Pacific coast. Thousands of emigrants were passing through the country on their way to the gold fields in California, and the settlers of Missouri and Iowa were eager to drive the Indians from their borders and press westward into the valley of the Kansas and Missouri rivers (see map opposite page 322).



STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS

367. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill. Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois was the chairman of the Senate Committee on Territories. He was a self-made man of tremendous energy, a masterful politician, and an unrivaled debater, who had come from a Vermont farm to the new Western country as a very young man and had risen rapidly through minor offices to a judgeship in the supreme court of Illinois. He was sent to the House of Representatives in 1843 and to the Senate in 1847. Although then but thirty-four years of age, Douglas immediately assumed an important place in the Senate through his brilliant powers of debate. He was soon recognized as the leader of the Democratic party in the North, and after the death of Calhoun, Clay, and Webster he became the foremost figure in American public life. On January 4, 1854, Douglas reported a bill for the organization of the territory west of Missouri (Nebraska) on the principle of "squatter sovereignty" as set forth in the Compromise of 1850 [**344**]. Douglas did not mention the Missouri Compromise in this bill, but some days later, on the advice of the Southern senators, and with the approval of President Pierce, he substituted for it a new bill which expressly repealed the Missouri Compromise and divided the territory into two parts by the parallel of 40° north latitude, — Kansas to the south (into which it was expected slavery would enter) and Nebraska to the north (which would probably be settled by free-soil men).

368. Effect of the Bill on the North. The indignation of the North over the proposed annulment of the Missouri Compromise was instantaneous and strong. The day after the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was reported, the Free-Soilers in Congress, led by Senator Chase of Ohio, issued a spirited protest entitled "The Appeal of the Independent Democrats." They denounced the bill as "a gross violation of a sacred pledge" and called upon all good citizens to protest by every means possible against "this enormous crime." Hundreds of mass meetings were held in the North to denounce the bill. The legislatures of Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, and Wisconsin sent their protests to Congress. Senator Seward of New York wrote, "The storm that is rising is such a one as this country has never yet seen." Douglas was denounced as a turncoat, a traitor, a Judas, a Benedict Arnold, who had sold himself to the South for the presidential nomination. He was burned in effigy so frequently that he himself said he could travel from Boston to Chicago by the light of the fires.

369. Motives for Douglas's Action. Douglas had voted in the House for the 36° 30′ line at the time of the annexation of Texas in 1845, and declared in a speech in the Senate four years later that the Missouri Compromise was "canonized in the hearts of the American people as a thing which no ruthless hand would ever be reckless enough to disturb." Yet he now maintained that by the Compromise of 1850 the American people had substituted for the principle of a *line dividing free territory from slave territory* the new principle of the *choice of the people of the territory themselves*, and that he acquiesced gladly in that change of principle. Douglas's motive for thus shifting his ground is not wholly clear. It is true that he could not hope to win the Democratic nomination for president without the favor of the South, and that the men who in all probability would be his rivals for the nomination in 1856 were all, in one way or another, courting the favor of the

South in 1854.[1] It is true also that he was heavily interested in railway projects for opening up the Far West. But all this does not prove that Douglas, with his hearty confidence in the ability of the people of a locality to manage their own affairs, was not perfectly honest in preferring the "popular-sovereignty" principle of 1850 to the Missouri-Compromise principle of 1820.

370. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill Passed. In the debate on the Kansas-Nebraska Bill Douglas proved himself the master of all his opponents. Alone he faced the fire of Wade, Chase, Seward, Sumner, and Everett, — all masterly speakers, — meeting their attacks at every point with a vigor and tact which won even from his adversaries expressions of admiration. On March 4, 1854, after a continuous session of seventeen hours, Douglas carried the bill through the Senate by a vote of 37 to 14. It passed the House on May 22 by the close vote of 113 to 100, and was signed by Pierce. Mr. James Ford Rhodes, the foremost historian of this period, says that the Kansas-Nebraska Act was "the most momentous measure that passed Congress from the day that the Senators and Representatives first met to the outbreak of the Civil War." It was the end of compromise on the slavery question. It was the declaration on the part of the South that no more lines of latitude or acts of Congress could debar slavery from the territories of the United States. It suddenly woke the North to the realization that nothing would satisfy the slaveholder short of the recognition of slavery as a national institution, and its immediate effect was to increase the numbers and zeal of the antislavery men. Horace Greeley, editor of the New York *Tribune*, the most influential newspaper in the country at this period, wrote, "Pierce and Douglas have made more abolitionists in three months than Garrison and Phillips could have done in half a century." Ten states of the North passed Personal-Liberty acts forbidding their officers to aid in the seizure of fugitive slaves, denying the use of their jails for the detention or imprisonment of fugitives, ordering their courts to provide trial by jury for all negroes seized in the state, and in general annulling the provisions of the Fugitive-Slave Law of 1850 [**349**].[1]

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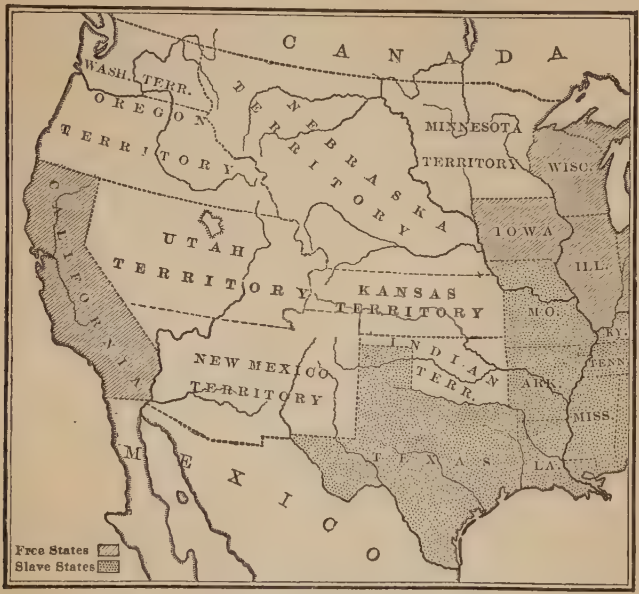
[1] These men were President Pierce, who was almost slavishly following the guidance of his Secretary of War, Jefferson Davis; Secretary of State Marcy, who advocated the annexation of Cuba; and our minister to England, Buchanan, who signed the Ostend Manifesto. Douglas, furthermore, had the handicap of being a farmer's son, born in the abolitionist state of Vermont.



OUR WESTERN TERRITORIES, 1854

All except Washington, Oregon, and Minnesota open to slavery

371. The Formation of the Republican Party. The Kansas-Nebraska Act completed the disruption of the Whig party. Every one of the forty-five Northern Whigs in Congress voted against the act, and the Southern Whigs, unable to stand alone, went over in large numbers to the Democratic party. While Douglas's bill was still under discussion in the Senate, a group of Whigs, anti-Nebraska Democrats, and Free-Soilers had met at Ripon, Wisconsin, and resolved that if the bill passed they would organize a new party to resist the extension of slavery. They suggested the name "Republican," which was taken up and popularized by Horace Greeley in the columns of the New York *Tribune*. On July 6, 1854, the new Republican party was formally launched at a meeting in a grove of oaks on the outskirts of Jackson, Michigan. The meeting declared that slavery was a "great moral, social, and political evil," demanded the repeal of the Kansas-Nebraska Act and of the Fugitive-Slave Law of 1850, and resolved that they would "act cordially and faithfully in unison" until the contest over slavery was ended. State after state responded to the call of the new party.

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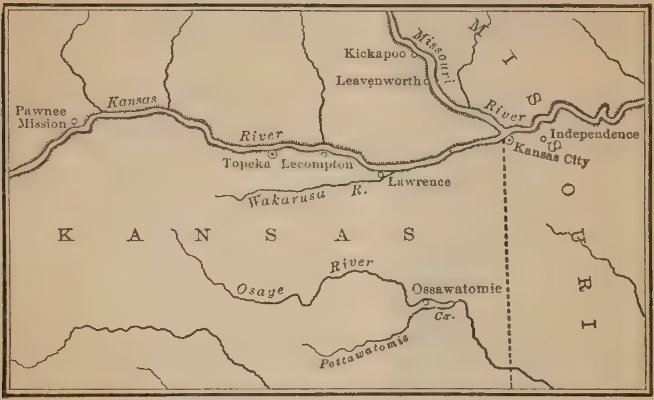
[1] The abolitionist movement was greatly stimulated by Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel, "Uncle Tom's Cabin" (1852), a pathetic but exaggerated portrayal of the cruelties practiced by the inhuman slave driver. The author implored "the Christian and humane people of the North" not to acquiesce in the new Fugitive-Slave Law. Her novel, selling by the hundreds of thousands of copies, so influenced public opinion in the North that President Lincoln, meeting her later in the White House, greeted her as "the woman who brought on the Civil War."

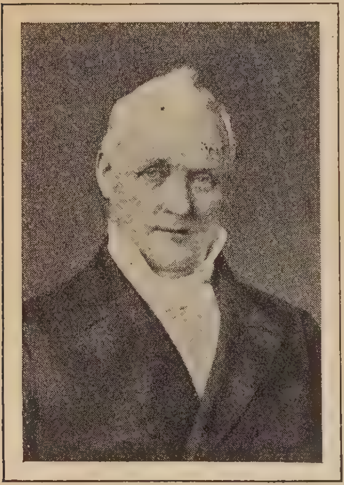
372. The Mistake of Douglas. There was no good reason in the year 1854 for disturbing the compromise agreed on in 1850 [**348**]. On the basis of that compromise the Democratic party had achieved an overwhelming success at the polls in 1852 and the Southern states had declared their adherence to the Union. Prosperity was general; the country seemed calm. One might have prophesied at the opening of the year 1854 a long and undisturbed tenure of power for the Democratic party. At the end of that year the country was in a ferment. The Democratic majority of 84 in the House had been changed to a minority of 75. When Douglas reported his bill the northwestern states were solidly Democratic. Every one of the senators from Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa, and all but five of the twenty-nine members from these states in the lower House, belonged to the party of the administration. The enormous influence of Douglas kept Illinois in the Democratic column until the presidential election of 1860; but Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa went over to the new Republican party forthwith, and only Indiana remained permanently in the "doubtful column."

373. Civil War in Kansas. When the Kansas-Nebraska Bill became law Douglas boasted that "the struggle over slavery was banished forever from the halls of Congress to the Western plains." He was wrong about the halls of Congress, but right about the Western plains. For two years after the passage of the act there was civil war in the new territory of Kansas between the free-soil immigrants from New England and the proslavery men who crossed the border from Missouri. Each side set up a government and claimed recognition from Washington. Each charged the other with lawlessness and fraud. On May 21, 1856, the "Missourians" sacked the free-soil town of Lawrence, and three days later John Brown, a fanatical abolitionist agitator, took revenge by leading a small band of men (including his four sons) to a proslavery settlement on Pottawatomie Creek, where they dragged five men from their beds at dead of night and massacred them in cold blood. Bands of armed rioters marched up and down like the factional "armies" of a Central American republic. Farmers went in groups, armed to the teeth, to till their fields. No herd was safe from plunder and no house or barn from the torch. Over two hundred lives were lost and $2,000,000 worth of property destroyed.



CIVIL WAR IN KANSAS, 1855–1857

374. The Assault on Sumner. Still another deed of violence was crowded into the fateful week which saw the sack of Lawrence and the murders on the Pottawatomie. On May 19–20 Sumner of Massachusetts delivered a speech in the Senate called "The Crime against Kansas." It was a fierce attack on proslavery leaders in Kansas and their supporters in the South. Sumner especially singled out for his coarse invective Senator A. P. Butler of South Carolina, who was ill and absent from his seat at the time of the speech. Two days later Preston Brooks, a representative from South Carolina and a relative of Butler, entered the Senate chamber late in the afternoon when Sumner was working alone at his desk, and beat him over the head with a heavy cane so severely that he was unable for a period of more than six months to resume his seat in the Senate. A motion was immediately made to expel Brooks from the House, but it failed to get the necessary two-thirds majority. He resigned, however, and was enthusiastically reëlected by his constituency in South Carolina with only six dissenting votes.



JAMES BUCHANAN

375. The Nomination of Buchanan. On the first of June, 1856, the Democratic nominating convention met at Cincinnati. In spite of the fact that Pierce had sent three governors to Kansas in as many years in the vain endeavor to make the Douglas principle of squatter sovereignty succeed in the territory, and that civil war was even then smoldering in Kansas, the platform stated that the principle of popular sovereignty embodied "the only sound and safe solution of the slavery question." Still, the delegates took care not to nominate any man who would be held responsible for the situation in Kansas. They passed over both Pierce and Douglas and chose James Buchanan, a dignified and distinguished lawyer of Pennsylvania, who had been absent as minister to Great Britain when the Kansas struggle was precipitated. Buchanan was thought to be acceptable to the North and had no abolitionist leanings to make him offensive to the South. John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky was nominated for the vice presidency.

376. The First Republican Convention. The first national nominating committee of the Republican party met at Philadelphia, June 17, 1856. The platform declared that it was "both the right and the duty of Congress" to legislate for the territories of the United States, abolishing in them the "twin relics of barbarism," slavery and polygamy. It condemned the policy of the administration in Kansas, denounced the Ostend Manifesto [**365**], and demanded the immediate admission of Kansas as a free state. Instead of choosing a man of political experience like Seward or Chase, the convention nominated John C. Frémont of California, whose romantic career as the "Pathfinder" of the Far West and the "conqueror of California" had won him a popularity far in excess of his ability. It was freely predicted that the election of Frémont on a platform embodying the Wilmot Proviso would result in the dissolution of the Union. Ex-President Fillmore, the candidate in 1856 of the Know-Nothing party, asked the Republicans how they could have the "madness or folly" to believe that our Southern brethren would submit to being governed by Frémont. Senator Wise of Virginia wrote, "The Southern states will not submit to a sectional election of a Free-Soiler or Black Republican. If Frémont is elected, this Union will not last one year from November next. . . . The country was never in such danger."

377. The Election of 1856. Every week of the continuation of civil strife in Kansas was making converts for the Republicans and bringing discredit on the administration. The Democrats tried to get a bill passed in the summer of 1856 for a new convention, to be organized by commissioners appointed by President Pierce, to secure "a fair and honest expression of the opinion of the present inhabitants of Kansas." But the Free-Soilers in the House defeated the bill. They had no confidence in Pierce, who had shown himself favorable to the slavery interests, and they contended that the great majority of the people of Kansas had already declared in favor of freedom. Douglas accused the Republicans of fomenting the strife in Kansas. "An angel from heaven," he said, "could not write a bill to restore peace in Kansas that would be acceptable to the abolitionist Republican party previous to the presidential election." When Congress adjourned in August, Pierce took the matter into his own hands and with the aid of United States troops — a confession of the failure of popular sovereignty — restored peace in time to save the election for the Democrats. Buchanan carried the South, together with California, Illinois, Indiana, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. His electoral vote was 174; Frémont's, 114. Still, the new Republican party, in its first presidential campaign, had made a remarkable fight, winning eleven states and polling 1,341,264 votes to 1,831,169 for Buchanan. With enthusiasm the Republicans entered on the next four years' campaign with the battle song of Whittier ringing in their ears:

Then sound again the bugles,
  Call the muster roll anew;
If months have well-nigh won the field,
  What may not four years do?

SECESSION

378. The Political Situation in 1857. The conservative element of the country was relieved by the election of 1856. Buchanan was deemed a "safe" man, while the erratic Frémont might have precipitated a crisis. The country was at the flood tide of material prosperity. The Walker tariff of 1846, though moderate, was bringing into the Treasury so large a surplus that a new tariff bill was passed without opposition in the last month of Pierce's term (February, 1857), reducing the rates to the lowest levels since the War of 1812.[1] Buchanan declared in his inaugural address that he owed his election "to the inherent love for the Constitution and the Union which still animates the hearts of the American people" and expressed the hope that the long agitation on slavery was now "approaching its end."

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[1] In the summer of 1857, however, a severe panic occurred, due to overconfident railroad building and overextension of credit. Thousands of men were thrown out of employment, and paraded the streets of the cities with banners demanding "work or bread."

379. The Dred Scott Case. Before the echoes of Buchanan's optimistic speech had died away, the Supreme Court handed down the most famous decision in its history (March 6, 1857). Dred Scott, a negro belonging to an army surgeon at St. Louis, had been taken by his master into free territory in the Northwest in 1834 and brought back to Missouri. Some years later he sued his master's widow for his freedom on the ground that residence in free territory had emancipated him. The case reached the highest court of Missouri (1852), which decided that Scott, not being a citizen, had no right to bring suit. Meanwhile the negro had come into the possession of a New Yorker named Sandford, and his case was taken to the federal circuit court of Missouri.[1] When the federal court upheld the decision of the state court, Dred Scott's patrons appealed the case to the Supreme Court of the United States. The only question for the Supreme Court to decide was whether there had been any error in the proceedings of the federal court of Missouri. It decided that there had not, and there the matter should have ended. But Chief Justice Taney (who had been appointed by President Jackson on the death of John Marshall, in 1835) went on to deliver a long opinion on the status of the negro, which he thought would put an end to the antislavery agitation. The negro, said Taney, was not a citizen in the eyes of the Constitution of the United States. That Constitution was made for white men only, and the negroes were regarded as "so far inferior that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect." The slave was the property of his owner, and the national government was nowhere given power over the property of the inhabitants of the United States. The Missouri Compromise of 1820 was declared unconstitutional. The Southerners rejoiced that at last the pro-

[1] If a citizen of one state sues a citizen of another state the case is tried in a federal court. Of course the negro slave, Dred Scott, did not initiate the case himself. It was managed and financed by abolitionists, who wished to test the positions of the courts on the subject of slavery. Neither was the decision of the court a matter of practical concern to Scott, who was assured of his emancipation by his New York owner, anyway.

slavery doctrine of Calhoun and Davis had been recognized by the most august branch of the federal government at Washington. But the Northern press spoke of the soiled "ermine of the judicial robes." "The people of the United States," cried Seward, "never can and never will accept principles so abhorrent."

380. The Lecompton Fraud. Six months after the Dred Scott decision new trouble arose in Kansas. A convention (which the Free-Soilers refused to attend) met at Lecompton, in September, 1857, and drew up a constitution protecting all the *existing* slave property in Kansas. The people were to vote only on the question of whether this constitution should be adopted "with slavery" or "without slavery," the latter phrase meaning simply that no *more* slave-owners would be admitted to the territory. The Free-Soilers denounced the fraud and demanded that the votes should be simply *Yes* or *No* on the whole of the Lecompton constitution. They stayed away from the polls, and the proslavery people adopted the constitution "with slavery," casting 6226 votes. Two weeks later the free-soil legislature submitted the Lecompton constitution as a whole to the people, and it was rejected by a vote of 10,226 to 162. Douglas immediately protested against the Lecompton fraud as a violation of the principle of popular sovereignty. A new convention must be called and a new constitution submitted. When Buchanan, in spite of the vote in Kansas and of his pledge to allow the people of the territory "full and complete right to decide upon their own affairs," sent the Lecompton constitution to Congress with the recommendation that Kansas be admitted as a slave state under its provisions, Douglas broke with the administration and rebuked President Buchanan to his face.

381. Douglas and Lincoln Compared. Douglas's second term in the United States Senate was about to expire, and he returned to Illinois in the summer of 1858 to seek reëlection. His Republican rival for the senatorship was Abraham Lincoln. The two men had known each other for twenty years; they were both poor farmers' sons who had come to the state of Illinois as young men and there had engaged in the practice of law. They were alike, too, in their ambition to make a name for themselves, in politics, and in their intense devotion to the Union. But here the resemblance ceased. While Douglas had been a national figure in the United States Senate for over a decade and twice a serious competitor for the Democratic presidential nomination, Lincoln's national honors had been limited to one inconspicuous term as a Whig member of Congress. In appearance, temper, and character the two men were exact opposites: Lincoln very tall and lanky, awkward, reflective, and slow in speech and motion; Douglas scarcely five feet in height, thickset, agile, volcanic in utterance, impetuous in gesture; Lincoln undeviatingly honest in thought, making his speech always the servant of his reason; Douglas, in his brilliancy of rhetoric, often confusing the moral principle for the sake of making the legal point. Neither was an extremist in his views on slavery, Douglas being as far removed from the "fire eaters" of the South as Lincoln was from the abolitionists of the North. But while Douglas believed that the free and slave states could and should continue to live together in peace and in common devotion to the Union, professing that he did not care personally "whether slavery was voted up or voted down," Lincoln was certain that the Union would not continue unless the slavery question was settled. In his speech before the Illinois convention, accepting the Republican nomination for the senatorship, in June, 1858, he said: "'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved. I do not expect the house to fall, but I do expect it will cease to be divided."

382. The Lincoln and Douglas Debates. Lincoln challenged Douglas to a series of debates on the merits of the doctrine of popular sovereignty in the territories. Douglas accepted, and seven debates were held, one in each of the electoral districts of the state. Their immediate object was to influence the people in the election of the legislature which was to choose the United States senator; but the contest was not merely over a seat in the Senate. It was a clash between two hostile theories. The Dred Scott decision had declared it unconstitutional for the national government to exclude slavery from the territories.

But at the same time the Kansas-Nebraska Bill [**367**] had conferred on the territories the right to admit or exclude slavery for themselves. Douglas supported both these positions. But, asked Lincoln in the debate at Freeport, how can a territory forbid slavery when Congress cannot? The territory is the creation of Congress. Does it have more power than the Congress which creates it? Can water rise above its source? The question put Douglas in a fix. If he answered *Yes* he would offend the South, and if he answered *No* he would deny his own doctrine of popular sovereignty. He held to his doctrine and answered: "It matters not which way the Supreme Court may hereafter decide as to the abstract question whether slavery may or may not go into a territory . . . for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere unless it is supported by local police regulations."[1] Douglas won the Illinois senatorship by the narrow margin of eight votes, but his admission that the people of a territory might exclude slavery by hostile legislation ruined his reputation with the radical Southern leaders, who assailed him as a "traitor," a "renegade," and a "Judas," — the very epithets with which he had been branded in the North four years before [**368**].

383. John Brown's Raid. John Brown, whose fanatical murders in Kansas we have already described [**373**], believed that he was commissioned by God to free the slaves in the South. He conceived a wild plan of posting in the fastnesses of the Appalachian Mountains small bodies of armed men, who should make descents into the plains to kidnap negroes and conduct them back to his "camps of freedom." He seized the United States arsenal at Harpers Ferry, at the junction of the Potomac and Shenandoah rivers, and, raiding the premises of a few neighboring planters, forcibly freed about thirty of their slaves. The negroes were huddled together with his men in the arsenal, rather bewildered, and more like captives than newly baptized freemen, when a detachment of the United States Marines, under the command of

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[1] Lincoln neatly paraphrased this "Freeport Doctrine" of Douglas in a speech at Columbus a year later: "Then a thing may be legally driven away from a place where it has a legal right to be."

Colonel Robert E. Lee, arrived on the scene, battered down the doors of the arsenal, and easily made captives of Brown's band (October 18, 1859). Brown himself, severely wounded, was tried for treason by the laws of Virginia and, entering no defense of his action besides the assertion of his divine commission, he was speedily condemned and hanged. He was hailed as a martyr by most of the antislavery men of the North and became a sort of patron saint of the Northern armies during the Civil War.

THE MARINES STORM THE ARSENAL AT HARPERS FERRY

384. Lincoln's Cooper Union Speech. Early in February, 1860, Jefferson Davis introduced into the Senate a set of resolutions which were intended as a platform for the Democratic party in the approaching presidential campaign. The Northern states must repeal their Personal-Liberty laws and cease to interfere with the execution of the Fugitive-Slave Law of 1850. The Dred Scott decision must be respected. Congress must protect slavery in every part of the territories of the United States. Douglas's doctrine of popular sovereignty was entirely repudiated. At the close of the same month Abraham Lincoln, at the invitation of the Republicans of the Eastern states, delivered a notable speech in the hall of Cooper Union, New York City. Since the debates with Douglas in 1858 Lincoln had been recognized in the West as the leading man of the Republican party, but before the Cooper Union speech the East did not accord him a place beside Seward and Sumner. His clothes were ill-fitting, his voice was high and thin, his gestures were awkward as he stood before the cultured audience of New York; but all these things were forgotten as he proceeded with accurate historical knowledge, keen argument, lucid exposition, and great charity to expound the position of the Republican party on the issue of slavery. He showed that Congress had repeatedly legislated to control slavery in the territories of the United States, and that the South had accepted and even voted for the laws [**254**, note]; that no particle of proof could be adduced to show that the Republican party or any member of it had anything to do with John Brown's raid at Harpers Ferry; that the talk of the Southerners about the disasters which the election of a Republican president would bring upon them was the product of their own imagination; and that the threats of the South to break up the Union in case of such an election were simply the argument of the highway robber. He concluded by a ringing appeal to the men of the North to stand by their principles in the belief that right makes might. The speech served as a reply to Davis's resolutions and made Lincoln a serious candidate for the Republican nomination for president.

✓ **385. The Split in the Democratic Party.** The great conventions of 1860, which were to nominate candidates for the most important presidential election in our history, began with the meeting of the Democratic delegates at Charleston, South Carolina, April 23. There was a struggle between the Douglas men and the supporters of the Davis resolutions. The Douglas platform won by a margin of about thirty votes, whereupon the Alabama delegation, led by William L. Yancey (for ten years an ardent advocate of secession), marched out of the hall, followed by a majority of the delegates of the seven other cotton states.

The convention reassembled at Baltimore (without the Charleston "bolters") and again divided. The "regulars" nominated Douglas; the seceders, John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky. Thus the extreme proslavery men of the South deliberately split the Democratic party and made probable the election of the Republican candidate. Alexander Stephens of Georgia, perhaps the ablest statesman of the South, said that within a twelvemonth of the disruption of the Democratic convention at Charleston the nation would be engaged in a bloody civil war. And so it was.

386. The Nomination of Abraham Lincoln. Meanwhile the Republican convention had met at Chicago in a huge structure called the Wigwam. Ten thousand people packed the building, while tens of thousands more were waiting outside in hopes to hear that the favorite son of the West, "honest Abe" Lincoln, had been chosen as the standard bearer of the party. Senator Seward of New York was considered the leading candidate for the nomination, while other aspirants for the honor were Chase of Ohio, Bates of Missouri, Cameron of Pennsylvania, and Smith of Indiana. Seward led on the first ballot, but he could not command the 233 votes necessary for nomination. He was suspected of being too intimately allied with the abolitionists and too closely connected with the political machine in New York State. Moreover, his supporters alienated the Western delegates by parading the streets of Chicago with bands and banners, shouting, "If you do not nominate Seward, where will you get your money?" Lincoln was nominated on the third ballot and the convention went wild. Men hugged one another and wept for joy. The Republican platform asserted the right and duty of Congress to prohibit the further spread of slavery into the territories of the United States. It condemned Buchanan's administration for its encouragement of the Lecompton fraud [**380**], demanded the immediate admission of Kansas as a free state, and denounced the opinion of Taney in the Dred Scott case [**379**].

387. Lincoln's Election. Besides Douglas, Breckinridge, and Lincoln, there was a fourth candidate in the field, John Bell of Tennessee, the nominee of the Constitutional Union party. This party was composed largely of the remnants of the Whig

Unionists of the South, and was strongest in the border states. Ignoring slavery (the one vital issue of the campaign), the party declared in its platform for "the maintenance of the Union and the Constitution and the enforcement of the laws." A study of the map following page 349 will show how Lincoln carried the election on November 6. The student should note the following points: (1) Lincoln's popular vote was, roughly, 1,860,000 as against 2,810,000 for his opponents, making him the choice of only about 40 per cent of the voters of the country; (2) Douglas, though he was repudiated by the administration and the radical proslavery men, rolled up immense minorities in the North which gave him a popular vote more than two thirds as large as Lincoln's; (3) the three stanch Unionist candidates together received 3,832,280 votes as against slightly less than 850,000 for Breckinridge; and finally (4) the election showed that the South itself was not in favor of secession in November, 1860, for the disunionist candidate Breckinridge received less than 45 per cent of the vote of the slave states, where he polled 115,000 fewer than Bell and Douglas combined.

388. The Secession of South Carolina. These figures could not be interpreted as a mandate from the Southern people to dissolve the Union. Yet South Carolina proceeded immediately to the work. The legislature of the state, which had met to choose presidential electors,[1] called a convention, as soon as it received news of Lincoln's election, to carry out the threat of secession. The convention met at Charleston on December 20, and by the unanimous vote of the 169 members passed the famous Ordinance of Secession, declaring that the act of May 23, 1788, "whereby the Constitution of the United States was ratified . . . is hereby repealed and the Union now subsisting between South Carolina and the other states, under the name of the United States of America, is hereby dissolved." The Ordinance of Secession was met with demonstrations of joy by the people of

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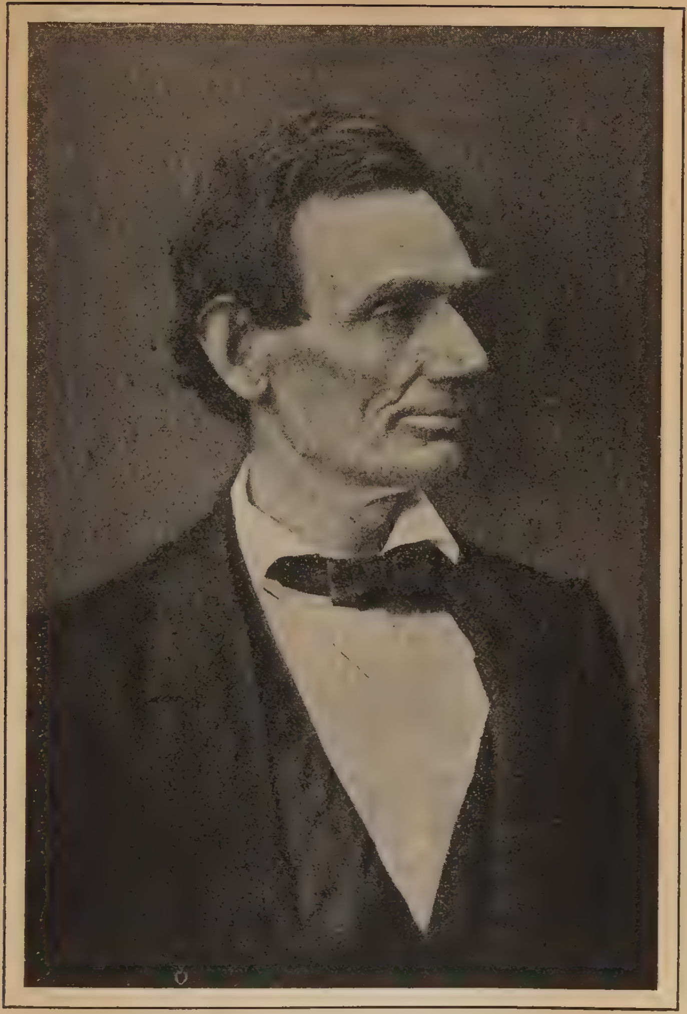
[1] South Carolina was the only state in 1860 that continued the custom, common in the early days of our history to most of the states, of choosing presidential electors by vote of the legislature. In all the other states they had come to be chosen by vote of the people.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

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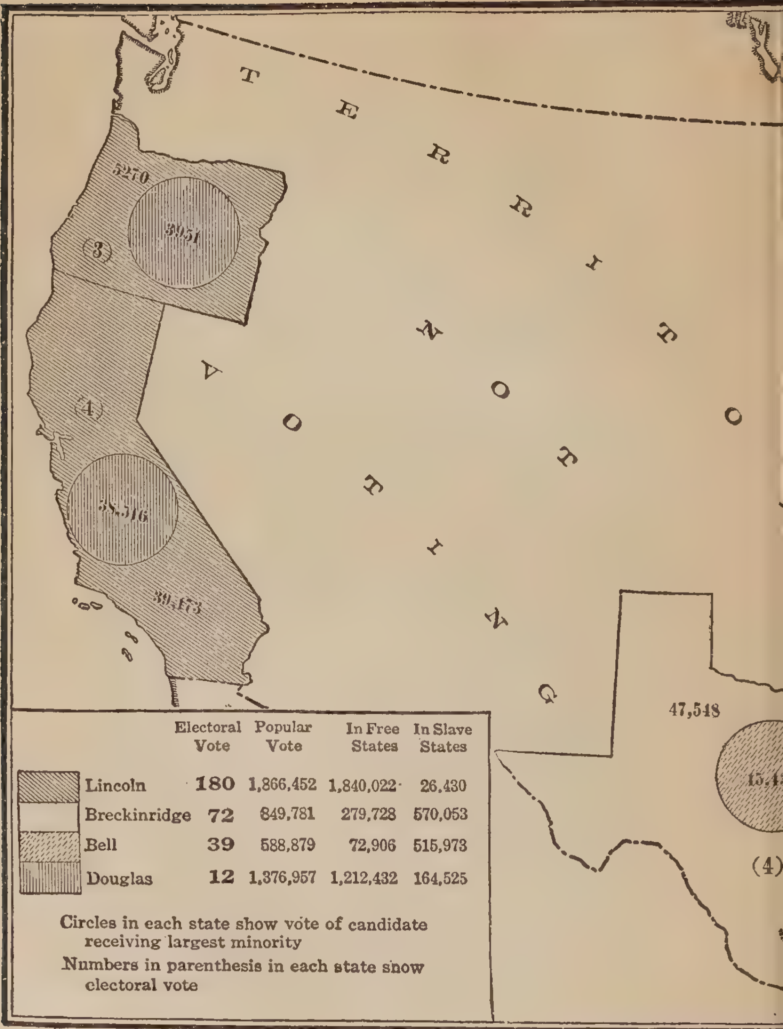
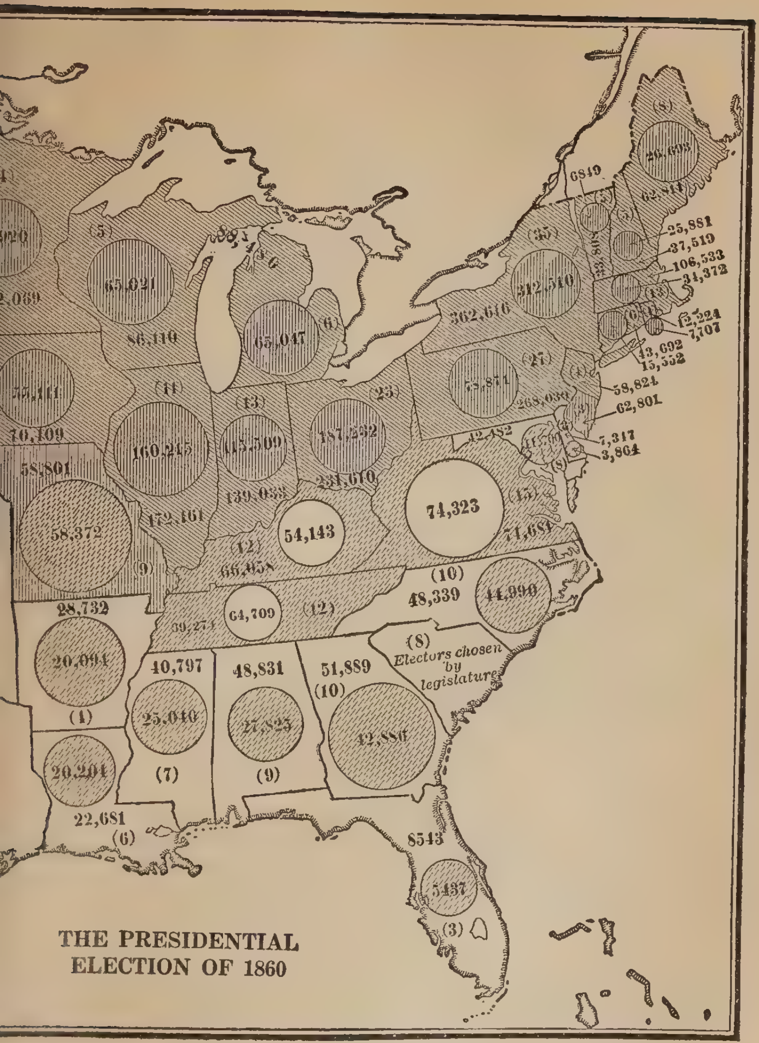


		Electoral Vote	Popular Vote	In Free States	In Slave States
▨	Lincoln	**180**	1,866,452	1,840,022	26,430
☐	Breckinridge	**72**	849,781	279,728	570,053
░	Bell	**39**	588,879	72,906	515,973
▥	Douglas	**12**	1,376,957	1,212,432	164,525

Circles in each state show vote of candidate receiving largest minority

Numbers in parenthesis in each state show electoral vote

Map Plate, Patented July 5, 1921 • Method of Making Maps, Patented July 5, 1921



THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1860

South Carolina. The city of Charleston was decked with flags. Salvos of artillery were fired, houses were draped with blue bunting, and the bells were rung in a hundred churches.

389. The Southern Confederacy. Within six weeks after the secession of South Carolina the states of Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia, and Texas had severed their connection with the Union. Delegates from six of these seven "sovereign states" met at Montgomery, Alabama, February 4, 1861, and organized a new Confederacy. Jefferson Davis of Mississippi was chosen president, and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia vice president. A constitution was drawn up and submitted to the several states of the Confederacy for ratification. This constitution was very similar to the Constitution of the United States, except that slavery was expressly sanctioned, Congress was forbidden to levy protective duties, the president was elected for a term of six years without eligibility for reëlection, and the members of the cabinet were given the right to speak on the floor of Congress.[1] A Confederate flag, the "stars and bars," was adopted. A tax of one eighth of a cent a pound on exported cotton was levied. President Davis was authorized to raise an army of 100,000 men and secure a loan of $15,000,000, and a committee of three, with the impetuous Yancey of Alabama as chairman, was sent abroad to secure the friendship and alliance of European courts. Both Davis and Stephens believed that the South would have to fight "a long and bloody war" to establish its independence.

390. Why the South Seceded. Ponderous volumes have been written on both sides of the question whether the South had a right to secede from the Union. Every people cherishes the "sacred right" of revolution against a government which it has heretofore acknowledged if it is convinced that that government has become intolerably oppressive. Our colonial forefathers (to whom the Southerners compared themselves in 1860) exercised that right against Great Britain, and the history of our country down to 1850 offers many instances of the threat of states to sever their allegiance to the Union. The important question is not the abstract "right" of secession, but the actual cause. The actual cause of the secession of the South was the hostility of the North to the institution of slavery, culminating in the election to the presidency of a man pledged to the exclusion of slavery from all the territories of the United States. The South maintained that it was their constitutional right (upheld by the Dred Scott decision) to have their property (slaves) protected in the territories; the North maintained that Congress had the right to exclude slavery from the territories by virtue of the clause of the Constitution (Art. IV, sect. 3, par. 2) which gives it "power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States." So long as these conflicting views were tenaciously held on both sides, reconciliation was impossible.

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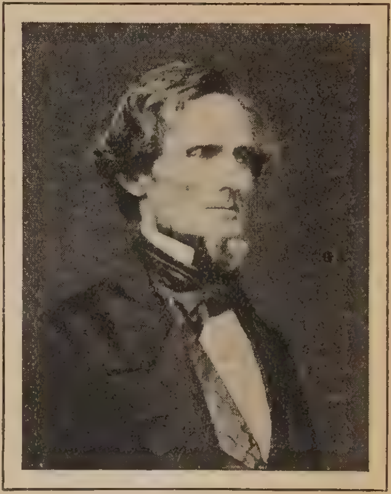
[1] The Confederate constitution is printed in parallel columns with the Constitution of the United States in Woodrow Wilson's "History of the American People," Vol. IV, Appendix. Of course, the Confederate constitution never had a chance to go into fair operation, as the Southern Confederacy was overthrown in the great Civil War, which followed immediately upon its adoption.



JEFFERSON DAVIS

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3. **The Birth of the Republican Party:** STANWOOD, pp. 258–278; RHODES, Vol. II, pp. 45–50, 177–185; FRANCIS CURTIS, *The Republican Party*, Vol. I, pp. 172–234; JOHNSON, pp. 260–280; W. E. DODD, *The Fight for the Northwest* (*American Historical Review*, Vol. XVI, pp. 774–788); NICOLAY and HAY, *The Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. I, pp. 178–226.

4. **Bleeding Kansas:** O. G. VILLARD, *John Brown — A Biography Fifty Years After*, pp. 79–226; CHARLES ROBINSON, *The Kansas Conflict*, chaps. v–xiii; W. L. FLEMING, *The Buford Expedition to Kansas* (*American Historical Review*, Vol. VI, pp. 38–48); L. W. SPRING, *Kansas, the Prelude to the War for the Union*, chaps. iii–xii; JOHN G. WHITTIER, *Brown of Ossawatomie*; HART, *Contemporaries*, Vol. IV, Nos. 36–40; MUZZEY, *Readings*, pp. 367–373.

5. **The Southern Argument for Secession:** FITE, pp. 162–197; CHADWICK, pp. 37–53; CHANNING, Vol. VI, pp. 256–270; E. A. POLLARD, *The Lost Cause*, chap. i; A. H. STEPHENS, *The War between the States*, Vol. I, pp. 17–49, 459–539; HART, *Contemporaries*, Vol. IV, Nos. 53–57; MUZZEY, *Readings*, pp. 394–398.

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. What effect upon the commerce of the Mississippi Valley did the railroad building of the 1850's have? **2.** What facts in regard to our manufactures were shown by the census of 1850? **3.** What was the origin of the Know-Nothing party? **4.** Define the terms "Preëmption Act," "Freeport Doctrine," "*obiter dictum*," "Lecompton Fraud." **5.** How did the government aid the railroads? **6.** Explain what the planters meant by the phrase [illegible] Scott [illegible]

"Cotton is king." **7.** Contrast our merchant marine of 1853 and of today. **8.** Who were the Millerites? **9.** Trace the migrations of the Mormons. **10.** Was the Ostend Manifesto a breach of the Monroe Doctrine? **11.** Why did the Louisiana Purchase territory attract political attention in the mid-century? **12.** What motives have been attributed to Douglas in his eagerness to get the Kansas-Nebraska Bill passed? **13.** Explain how the doctrine of "squatter sovereignty" failed. **14.** Show how the Dred Scott decision was embarrassing to Douglas. **15.** When, where, and why was the Republican party formed? **16.** What do you think of John Brown? **17.** Show the connection between the Dred Scott decision and the Missouri Compromise. **18.** Why did Douglas lose the support of the South? **19.** Analyze Lincoln's Cooper Union speech. **20.** Why was Lincoln nominated, rather than Seward, in 1860? **21.** What facts do you gather from the map of the election of 1860? **22.** Do you think Lincoln's election was a just cause for the secession of South Carolina? **23.** What were the main points of difference between the Confederate constitution and the Constitution of the United States? **24.** What instances of threatened secession before 1860 can you recall? **25.** Show on the map what territory of the United States was closed to slavery in 1855.

Lincoln versus
Douglas
South justified in

CHAPTER XI

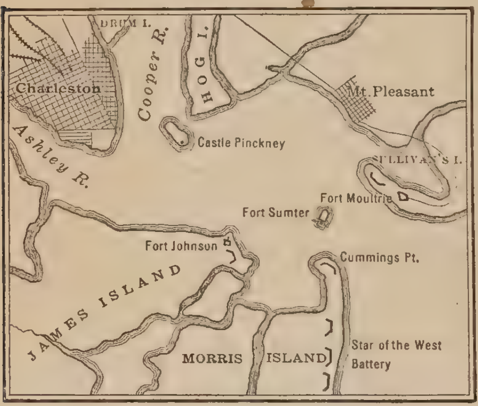
THE CIVIL WAR

THE FALL OF FORT SUMTER

391. Attempts to preserve the Union without War. In spite of the accumulating causes of discord between North and South, in spite even of secession, many men in both sections believed that a peaceable solution would be found. There were, after all, many ties binding the North and the South: the common pride in the Union and attachment to the Constitution; the commercial connection between the producers and the manufacturers of the cotton crop; the nation-wide political parties and religious sects; the social bonds of family relationships and personal friendships. It was inconceivable that these should all be broken by a civil war. Either the North would persuade the seceding states to return to their allegiance to the Union, as Seward optimistically predicted, or the seceding states would be allowed to "depart in peace," as General Winfield Scott advised and the secessionists confidently believed. President Buchanan floundered in a sea of indecision. He declared in his last annual message to Congress (December, 1860) that a state had no right to secede, but added that the federal government had no right to prevent it by force. He clung desperately to the hope of stemming secession by parleys with the secessionists, while the Southern members of his cabinet boasted that they had "tied his hands." He was longing for the fourth of March to come, when he would be relieved of his load of responsibility. Congress meanwhile tried in vain to devise a plan of reconciliation. On December 18, 1860, Henry Clay's successor, Senator J. J. Crittenden of Kentucky, proposed a series of "unamendable amendments" to the Constitution, restoring the Missouri Compromise line of 36° 30′ as the boundary between slave and free territory and forbidding Congress ever to interfere with the domestic slave trade or slavery in the states where it was established by law. But Jefferson Davis voted with William H. Seward to reject the 36° 30′ line. The only fruit of the long discussion was the recommendation of a constitutional amendment making slavery inviolable in the states where it was established. This proposed Thirteenth Amendment was passed by the necessary two-thirds vote in each House (February 28, 1861), but only two states took pains to ratify it.

392. Lincoln faces a Crisis. It was a serious condition of affairs that confronted Abraham Lincoln when he was sworn into the office of president on March 4, 1861. A rival government in the South had been in operation for a full month. All the military property, except one or two forts, in the seven states which composed the Southern Confederacy had been seized by the secessionist government. From Congress and the executive departments at Washington, from federal offices all through the North, and from army and navy posts, Southern men were departing daily in order to join the fortunes of their states. Many voices in the North were bidding them farewell and godspeed. And, most serious of all, brave Major Robert Anderson, with a little garrison of eighty-three men in Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor, was writing to the War Department that his stores of flour and bacon were almost exhausted. Lincoln's inaugural address was a reassertion of his kindly feeling toward the South and a plea for calm deliberation before any acts of violence. The new President declared his purpose of holding the forts and property belonging to the government of the United States and of collecting the duties and imposts. But beyond what was necessary to execute the laws according to his oath of office, he disclaimed any intention of using force or of "invading" the South. He appealed to the common memories of the North and the South, which, like "mystic cords, stretched from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart . . . over this broad land." Turning to the South he said: "In *your* hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen, and not in *mine* is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without yourselves being the aggressors. *You* have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government, while *I* shall have the most solemn one to preserve, protect, and defend it."

393. The Bombardment of Fort Sumter. A few days after his inauguration President Lincoln called the members of his cabinet[1] together and laid before them the critical situation in Charleston harbor. Buchanan had sent the merchant vessel *Star of the West*, flying the American flag at her masthead, with provisions for Major Anderson's garrison in Fort Sumter. The ship had been forced to turn back by the fire from the guns on Morris Island (January 8, 1861) and the South Carolinians had strengthened the harbor batteries that bore on Fort Sumter until Anderson reported that reënforcements of twenty thousand men would be necessary for him to maintain his position. Lincoln was determined that Anderson should not be starved out. Therefore, with the approval of all but two of the members of his cabinet, he notified the governor of South Carolina on April 8 that an attempt would be made to supply Fort Sumter with provisions. The Confederate government at Montgomery was convinced that Lincoln intended to send reënforcements as well as food to Fort Sumter. Therefore,



CHARLESTON HARBOR

Showing Fort Sumter and the battery which fired on the *Star of the West*

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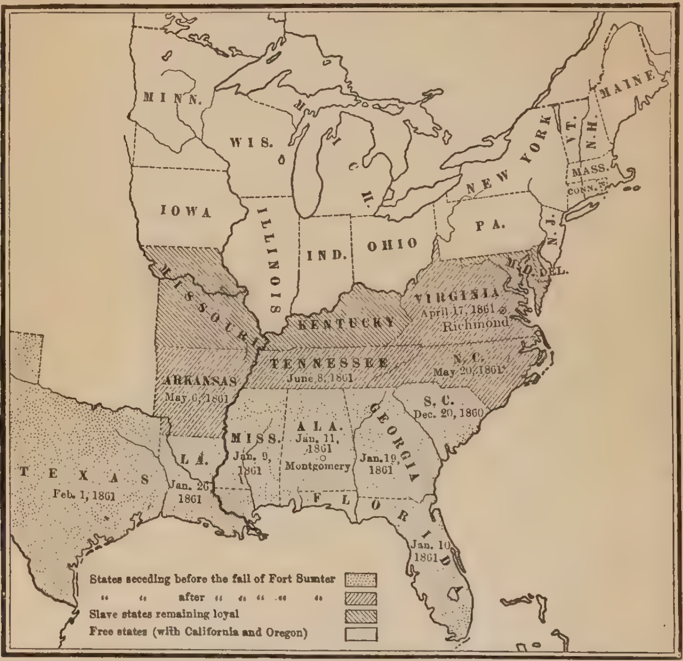
[1] The cabinet was composed of the following men: State, William H. Seward; Treasury, Salmon P. Chase; War, Simon Cameron; Navy, Gideon Welles; Interior, Caleb Smith; Attorney-General, Edwin Bates; Postmaster-General, Montgomery Blair. Edwin M. Stanton succeeded Cameron in the War Department early in 1862.

President Davis ordered General Beauregard, who was in command of some seven thousand troops at Charleston, to demand the immediate surrender of the fort. Major Anderson refused to abandon his post and Beauregard prepared to reduce Fort Sumter by cannon. Before dawn, on the twelfth of April, 1861, a shell rose from the mortars of Fort Johnson and, screaming over the harbor, burst just above the fort. It was the signal for a general bombardment. In a few minutes, from the batteries of Sullivan's, Morris, and James Islands, east and south and west, fifty cannons were pouring shot and shell upon Fort Sumter. Anderson stood the terrific bombardment for two whole days, while Northern steamers lay rolling in the heavy weather outside the bar, unable to come to his relief. Finally, when the fort had been battered to ruins and was afire from red-hot shot, Anderson surrendered, saluting the tattered flag as he marched his half-suffocated garrison to the boats.

394. Effect of the Fall of Sumter. The bombardment of Fort Sumter opened the Civil War. The day after the surrender of the fort (April 15) Lincoln issued a proclamation calling on the states of the Union for seventy-five thousand militia to suppress resistance to the laws of the United States in South Carolina and the other six states which had joined the Southern Confederacy. None of the governors of the eight slave states which had not seceded obeyed the President's call, but the response from the country north of Mason and Dixon line was instantaneous. "That first gun at Fort Sumter," wrote Lowell, "brought all the free states to their feet as one man." Party lines were obliterated. Douglas, the leader of a million and a half Democrats, hastened to the White House to grasp Lincoln's hand and pledge him his utmost support in defending the Union. Ex-Presidents Pierce and Buchanan, hitherto ruled by Southern sympathies, became strong Unionists. "The North will sustain the administration almost to a man," wrote Buchanan. Editors like Horace Greeley, preachers like Henry Ward Beecher, statesmen like Edward Everett, who had lately found the idea of forcing Southern states to remain in the Union abhorrent, now joined the call to arms.

395. The Confederacy Enlarged. Lincoln's call for troops drove four more of the slaveholding states (Virginia, North Carolina, Arkansas, and Tennessee) into the Confederacy; while Kentucky and Missouri were kept in the Union only with the greatest difficulty. Lincoln used the utmost tact to prevent his native state of Kentucky from seceding. He treated with consideration the impossible proposals of Senator Crittenden that the state should remain neutral in the war, and meanwhile encouraged the unionist sentiment by diplomatic and military aid until he won a majority of the state legislature. In Missouri it actually came to civil war. Governor Jackson, an out-and-out secessionist, organized armed bands called "minutemen" and organized Camp Jackson on the outskirts of the city



HOW THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY WAS ENLARGED AFTER THE FALL OF FORT SUMTER of St. Louis. When Captain Nathaniel Lyon, commander of four regiments of "home guards" composed chiefly of loyal citizens of German descent, discovered that Jackson was receiving arms and ammunition from the Confederate government at Montgomery, he attacked Camp Jackson, drove the governor out, and seized the state capital of Jefferson City, where a convention was assembled and a Unionist government established. Neither side won a complete victory in the border states. Although Missouri, Kentucky, and Maryland were held officially in the Union, they furnished hundreds of thousands of soldiers to the Confederate army. On the other hand, while Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee seceded, large districts of these states remained loyal and eventually supplied some two hundred thousand men to the armies of the North.

396. The State of West Virginia. The forty-eight counties of Virginia west of the Alleghenies cast thirty thousand votes against secession in May, 1861, and when the governor of the state sent troops across the mountains to coerce them, they "seceded from secession" and established a new loyal state which they called Kanawha. President Lincoln sent General George B. McClellan to clear the Confederate troops out of the region and Congress in 1863 received these counties into the Union as the state of West Virginia, in spite of the clause of the Constitution which forbids a new state from being "formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State" (Art. IV, sect. 3, par. 1).

397. General Robert E. Lee. The secession of Virginia two days after Lincoln's call for troops was an event of great importance. In the first place, it gave the South her greatest general, Robert E. Lee. General Lee was the son of a distinguished Revolutionary general, and was himself a gentleman of spotless purity of character — noble, generous, sincere, brave, and gifted. He had already been selected by President Lincoln to command the Union army, but he felt that he could not draw his sword against his native state, which he believed had "never parted with her sovereign right to demand the ultimate allegiance of her citizens." He hated slavery and loved the Union. Yet after an agonizing mental struggle he resigned his commission in the United States army and offered his services to his state. He became commander of the Virginia troops and, in May, 1862, general of the Confederate army in Virginia; although it was not until near the close of the war that President Davis, who never very cordially recognized Lee's greatness, was forced by public opinion to make him general in chief of the Confederate forces in the field.

398. Washington relieved from Danger. The secession of Virginia also brought the boundaries of the Confederacy up to the Potomac River and planted the "stars and bars" where they could be seen from the windows of the Capitol. The city of Washington was almost defenseless. There were rumors that Beauregard's troops were marching from Charleston to attack it. The Northern regiments had to cross the slaveholding state of Maryland to reach the national capital. Baltimore was full of secessionists. While the Sixth Massachusetts regiment was passing through the city (April 19), it was attacked by a mob and a street battle ensued in which the first blood of the Civil War was shed — on the anniversary of the battle of Lexington. President Lincoln was in great distress for the safety of the capital. Men were leaving Washington by the hundreds, fleeing in panic as from a doomed city. Governor Hicks of Maryland telegraphed the President, begging him to send no more troops through the city of Baltimore. Mobs tore up the railroads, destroyed the bridges, and cut the telegraph wires, shutting the government at Washington off from communication with the loyal states. President Lincoln paced the floor of his office in the White House for hours, gazing anxiously down the Potomac, where the Confederate gunboats might appear at any moment and have the capital at their

THE STARS AND BARS

mercy. However, plucky regiments from Massachusetts and New York reached Annapolis by the waters of Chesapeake Bay and, relaying the track and rebuilding the bridges as they marched, arrived in the city of Washington with colors flying and bands playing on the twenty-fifth of April. The national capital was safe.

399. The Resources of the Two Sections. North and South were unequally matched for the great struggle that was before them. Although the seceding and the loyal states were about equal in territory, the resources of the North far exceeded those of the South. Of the 31,000,000 inhabitants of the United States by the census of 1860, there were 19,000,000 in the eighteen free states of the North, 3,000,000 in the four loyal slave states of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, and 9,000,000 in the eleven states of the Southern Confederacy. But of these 9,000,000, nearly one half (3,600,000) were negro slaves. For military service the North could furnish 5,000,000 men between the ages of eighteen and sixty, to about 1,500,000 in the South. Furthermore, the population of the North was increasing very rapidly (41 per cent in the decade 1850–1860), whereas in most of the states of the South it was almost stationary. During the decade 1850–1860 immigrants (mostly Irish and Germans) had come into the United States in numbers equal to the entire slave population of the seceding states and had all gone into the free North to increase the wealth produced by the mills, the forges, and the fields.[1]

THE CONFEDERATE SEAL

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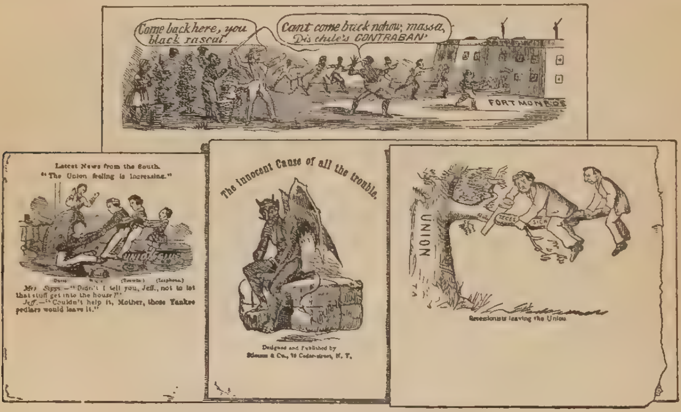
[1] No result of the Compromise of 1850 was more favorable to the North than its postponement of the great Civil War for ten years. During that decade the states of the Northwest were filled up with a hardy, loyal population, who furnished immense strength to the Northern side during the war. Wisconsin, for example, gained 475,000 inhabitants, and Michigan over 650,000, in the decade. Discerning Southerners since Calhoun's day had seen the advantage of fighting soon if they were to fight at all.

400. Military Advantages of the South. To offset the decided superiority of the North in numbers and industrial resources, the South had some marked advantages. First, and most important of all, Southerners would be fighting on their own soil and on the defensive, knowing the lay of the land, having their base of supplies nearer at hand, and inspired by the thought that they were defending their homes. They were better fitted by nature and training for war than the mechanics, clerks, and farmers of the North. They were more accustomed to shooting and riding in the saddle. In the Mexican War many more Southern than Northern officers had been trained for the great civil contest. Finally, President Davis was a graduate of West Point, an ex-officer of the Mexican War, an ex-Secretary of War acquainted with the military personnel of the country, while Lincoln was a civilian who had to learn by slow and painful experience the minimum of military information which he needed as commander in chief of the forces of the United States.


Come back here, you black rascal.
Cant come back nohow, massa, Dis chile's CONTRABAN'
FORT MONROE
Latest News from the South.
"The Union feeling is increasing."
Mrs. Sipps.—"Didn't I tell you, Jeff., not to let that stuff get into the house?"
Jeff.—"Couldn't help it, Mother, those Yankee pedlars would leave it."
The innocent Cause of all the trouble.
Designed and Published by
UNION
Secessionists leaving the Union

A GROUP OF WAR ENVELOPES

401. Disappointed Hopes of the South. Besides her actual military advantages the South counted on help in three directions. She expected that foreign nations, especially Great Britain and France, dependent on her for their supply of raw cotton, would lend their aid to establish an independent cotton-raising South, which would levy no duties on their manufactures. She thought too that the first move in behalf of a new republic whose corner stone was slavery would bring all the other slaveholding states into the Confederacy. And she looked to the Democrats of the North, who had cast 1,370,000 votes against Abraham Lincoln and whose leaders had repeatedly shown signs of Southern leanings, to defeat any attempt of the Republicans to "subjugate the South." We have seen how completely deceived the South was in the last expectation, when the shot fired on Fort Sumter roused the North as one man to pledge President Lincoln its aid in defending the Union.[1] We have seen also how only four of the eight slaveholding states north of the cotton states joined the Confederacy on Lincoln's call for troops. The South was equally disappointed in the hope of foreign intervention and aid. Queen Victoria issued a proclamation of strict neutrality a month after the fall of Fort Sumter; and Emperor Napoleon III, although expressing to Mr. Slidell, the Confederate envoy to France, his personal sympathy for the South, was unwilling, without the support of England, to provoke the hostility of the government at Washington.

Military Operations on Land and Sea

402. How we shall study the War. "The Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies and Navies in the War of the Rebellion," published by the government at Washington, fills more than 130 bulky volumes, and chronicles over 2000 engagements, of which about 150 are important enough to be called "battles." However, we need not go into the military details of the Civil War in order to appreciate its importance. Military history is useful only for the special student of the science of war. The marching and countermarching of 2,000,000 men, the disposition of artillery, cavalry, and infantry by thousands of officers in hundreds of important engagements, the countless deeds of heroism on both sides, on land and sea, we must pass over, only to sketch in outline the few great campaigns on which the fortunes of the Republic hung. Two things we must constantly bear in mind; first, the superior resources of the North in men and wealth, which told with increasing emphasis as the war progressed; and, secondly, the advantage that the South had in fighting on her own soil against the invading armies of the North.[1] Had the South possessed the resources of the North, she could never have been beaten; had she attempted to invade the North, her armies would have been repulsed at the borders.

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[1] The Southern press was very bitter over the "desertion" of the Democrats of the North: "Where are Messrs. Cushing, Van Buren, Pierce, Buchanan, Douglas *et id omne genus*, — where are they in the bloody crusade proposed by President Lincoln against the South? . . . Hounding on the fanatic warfare! . . . The Northern politicians have all left us. Let them fly — all, false thanes!"

403. The Battle of Bull Run (or Manassas). When Virginia seceded, the capital of the Confederacy was changed from Montgomery, Alabama, to Richmond, and the Confederate Congress was called to meet at the new capital, July 20, 1861. Though the Union troops were not yet properly organized or drilled, President Lincoln and General Scott yielded to the popular demand "On to Richmond!" especially as the term of service of the militia, who had enlisted in April for only three months, was about to expire. General Beauregard, with 22,000 troops, was at Manassas Junction, a town near the little stream called Bull Run, about thirty-five miles southwest of Washington. In the Shenandoah valley, across the Blue Ridge, were 9000 more men under General Joseph E. Johnston, who was to become, next to Lee, the greatest commander of the South. General Patterson, a veteran of the War of 1812, was to hold Johnston in the valley, while General Irvin McDowell, with an army of 30,000, attacked General Beauregard at Manassas. McDowell's "grand army" set out in high spirits, July 16, accompanied by many of the congressmen and officials in Washington, who went to see the "rebellion crushed by a single blow." The battle (July 21)

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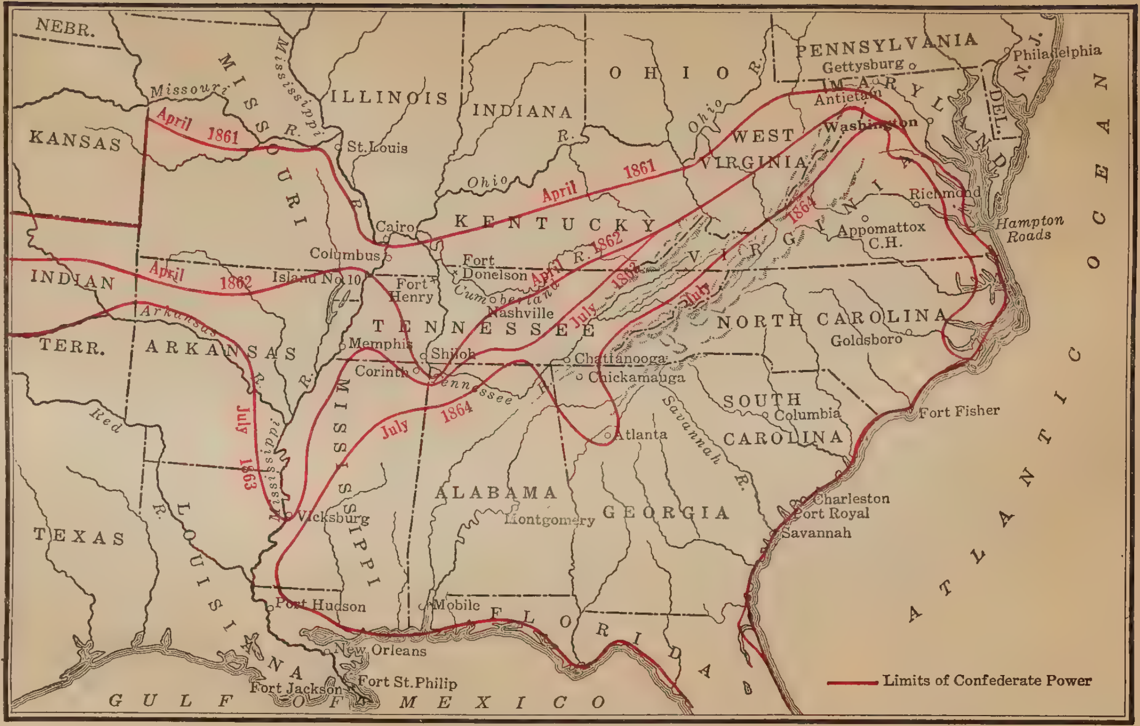
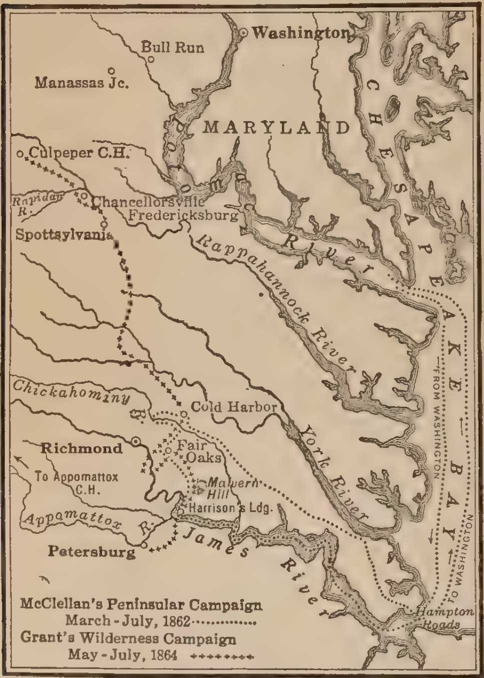
[1] Strictly speaking, the war of secession was not a "civil war." That term refers to a struggle between two opposing factions or parties (religious or political) living on the same soil. In the war of 1861–1865 a united South, claiming to be an independent country, was invaded by the armies of a (less) united North. Alexander H. Stephens more accurately calls the war of 1861–1865 *The War between the States*. Professor Channing calls it *The War for Southern Independence*.



MAP OF THE CIVIL WAR

was well planned and bravely fought. Up to early afternoon the advantage was with the Union troops, but at the critical moment Johnston's army, which had eluded Patterson, appeared on the field and turned the Union victory into a rout. The undisciplined soldiers of McDowell, wearied with the day's fighting, threw down their muskets and fled to the Potomac. For two days they straggled into Washington, and the capital was in a panic for fear Beauregard and Johnston would come on their heels.



SEAT OF WAR IN EASTERN VIRGINIA, 1861–1865

404. The Peninsular Campaign. The disaster at Bull Run sobered the overconfidence of the North. General McClellan, the hero of West Virginia [**396**], was put in command of the Army of the Potomac, and by the autumn of 1861 he had the 180,000 men who poured into his camp at Lincoln's call organized into a splendid force nearly three times as large as Lee's and Johnston's. He might have taken Richmond, but he was cautious to the point of timidity, magnifying the strength of the Confederate army and berating the administration for not sending him more reënforcements. It was not until well into the spring of 1862, after repeated orders from Washington to advance, that McClellan began to move slowly up the peninsula between the York and James rivers. Once within sight of the church spires of Richmond, McClellan stopped to shift his army to a safer base on the James River, because Lincoln detained McDowell's division of 40,000 men to protect Washington.[1] He defeated Lee, who tried to cut his army on the march, and again Richmond seemed within his grasp. But instead of advancing he led his army back to Harrison's Landing on the James, within reach of the Union gunboats. The famous peninsular campaign was ended, and Richmond was still undisturbed. On July 11 President Lincoln removed McClellan from his command.

405. The *Virginia* and the *Monitor*. Meantime the Northern navy had won a notable victory in a strange kind of battle that took place in Hampton Roads, Virginia, March 9, 1862. Six days after the fall of Fort Sumter, Lincoln had proclaimed a blockade of the coast of the Confederacy. All sorts of vessels, from merchantmen to pleasure yachts, were hastily armed as ships of war, and by the end of the year a federal navy of 264 ships with over 2500 guns and 20,000 seamen was patrolling the 3500 miles of coast from Virginia to Texas, to keep cotton from leaving the Southern ports and food and military supplies from entering them. So efficient was the blockade that the value of the cotton exports dropped from $125,000,000 in 1860 to $4,000,000 in 1862. Failing to get help from England, the Confederates made an effort to break the blockade. They raised the forty-gun frigate *Merrimac*, which had been sunk at the Norfolk navy yard, and converted her into the first "ironclad" in our history by covering her sides with a sloping roof of iron rails and attaching to her bows a powerful iron ram. This formidable craft, rechristened the *Virginia*, easily destroyed two of the finest ships of the wooden navy in Hampton Roads on March 8, and waited only for the morrow to destroy the rest of the fleet and sail up the Potomac to shell the city of Washington. But the same night there arrived at Hampton Roads from New York a vessel even stranger than the *Virginia*. This was the *Monitor* (invented by Captain Ericsson), a small iron vessel shaped like a torpedo boat, her decks flush with the water, and having amidships a revolving gun turret rising only a few feet — "a cheesebox on a raft," as she was nicknamed. The *Monitor* placed herself between the *Virginia* and the wooden ships and after an all-day fight the dreaded Confederate ram steamed back to the Virginia shore. The wooden ships were saved, but at the same time they were made as obsolete as Noah's Ark. The first battle in history between ironclads announced that the world's navies were henceforth to be ships of steel.

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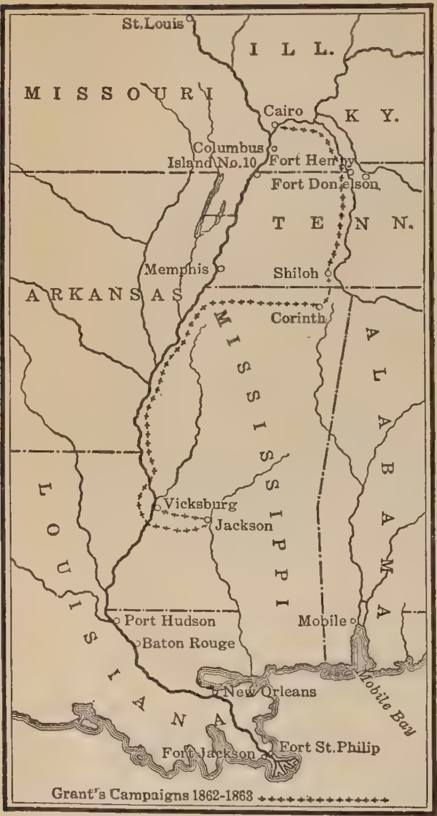
[1] The cause of the detention of McDowell's troops was the campaign of General Thomas J. Jackson in the Shenandoah valley. This wonderful commander (a third great Virginian, with Lee and Johnston) with an army of 17,000 men had defeated and outwitted 50,000 Union troops in the valley and threatened the capital so effectively that the eyes of the administration were drawn off the Army of the Potomac. It was Jackson who saved Richmond. Jackson was a rare combination of fighter and religious devotee, not unlike Oliver Cromwell. At the battle of Bull Run one of his fellow generals said to his troops, "Look at Jackson standing there firm as a stone wall!" From this remark the general got the name "Stonewall" Jackson.

BATTLE OF THE *MONITOR* AND THE *MERRIMAC*
From an old engraving

406. The War in the West. The Confederates held the Mississippi River from its junction with the Ohio down to its mouth. The possession of the river would bring the Unionists the double advantage of freeing an outlet for the commerce of the northwestern states and cutting off the states of Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas from the rest of the Confederacy. The credit for accomplishing this great work belongs, more than to all others, to General Ulysses S. Grant and Captain David G. Farragut. Grant (born in Ohio in 1822) was a graduate of West Point. He had served creditably in the Mexican War, but since its close had remained in complete obscurity. The outbreak of the Civil War found him, at the age of thirty-nine, working in his father's leather store in Galena, Illinois. But the call to war transformed the poor business man into a military genius of the highest order. In February, 1862, with the consent of General H. W. Halleck, who commanded the Union armies of the West, Grant seized the important forts Henry and Donelson,[1] on the lower Tennessee and Cumberland rivers, and carried his victorious army up the Tennessee River, one hundred miles across the state of Tennessee, to Pittsburg Landing. Here he was attacked by a superior force under General Albert S. Johnston, the best Confederate general in the West. The terrific battle of Pittsburg Landing (or Shiloh) lasted two days (April 6–7, 1862). At nightfall of the first day the Union troops had been driven back to the bluffs along the river; but before morning reënforcements arrived, and the second day's fight was a triumph for the Union side. The Confederates fell back to Corinth, Mississippi. They had lost 10,000 men, but could better have spared 10,000 more than lose their gallant commander, General Johnston, who was killed on the field. The capture of Forts Henry and Donelson and the victory of Shiloh cleared western Tennessee of Confederate troops, while General John Pope and Commodore Foot in a parallel campaign brought their gunboats down the Mississippi and secured the river as far south as the high bluffs of Vicksburg (see map, p. 370).

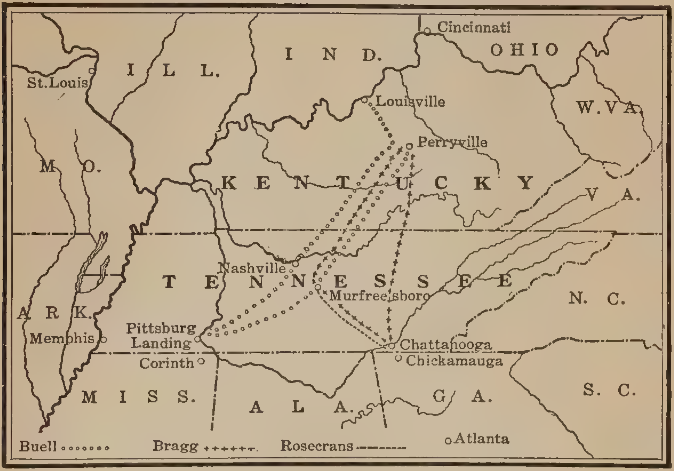
[1] These forts, built at points where the two great rivers were but twelve miles apart, both secured the navigation of the rivers and strengthened the Confederate line of defense, which extended from Columbus, Kentucky, on the Mississippi, eastward across the state (see map, p. 365). Grant captured 14,000 troops, with large quantities of supplies, at Donelson. To the request of the Confederate general as to the terms of capitulation, Grant replied, "Unconditional surrender." The phrase stuck to him, and U. S. Grant became in popular language "Unconditional Surrender" Grant.

407. The Capture of New Orleans. Meanwhile the great river was being opened from the southern end. New Orleans, lying a hundred miles up the river, was protected by the strong forts of Jackson and St. Philip and by a heavy boom of anchored hulks stretching a quarter of a mile across the current between the forts. In a spectacular battle on the night of April 23, 1862, Captain David G. Farragut, who had served as a lad in the War of 1812 and among whose officers was another youth by the name of George Dewey, destined to become the naval hero of the Spanish War of 1898, broke the boom and ran the gantlet of the fire of the forts. The small Confederate army was obliged to withdraw hastily from New Orleans, and General Benjamin F. Butler entered the city, which he ruled for over six months under military régime. The capture of New Orleans opened the river as far north as Port Hudson. The Confederates, however, still held the one hundred and fifty miles of river between Vicksburg and Port Hudson, which formed an important "bridge" over which came immense stores of sugar, beef, and grain from Louisiana and Texas for their armies.



THE WAR IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY

408. The Southern Offensive Checked. The misfortunes of the Army of the Potomac did not cease when McClellan was removed from command. His successor, General John Pope, suffered a disastrous defeat at the second battle of Bull Run (August, 1862). General Lee, with his great corps of lieutenants,—"Stonewall" Jackson, Longstreet, Ewell, the Hills, and Stuart,—outwitted and outfought the Union commanders at every turn. A strong tide of reaction set in against Lincoln's administration. Enlistments in the Union army fell off and desertions increased. On the other side of Mason and Dixon's line hope was high. A great triple offensive was planned by the Confederates. Lee's victorious army was to invade Maryland, threatening the Northern capital and discrediting the administration in the autumn elections. General Braxton Bragg was to expel the Union army from Kentucky, and Van Dorn was to clear the troops of Grant and Rosecrans out of Mississippi and Tennessee, regaining control of the river. The Southern offensive was checked at all points, but without any positive gain for the North. McClellan, who had been restored to his command, stopped Lee's invasion of



THE CAMPAIGNS IN KENTUCKY AND TENNESSEE

Maryland in a terrific battle at Sharpsburg on Antietam Creek (September 17, 1862); but, with his old reluctance to follow up a victory by crushing the foe, he allowed the Confederate army to get back across the Potomac to Virginia soil. He was removed again by the distressed administration at Washington, and General Burnside was put in his place, only to suffer an awful repulse in his reckless assault on Marye's Heights behind the town of Fredericksburg (December 13, 1862). Bragg's army, after advancing to the center of Kentucky, causing a panic among the citizens of Louisville and Cincinnati, was turned back by General Buell at Perryville (October 8), and in a three days' battle at Murfreesboro (December 31–January 2) was compelled by General Rosecrans to retire to Chattanooga, on the southern border of Tennessee. Van Dorn failed in his attempts to dislodge the Federal troops from Corinth, Mississippi (October 3–4).

409. Discouragement in the North. Though the triple Confederate drive had been checked, the early months of 1863 marked the lowest ebb of the fortunes of the Union cause. For nearly two years their superior forces in Virginia had been trying in vain to take Richmond. The armies of Grant and Sherman were laboring at the apparently hopeless task of reaching the great stronghold of Vicksburg by the treacherous, fever-laden bayous of the Yazoo swamps. While "Fighting Joe" Hooker, who had replaced Burnside in command of the Army of the Potomac, was outgeneraled and defeated by Lee and Jackson in the Virginia forests about Chancellorsville (May 2–3),[1] Lee was planning another invasion of the North. Union soldiers were deserting at the rate of thousands a week. The attempts to draft new recruits into the army were met with serious resistance in many states. In New York City the draft riots of July, 1863, resulted in the destruction of $1,500,000 worth of property and the loss of a thousand lives. The cost of the war was enormous, and the debt was increasing at the rate of $2,500,000 a day. Clement

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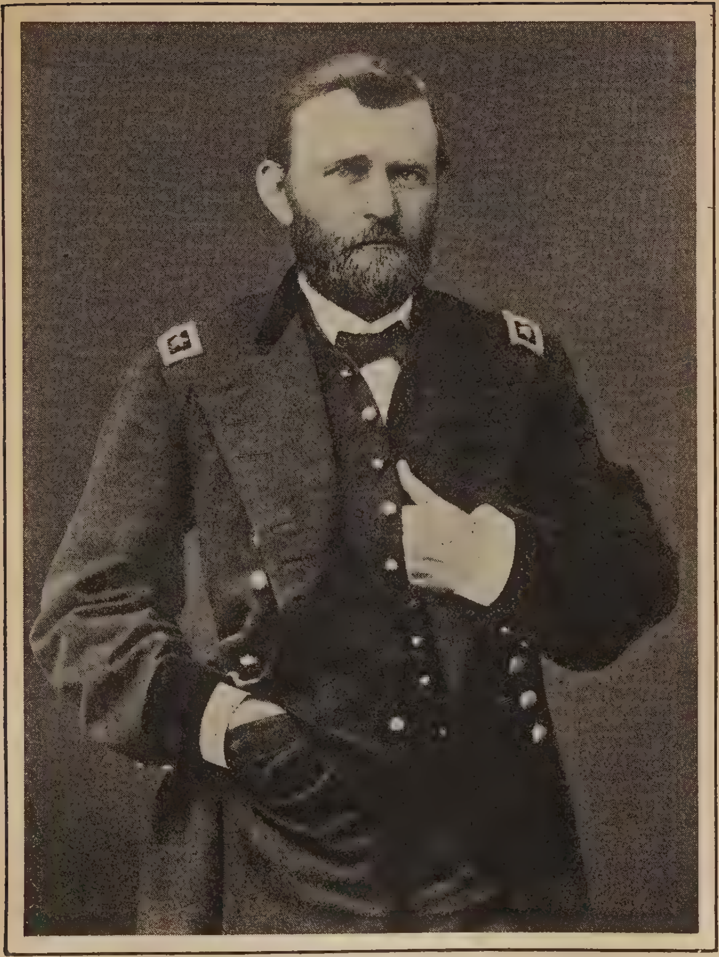
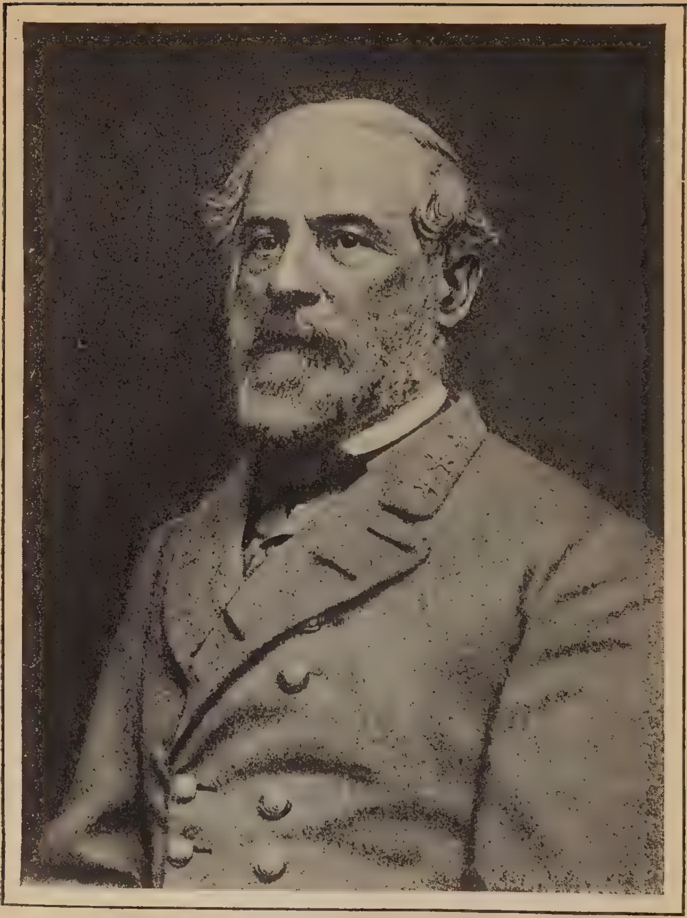
[1] After a day's fighting at Chancellorsville, "Stonewall" Jackson, riding back in the twilight with his staff from a reconnoissance, was mistaken by Confederate sharpshooters for a Union officer and fatally shot. The loss of Jackson was one of the severest blows to the Confederate cause.



ULYSSES S. GRANT



ROBERT E. LEE

L. Vallandigham of Ohio, the leader of the "Copperheads," as the opponents of the war were called, declared in a speech in the House of Representatives early in 1863: "You have not conquered the South; you never will. Money you have expended without limit and blood poured out like water . . . defeat, debt, taxation, and sepulchers — these are your only trophies."[1] Governor Morton of Indiana telegraphed to Secretary Stanton that the legislatures of Indiana and Illinois intended to pass a joint resolution acknowledging the Southern Confederacy. And Joseph Medill of Chicago wrote: "Everybody feels that the war is drawing to a disastrous and disgraceful termination. Money cannot be supplied much longer to a beaten, demoralized, and home-sick army." But the darkest hour is before the dawn. In June, 1863, the Southern hopes were high. In the West the great fortress of Vicksburg still closed the lower Mississippi to the Union fleets; and in the East General Lee, at the height of his power and popularity, was leading a magnificent army of 75,000 veterans northward across the Potomac. But on the fourth of July Lee was leading his defeated army back to the Potomac, while Grant was entering Vicksburg in triumph.

410. The Battle of Gettysburg. General George G. Meade, who had succeeded Hooker in command of the Army of the Potomac, met Lee's advance with an army of 80,000 men securely posted on the heights of the Round Top and Cemetery Ridge, south of the town of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. The first and second days' fighting (July 1–2, 1863) was favorable to the Confederates, but reënforcements kept pouring in for the Army of the Potomac until at the beginning of the third day of the fight Meade had over 90,000 men. Lee, fagged with his immense labors and desperate in his demand for victory, now failed for once in generalship. Disregarding the almost tearful remonstrances of General Longstreet, he sent General Pickett with 15,000 men, the flower of the Confederate infantry, to carry by storm the impregnable position of the Union troops, under General W. S. Hancock, on Cemetery Ridge. It was the most dramatic moment of the war, as Pickett's splendid division with perfect order swept across the plain which separated the two armies and dashed up the opposite slope in the face of the withering fire from the Union guns. The men went down like grain before a hailstorm, but still there was no pause. A hundred men led by Armistead pierced the Union line and planted the stars and bars on Cemetery Ridge — the high-water mark of the Confederacy. But no human bravery could stand against the blasting wall of fire that closed in upon Pickett's gallant soldiers. The line of gray wavered, then stopped, then bent slowly backward, and broke. The day, the battle, and the Southern cause were lost!

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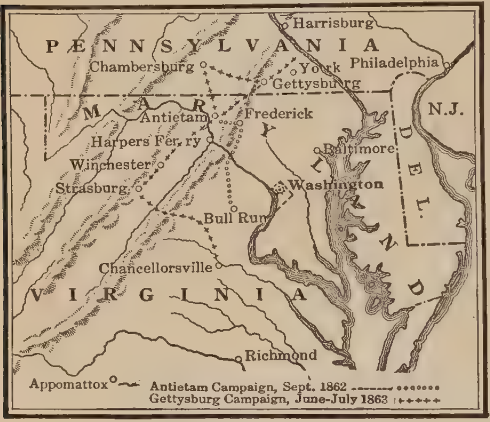
[1] Vallandigham was afterwards arrested by General Burnside and court-martialed for treason. Lincoln, as a grim sort of joke, made his punishment exile into the lines of the Confederacy. Edward Everett Hale's famous story "The Man without a Country," appearing in the *Atlantic Monthly* for December, 1863, was written to show the sad failure of such unpatriotic conduct as Vallandigham's.



LEE'S INVASIONS OF THE NORTH

411. The Fall of Vicksburg. The next day, the "glorious fourth" of July, at evening, while the North was celebrating the great victory of Gettysburg, General Lee began his slow retreat to the Potomac through a heavy, dismal storm of rain. Lee's grief and chagrin would have been doubled had he known that, on that same dismal fourth of July, General Pemberton, after a valiant defense of six months against the superior strategy and numbers of Grant and Sherman, had surrendered the stronghold of Vicksburg, with 170 cannon and 50,000 rifles, and had delivered over his starving garrison of 30,000 men as prisoners of war. Five days after the fall of Vicksburg, Port Hudson yielded, and the Mississippi was again a Union stream from source to mouth.

"The Father of Waters," wrote Lincoln exultantly, "goes again unvexed to the sea." The victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg were the turning point of the war. Not that the South as yet acknowledged defeat or even distress. On the contrary, the tone of her press and the utterances of her public men were more confident than ever. Newspapers in Richmond and Charleston actually hailed Gettysburg as a Confederate victory, presumably because Lee had been allowed to withdraw his shattered army across the Potomac without molestation. But to men who did not let their zeal blind them to facts the disasters which overtook the Confederacy at Gettysburg and Vicksburg appeared to be almost beyond repair. It was not alone the loss of 60,000 soldiers from armies in which every man was sorely needed that made those midsummer days of 1863 so calamitous to the South. It was even more the change which they brought in the public sentiment of the North, in the attitude of Great Britain toward the Confederacy, and in the plan of campaign of the Union commanders.

412. The "Anaconda Policy." The fall of Vicksburg left the troops of Grant and Sherman free to move eastward across Mississippi and Alabama, driving Johnston's inferior forces before them, and to join with Rosecrans at Chattanooga and push the Confederate armies across the lower end of the Appalachian range into Georgia. While this great flanking movement was going on from the West, the Army of the Potomac was to press down on Lee from northern Virginia. So the forces of the Confederacy would be crushed between the two great Union armies in Virginia and Georgia. This plan of wrapping the Union armies about the Confederacy and squeezing the life out of it was called the "anaconda policy." It was in view of this coöperation of all the Union forces in 1863 that General Sherman later wrote, "The war did not begin professionally until after Gettysburg and Vicksburg."

413. Chickamauga and Chattanooga. Next to Richmond and Vicksburg the most important military position in the Confederacy was Chattanooga. This city, protected by the deep and wide Tennessee River on the north and the high ridges of the

Appalachian Mountains on the south, guarded the passes into the rich state of Georgia, the "keystone of the Confederacy." Rosecrans, as we have seen, confronted Bragg at Chattanooga in the autumn of 1863 [**408**]. Bragg retired before his opponent across the Tennessee River into the mountains of the northeastern corner of Georgia, then suddenly turned on him at Chickamauga Creek, and defeated him in a battle (September 19–20), which would have been as complete a disaster as Bull Run for the Union army, had it not been for the intrepid conduct of General George H. Thomas, the "Rock of Chickamauga," who, with 25,000 men, withstood the onslaught of 60,000 Confederate troops from mid-afternoon till the deep twilight. Rosecrans, who had been swept back to Chattanooga with his fleeing army, was replaced by Thomas. In the next few weeks the victorious troops from Vicksburg joined Thomas. Grant, who had been made a major general and put in command of all the armies of the West, now took charge of the operations around Chattanooga and in a series of brilliant actions (November 23–25, 1863)[1] dislodged the Confederates from their mountain points of advantage and drove them back into Georgia.

414. Grant and the Wilderness Campaign. The victory of Chattanooga broke the power of the Confederacy west of the Alleghenies and left to the North only the task of subduing the old seaboard states of the South. The war had ceased to be a contest on anything approaching equal terms. The Southerners now had their backs to the wall. If they still made spasmodic offensives, like Morgan's cavalry raid into Ohio, or Early's dashes down the Shenandoah valley, or Hood's desperate rush on Nashville, these were only the sudden flames that shoot from a dying fire. Never after Chattanooga did the Southern armies advance

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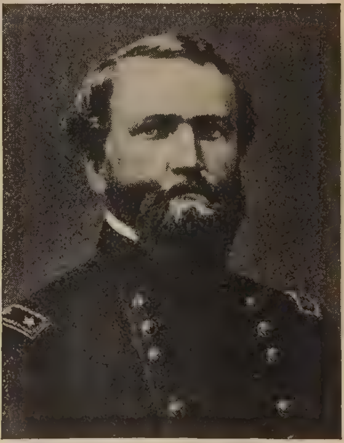
[1] On the twenty-fourth of November Hooker seized the top of Lookout Mountain in the "battle above the clouds." The next day 20,000 of General Thomas's troops, sent to seize the Confederate rifle pits at the foot of Missionary Ridge, without waiting for further orders stormed up the steep, crumbling sides of the mountain in the face of a deadly fire from thirty cannon trained on every path and drove the astounded Bragg, with his staff and his choicest infantry, from the crest of the hill. The leader of the charge was "Phil" Sheridan, a young Irish general who was later to become the most noted cavalry commander in the Union army.

"PHIL" SHERIDAN

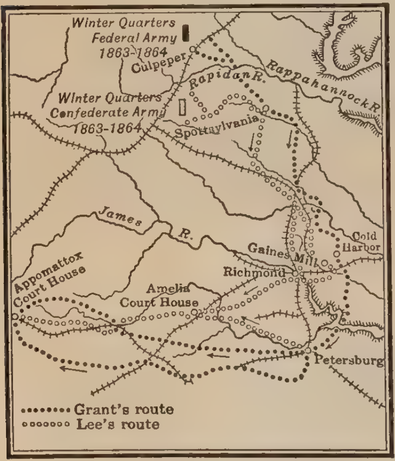
WILLIAM T. SHERMAN

GEORGE B. McCLELLAN



GEORGE H. THOMAS

as they had advanced at Shiloh and Antietam, Murfreesboro and Gettysburg, to achieve the victory that should assure the independence of the Confederacy. "We all knew from the beginning of 1864," wrote George Cary Eggleston in "A Rebel's Recollections," "that the war was hopeless." On March 9, 1864, Grant was invested with the rank of lieutenant general and the command, under the President, of all the armies of the United States. He made his headquarters with the Army of the Potomac and resumed the campaign against Richmond, choosing his dear friend and companion in arms, General W. T. Sherman, as his successor in command of the armies of the West. During the night of May 3, 1864, the Army of the Potomac crossed the Rapidan and began to fight its way through the Wilderness, where Hooker had been defeated at Chancellorsville almost exactly a year earlier [**409**]. Though his losses were very heavy, Grant turned his face steadily toward Richmond. "I propose to fight it out on this line," he wrote Halleck, "if it takes all summer." At Cold Harbor (June 3) he attacked Lee's strongly fortified position and lost 7000 men in an hour, after an assault almost as rash as Burnside's at Fredericksburg [**408**]. After this awful battle Grant led the Army of the Potomac down to the James River to renew the attack on Richmond from the south. In the Wilderness campaign of forty days, from the Rapidan to the James, Grant had lost 55,000 men (almost as many as Lee had in his entire army), but he had at least shown Lee the novel sight of a Union commander who did not retreat when he was repulsed or rest when he was victorious.



GRANT'S RICHMOND CAMPAIGN

415. The Reëlection of Lincoln. While Grant was fighting his way through the Wilderness, and Sherman was slowly advancing with the Western armies to take Atlanta, Georgia, the national conventions met to nominate candidates for the presidential election of 1864. Secretary of the Treasury Chase was ambitious for the Republican nomination. He was a very able man and was quite ready to believe that his election was indispensable to the country's salvation. His surprise and chagrin were great, therefore, when his canvass fell flat. He withdrew in February, and on June 8 Lincoln was renominated by the convention at Baltimore. The Democrats met at Chicago (August 29) and nominated General McClellan, recommending in their platform that "after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war . . . immediate efforts be made for the cessation of hostilities . . . and peace be restored on the basis of a federal union of the states."[1] During the summer, while Grant was suffering heavy losses, there was discouragement in the Republican ranks. Lincoln himself at one period had no hope of being reëlected, but the autumn brought changes in the Unionist fortunes. In August, Admiral Farragut sailed into the harbor of Mobile, Alabama, by an exploit as daring as the running of the New Orleans forts, and deprived the Confederacy of its last stronghold on the Gulf of Mexico. In September Sherman entered Atlanta after a four months' campaign against Johnston and Hood. And in October Sheridan saved Washington from the raid of General Early's forces by his victory at Cedar Creek in the Shenandoah valley. These Union victories were the most powerful campaign arguments for the Republicans. "Sherman and Farragut," cried Seward, "have knocked the bottom out of the Chicago [Democratic] platform." Lincoln was reëlected in November by an electoral vote of 212 to 21, carrying every state but New Jersey, Delaware, and Kentucky. But his popular vote was only 400,000 more than McClellan's in a total of 4,000,000. It was by such a narrow margin that the people of the North indorsed Lincoln's policy of continuing the war until the supremacy of the national government was recognized by the states of the South.

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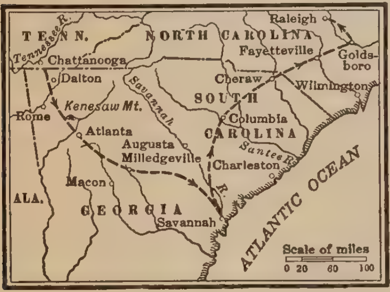
[1] It is only fair to say that McClellan did not consent to the platform which declared the war a "failure." The "federal union of the states" was exactly the basis on which President Lincoln was ready at all times to make peace, and the dissolution of the federal Union was the very thing on which the South was determined. The Democratic platform, therefore, was not only unpatriotic but inane.

416. Sherman's March to the Sea. When Atlanta fell, Hood, thinking to draw Sherman back from further invasion of Georgia, and at the same time to regain Tennessee, made a dash northward against Thomas, who had been left to protect Nashville and Chattanooga. Sherman trusted the reliable Thomas to take care of Tennessee and, boldly severing all connection with his base of supplies, started on his famous march "from Atlanta to the sea," 300 miles across the state of Georgia. He met with no resistance. The march through Georgia was more like a continuous picnic of three months for his 60,000 troops than like a campaign. They lived on the fat of the land,— the newly gathered harvests of corn and grain, abundance of chickens, turkeys, ducks, pigs, and sweet potatoes. Sherman entered on the march with a grim determination to make the state of Georgia "an example to rebels," and he carried out his threat. Railroads were torn up, public buildings, depots, and machine shops burned, stores of cotton destroyed, 10,000 mules and horses taken, and the military resources of the state damaged beyond repair.[1] Reaching the coast in December,



SHERMAN'S MARCH

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[1] Sherman has been execrated by Southern writers for the "barbarity" of his soldiers during this march through Georgia; and it is certain that much irregular plundering and thieving were done, such as taking jewelry from women, burning private houses, and wantonly insulting the feelings of the inhabitants. Sherman's chief of cavalry, Kilpatrick, was a coarse and brutal man, who was responsible for much of the damage. Then a crowd of "bummers" followed the army, out of the reach of Sherman's officers. Although Sherman was severe in this march, it must be said to his credit that he gave orders to have private property respected, and there is no complaint of his soldiers' treating defenseless women as the armies of European conquerors were accustomed to do.

Sherman easily broke through the weak defenses of Savannah, and on Christmas evening President Lincoln read a telegram from him announcing "as a Christmas gift the city of Savannah, with 150 heavy guns, plenty of ammunition, and about 25,000 bales of cotton." Thomas had already (December 15) annihilated Hood's army at Nashville.

417. The Fall of Richmond. Before the campaign of 1865 opened, there was an attempt to close the war by diplomacy. Vice President Stephens of the Confederacy, with two other commissioners, met Lincoln and Seward on board a United States vessel, at Hampton Roads (February 3), to discuss terms of peace. But as Lincoln would listen to no terms whatever except on the basis of a reunited country, the conference came to naught. In March, 1865, the Army of the Potomac renewed its operations against Richmond. The stronghold of Petersburg, to the south of the city, fell on Sunday, April 2. Jefferson Davis was at worship in St. Paul's church in Richmond when news was brought to his pew, by a messenger from the War Department, that the city could no longer be held. Hastily collecting his papers, he left Richmond for Danville at eleven o'clock the same night, with his cabinet and several of his staff officers. On the third of April the Union troops entered the city, followed the next day by President Lincoln, who spoke only words of conciliation and kindness in "the enemy's capital." Lee, with his dwindling army, moved westward toward the mountains, but Grant followed him hard, while Sheridan's cavalry encircled his forces. On the seventh of April the Union commander wrote to Lee: "General — The result of the last week must convince you of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia." Brought to a standstill, Lee consented to listen to Grant's terms for surrender.

418. Lee's Surrender at Appomattox. The two great generals met in a farmhouse at Appomattox, on the ninth of April, 1865. After a few minutes of courteous conversation recalling the days of their old comradeship in arms in the Mexican War, Grant wrote out the terms of surrender. They were generous, as befitted the reconciliation of brother Americans. The Army of

Northern Virginia was to lay down its arms, but the officers were to retain their horses and side arms, and even the cavalrymen and artillerymen were to be allowed to keep their horses. "They will need them for the spring plowing," said Grant, with his wonderful simplicity. Lee accepted the terms with sorrowing gratitude and surrendered his army of 26,765 men.[1] When the Union soldiers heard the good news they began to fire salutes, but Grant stopped them, saying, "The war is over; the rebels are our countrymen again." Lee had hinted that his men were hungry, and Grant immediately ordered the distribution of 25,000 rations to the Confederate army.

419. The Collapse of the Confederacy. With the fall of Richmond and the surrender of Lee's army the Confederacy collapsed.[2] It is a marvel that it fought through the last year of the war. For the South was brought to the point of actual destitution. The paper money which the Confederacy issued had depreciated so much that it took $1000 to buy a barrel of flour and $30 to buy a pound of tea. Its credit was dead in Europe and its bonds were worthless. When the blockade of their ports stopped the export of cotton, the Southerners planted their fields with corn and grain. But the lack of means of transportation made it almost impossible to distribute the products of the farms to the soldiers at the front. While Sherman's army was reveling in the abundance of the farms and harvests of central Georgia, the knapsacks found on the poor fellows who fell in the defense of Rich-

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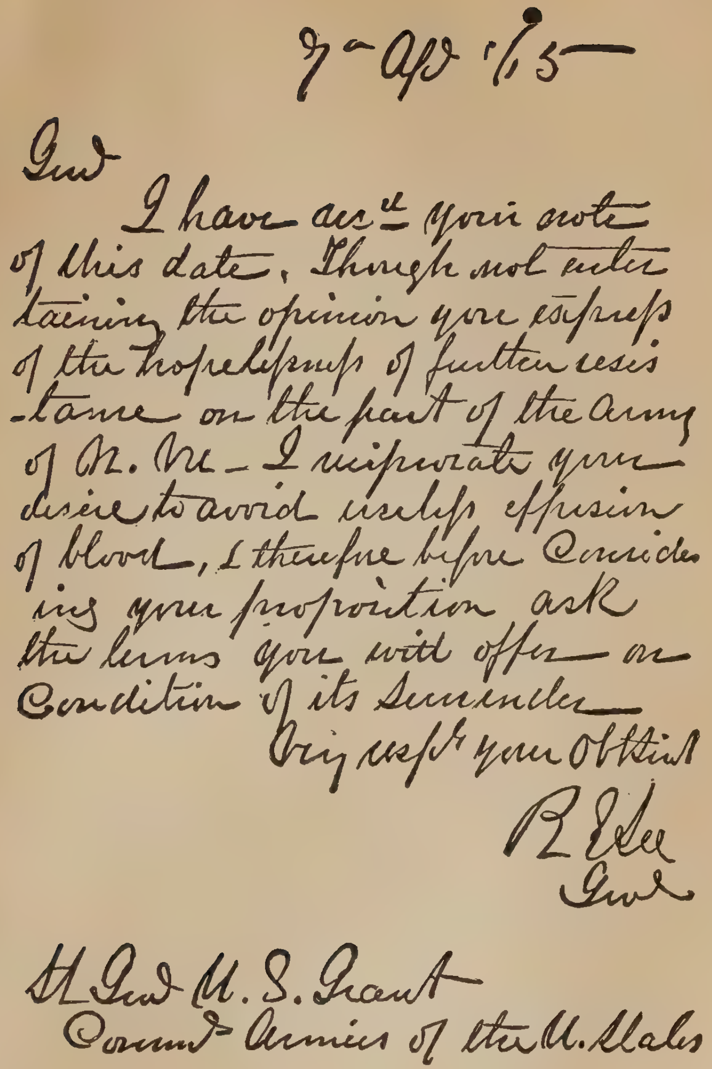
[1] As Lee rode back to his army after the conference with Grant, the soldiers crowded around him, blessing him. Tears came to his eyes as he made his farewell address of three brief sentences: "We have fought through the war together. I have done the best I could for you. My heart is too full to say more." At the close of the war this noble and heroic man accepted the presidency of Washington College in Virginia, which he served with devotion for the five years of life that remained to him.

[2] Joseph E. Johnston surrendered his army of 37,000 men to Sherman near Durham, North Carolina, on April 26; Generals Taylor in Alabama and Kirby Smith in Arkansas turned over the armies under their command to the Union officers in the South and Southwest. In all, 174,000 Confederate soldiers laid down their arms at the close of the war. Jefferson Davis was captured on May 10 at Irwinville, Georgia, and imprisoned two years at Fortress Monroe. After his release he lived quietly in the South till his death, December 6, 1889.



7th Apl '65

Genl

I have recd your note of this date. Though not entertaining the opinion you express of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of N. Va. – I reciprocate your desire to avoid useless effusion of blood, I therefore before considering your proposition ask the terms you will offer on condition of its surrender

Very respt your Obt Servt

R E Lee
Genl

Lt Genl U. S. Grant
Comd Armies of the U. States

LEE'S LETTER TO GRANT RESPECTING THE SURRENDER OF THE CONFEDERATE ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA mond contained only scanty rations of corn bread and bacon. The women of the South, accustomed to handsome dress and dainty fare, wore homespun gowns and cheap rough boots and cheerfully ate porridge and drank "coffee" made of roasted sweet potatoes. They knew no hardships but the failure of fathers and brothers and sons in battle; they were visited by no calamities except the presence of the "Yankee" soldier. It is impossible for the student of history today to feel otherwise than that the victory of the South in 1861–1865 would have been a calamity for every section of our country. But the indomitable valor and utter self-sacrifice with which the South defended her cause both at home and in the field must always arouse our admiration.

Friday, the fourteenth of April, 1865, was a memorable day in our history. It was the fourth anniversary of the surrender of Fort Sumter. A great celebration was held at Charleston, and General Robert Anderson raised above the fort the selfsame tattered flag which he had hauled down after Beauregard's bombardment in 1861. William Lloyd Garrison was present. Flowers were strewn in his path by the liberated slaves. He spoke at the banquet held that evening in Charleston, and the echoes of his voice reached a grave over which stood a marble stone engraved with the single word "Calhoun."

420. The Assassination of President Lincoln. On the evening of the same day President Lincoln was sitting in a box at Ford's Theater in Washington, with his wife and two guests, when a half-crazy actor named John Wilkes Booth stepped into the box and shot the President in the back of the head.[1] Lincoln was carried unconscious to a private house across the street and medical aid was summoned. But the precious life, the most precious of the land and of the century, was ebbing fast. Early in the morning of the fifteenth of April, surrounded by his prostrated family and official friends, Abraham Lincoln died. He had brought the storm-tossed ship of state safely into port. The exultant shores were ringing with the people's shouts of praise and rejoicing. But in the hour of victory the great Captain lay upon the deck — "fallen cold and dead."

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[1] The assassination of Lincoln was part of a deep-laid plot to kill several of the high officers of the Union. Secretary Seward, who was abed suffering from injuries received in a runaway accident, was stabbed severely the same night, and his son Frederick was injured while defending his father's life. Both men recovered. Grant was proscribed also, but the assassin lost courage apparently after gazing into the general's carriage window. As Booth jumped down to the stage after firing the fatal shot his spur caught in the folds of the American flag which decorated the President's box and he fell, breaking his leg. He made his escape from the theater, but was soon afterwards trapped in a barn in Virginia and was shot after the barn had been set on fire.

THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL IN WASHINGTON

Words have no power to tell the worth of Abraham Lincoln. His name, linked with the immortal Washington's, is forever enshrined in the hearts of the American people, for he was the savior of our country as Washington was its founder and father.

Our children shall behold his fame,
  The kindly-earnest, brave, foreseeing man,
Sagacious, patient, dreading praise, not blame,
  New birth of our new soil, the first American.[1]

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[1] James Russell Lowell's "Commemoration Ode," read at the memorial services for Harvard men who fell in the war (July 21, 1865).

Stanton, the great Secretary of War, pronounced Abraham Lincoln's best eulogy, when he stood with streaming eyes by the bedside of the martyred president and murmured with choking voice, "Now he belongs to the ages."

The Country in War Time

421. Progress in Industry. The war brought great changes in the economic and social life of the people. The eyes of all, of course, were fixed on the news from the front; but it was not alone on the field of battle that the war was won and lost. Behind the men behind the guns were the men in the wheat and cotton fields, in the mills and factories, supplying the necessary food, clothing, blankets, guns, and ammunition for the armies. Behind the valor of the officers and soldiers was the moral support of the government and people of both sections of the country. The reaping machine, constantly improved since its invention by Cyrus McCormick in 1834, was perhaps as important a factor as the military genius of General Grant in the victory of the North; for, by enabling one driver of a team of horses to do the work of twenty hand reapers, it not only freed tens of thousands of men in the Northwest for service in the ranks, but supplied an abundance of food, which the multiplying railroad lines distributed to the armies. The sewing machine developed by Howe, Wilson, and Singer, and McKay's invention for stitching shoes made possible an increasing output of clothing and footwear, despite the number of men who were taken from the factories. The sudden demand for large quantities of manufactures of cotton, wool, leather, and iron led to concentration in industry. The foundations of "big business" were laid during the war and many large fortunes were made by the purveyors for the government. With the sharp rise in prices which the war brought and the tightening of capitalistic control, labor began to organize. Painters, plasterers, carpenters, hat makers, bricklayers, masons, tailors, telegraphers, engineers, cigar makers, and a score of other trades were unionized. Nearly fifty new unions were represented at a meeting in New York near the close of 1863.

422. The Plight of the South. The South made heroic attempts to substitute agricultural crops for cotton over wide areas, and the Confederate government actually collected a good deal of produce by requisitions on the state. It was a clumsy method, however, attended with much opposition. Cotton remained the chief reliance of the Confederacy. During the war the government of Richmond had at its disposal over 200,000,000 pounds of cotton, which it hoped to make the basis for large loans of money from England and France. But the blockade of the Southern ports was so effective that in spite of the adventurous gray runners that slipped through it at Wilmington, Charleston, Savannah, or Mobile, the Confederates succeeded in exporting only about 5 per cent of their cotton. The bonds based on the promise of deliveries of cotton sold at 95½ in London in the spring of 1863, but Gettysburg and Vicksburg sent them down to 65 and Chattanooga to 37. They became entirely worthless with the victory of the North in 1865, though for twenty years thereafter British bondholders entertained vain hopes of recovering some of their $10,000,000 invested in the Southern cause

A REAPING AND THRESHING MACHINE, ONE OF THE LATEST TYPES DEVELOPED FROM McCORMICK'S INVENTION

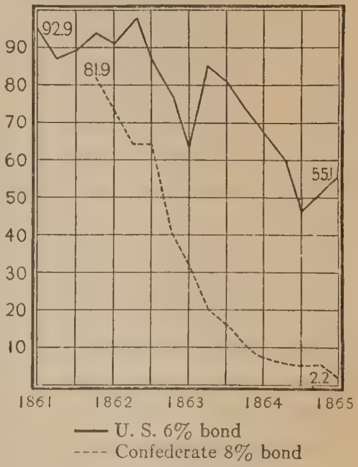
423. Works of Relief and Charity. Some compensation for the horrors of war was afforded by new discoveries for the relief of the wounded and by the tireless devotion of various associations for the physical and moral welfare of the soldiers. Until the discovery of ether as an anæsthetic (Dr. Crawford Long of Georgia first used ether in surgery in 1842) and of chloroform (introduced as a general anæsthetic by Sir James Simpson of Edinburgh in 1848), a surgical operation meant torment for the patient strapped to the operating table. Although antiseptic surgery was still undiscovered and many a limb which would be saved today had to be amputated for fear of gangrene, yet the boon of anæsthetics stilled the shrieks and groans which had made the surgical treatment of the wounded in all former wars seem more like butchery than relief. Never in history had a war called forth such generous contributions in time, service, and money for the comfort of the men on the battlefields and in the hospitals. The most conspicuous of the many relief organizations (Ladies' Aid Societies, Women's Relief Societies, Local Aid Societies, the Christian Commission, etc.) was the Sanitary Commission, the precursor of the American Red Cross. This Commission provided nurses and medical supplies for the army, improved the conditions of camp life, collected food and clothing, cared for the dependent families of the soldiers, established convalescent camps for the soldiers and sailors, and held great fairs in New York, Philadelphia, and other cities, by which it raised millions of dollars. It distributed $75,000 worth of clothing and food (including delicacies like tea, coffee, milk, eggs, and fruit) to the 25,000 soldiers who had been wounded at Gettysburg, and sent more than 200 tons of supplies to Grant's army in the Wilderness campaign. President Lincoln opened the fair of the Sanitary Commission at Baltimore, in 1864, with a tribute to the devotion of the women of the country: "I am not accustomed to the language of eulogy. I have not studied the art of paying compliments to women, but I must say that if all that has been said by orators and poets since the creation of the world, in praise of women, were applied to the women of America, it would not do them justice for their conduct during this war."

424. The Seamy Side of the War. Yet there was another side to the picture. The war, which afforded patriotic and philanthropic citizens with a field for unselfish devotion, also offered the mean-spirited an opportunity for profit at the expense of their neighbors and the government. Profiteers made huge sums of money by boosting prices and speculating in the value of the paper currency which Congress was obliged to issue. Unscrupulous merchants and manufacturers sold shoddy blankets and paper-soled shoes to the government at outrageous prices. Dishonest contractors shared the graft with the dishonest purveyors. In order to encourage enlistments the government in July, 1861, offered a bounty of $100 in addition to the regular pay of $13 a month to each volunteer, and two years later increased the bounty more than threefold. States and counties also paid bounties to bring their enlistment up to the quota mark and thus avoid the draft. In some parts of the country the combined federal, state, and county bounties would net the volunteer nearly a thousand dollars. This liberality tempted rascals called "bounty jumpers" to enlist and collect their bounty, then desert and reënlist in a different place under a different name.

425. Criticism of the Government. While the unscrupulous profiteer, contractor, and bounty jumper cheated the government, honest, if misguided, men criticized it. The abolitionists scolded Lincoln because he insisted upon setting the preservation of the Union before the emancipation of the slaves as the object of the war. The strict constitutionalists called him a "tyrant" and a "usurper" for his interference with civil liberties, by repressing disloyal newspapers and condemning civilians by court-martial. Optimistic advocates of peace blamed him for an unnecessary prolongation of the war. When enlistments flagged in spite of increasing bounties, and the government was obliged to resort to drafting citizens for the army, the Conscription Act was resisted and resented even to violence [**409**]. The draft riots were accompanied by race riots, for the immigrant laborers of the cities saw no reason why they should "fight to free the nigger." No other president since Washington's day had borne so great a burden of political opposition and personal detraction as Abraham Lincoln had to bear. Condemned by some as a "simple Susan" without plan or purpose and by others as a headstrong "tyrant" overthrowing the Constitution and the liberties of the people, he held to his course with divine patience, while the lines of his face deepened into furrows and the genial smile faded from his lips.

426. Faction in the South. Jefferson Davis met with equal opposition in the South, especially in the states of the Atlantic seaboard, where the doctrine of state rights was strong. It was obvious that only as a nation could the South fight the war with any hope of success; yet the inveterate state-rights doctrine stood in the way of Southern nationalism. Governors like Brown of Georgia and Vance of North Carolina resisted the acts of the Confederate Congress for the conscription of men, the impressment of goods, the control of their militia, and the regulation of their exports and imports as an invasion of their sphere of authority. A convention of South Carolina proposed to forbid all recruiting of soldiers within the state except with consent of the legislature. Vice President Stephens of Georgia characterized Davis as "a man of good intentions," but lacking in the qualities which make for strong and effective leadership. At the beginning of 1865 a delegation from the Confederate Congress waited on President Davis to request him that he dismiss all members of his cabinet except the Secretary of the Treasury. At the same time there was rumor of a plot in Congress to set aside President Davis and make General Lee a dictator.

427. War Finance: the North. The government at Washington had large resources to tap for the support of the war in the capital of the bankers, the duties from a flourishing commerce, and the profits of stimulated and diverse industries. The North raised the vast sums of money which the war cost in three ways: (1) It levied indirect taxes in a form of increased tariff duties and direct taxes (internal revenue) in the form of assessments on the sale of a great variety of luxuries and upon incomes above a certain figure. (2) It exacted a "forced loan" from the people by printing paper money ("greenbacks"), which had no gold or silver behind it in the Treasury, but only represented the government's promise to pay when it had the money. (3) It floated bonds, which means that it invited the people with capital to invest (notably the bankers) to lend it to the government. The principal of the bonds was to be paid back in gold after a certain period of years, and meanwhile interest was to be paid upon the bonds at rates ranging from 7.3 per cent on the first issue to 4 per cent later. The declining rate of interest shows how the credit of the government was strengthened during the war. It took some time for the machinery of taxation to get to working, but eventually the taxes contributed about $667,000,000 to the expense of the war. The issue of greenbacks amounted to $450,000,000, and the rest of the money (over $2,000,000,000) came from the sale of bonds.



PRICE OF $100 BONDS

Secretary Chase, early in 1863, devised a very effective method of selling these bonds, by the creation of the national-bank system. Any group of five men, furnishing a specified capital, might be granted a charter by the national government to organize a banking business, if they purchased United States bonds and deposited them at Washington. They were then allowed to issue notes ("bank bills") up to the value of 90 per cent (since 1900, up to the full value) of the bonds, and the government assumed the responsibility for paying these notes if the bank failed. The bankers, of course, besides receiving the interest from their bonds on deposit, made a profit by lending their notes (or credit) to their customers at a fair rate of interest. The national-bank system was a benefit to all parties concerned. It enabled the government to sell its bonds readily; it gave the banking capitalists of the country a chance to make a profit on their loans; and it gave the borrowing public a currency which was "protected" by the government, whether the bank issuing it succeeded or failed.

428. War Finance: the South. The Confederate government, though it resorted to the same devices as the North (taxes, paper money, and bonds) to finance the war, had the opposite experience in many respects. Its credit, instead of improving after 1863, was practically ruined by the disasters at Gettysburg and Vicksburg and the failure to break the blockade. It was, therefore, reduced to issuing enormous quantities of paper money (perhaps $1,000,000,000), which rapidly declined in purchasing power and sent prices soaring. The Confederate paper dollar, which was worth 33 cents in gold at the beginning of 1863, sank to 10 cents after Vicksburg, to 5 cents after Chattanooga, and to less than 2 cents at the end of the war. Flour sold at $1000 a barrel, shoes at $200 a pair, and coffee at $40 a pound. There was a fever of speculation, for everybody was anxious to convert the sinking currency into goods before it sank still farther. Before the close of the war both the government and the people of the South had virtually repudiated their paper money, and United States currency was being freely used in business transactions, in spite of the prohibition of the Confederate Congress.

429. The Problem of Slavery. Soon after the war began it became evident that the slaves were of considerable military help to the South, and Congress in a series of Confiscation Acts declared that all negroes employed as workers on forts or trenches or in the transportation of stores or ammunition should be liberated; that the slaves who escaped into the Union lines should not be returned; and that all slaves in places conquered and held by the Union armies should be free. Generals Frémont in Missouri and Hunter in South Carolina went farther than Congress and issued military proclamations freeing all the slaves in the districts subject to their authority. President Lincoln signed the Confiscation Acts with reluctance and immediately disavowed and annulled the proclamations of Frémont and Hunter, to the great disappointment of thousands of radical anti-slavery men of the North. He was sure that any hasty measures for negro emancipation would make more difficult the task of preserving the Union by driving the loyal slave states into the Confederacy. Accordingly, in a special message to Congress, March 6, 1862, he recommended that a law be passed pledging the United States government to *coöperate* with any state in the emancipation of its slaves by compensating the owners of the slaves for their loss. But he got little support either from his cabinet or from Congress, and in the midsummer of 1862 he sorrowfully abandoned the plan.[1]

430. The Emancipation Proclamation. With the failure of his proposition for "compensated emancipation,"[2] the President grew more favorable to the idea of military emancipation. The radical antislavery men were urging this course upon him and our ministers abroad were writing home that we could not expect the sympathy of Europe unless it was made clear that the war was for the extermination of slavery and not for the conquest of the South. At the cabinet meeting of July 22, 1862, therefore, President Lincoln announced his intention of declaring free, on the first of the following January, the slaves of all people then in rebellion against the United States. Agreeing with Seward that such a proclamation would come with better force after a Union victory, Lincoln postponed the announcement until McClellan had repulsed Lee's invasion of Maryland at Antietam [**408**]. On September 22, 1862, he published the warning announcement, as read to his cabinet two months earlier, and on New Year's Day of 1863 he issued the famous Emancipation Proclamation, designating the states and parts of states in which rebellion against the authority of the United States then existed and declaring by virtue of the power vested in him as commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States that "all persons held as slaves within such designated States and parts of States are and henceforward shall be free."

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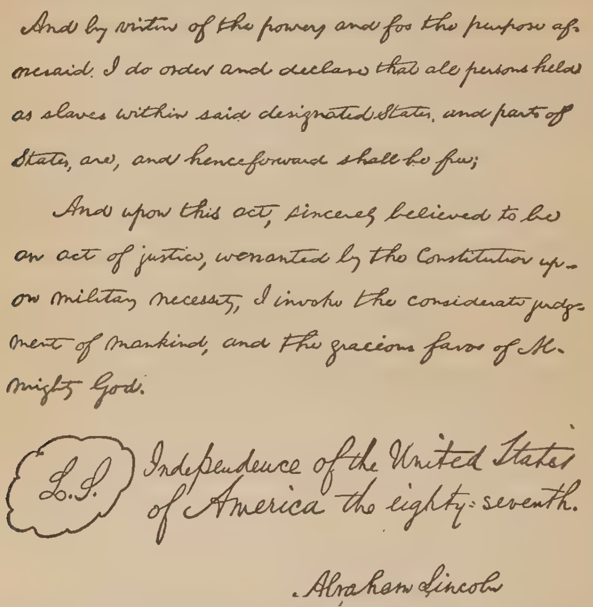
[1] It is doubtful in the extreme if the adoption of Lincoln's plan by the border states would have had any effect on the seceding states or shortened the war a day. The failure of the plan, however, was about the keenest political disappointment in Lincoln's life. The slaves in the four border states of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri numbered 430,000, and at $300 apiece their emancipation would have cost the government $129,000,000, or the cost of only about two months of war.

[2] Congress passed an act in April, 1862, abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia with compensation to the owner of $300 for each slave liberated. In June Congress fulfilled the pledges of the platform on which Lincoln was elected, by prohibiting slavery in all the territories of the United States.

431. The Thirteenth Amendment. The Emancipation Proclamation is one of the landmarks of universal history. It



And by virtue of the power, and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States, and parts of States, are, and henceforward shall be free;

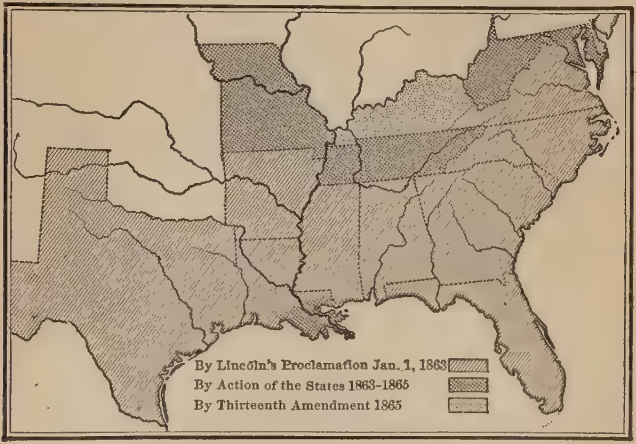
And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

(L.S.) Independence of the United States of America the eighty-seventh.

Abraham Lincoln

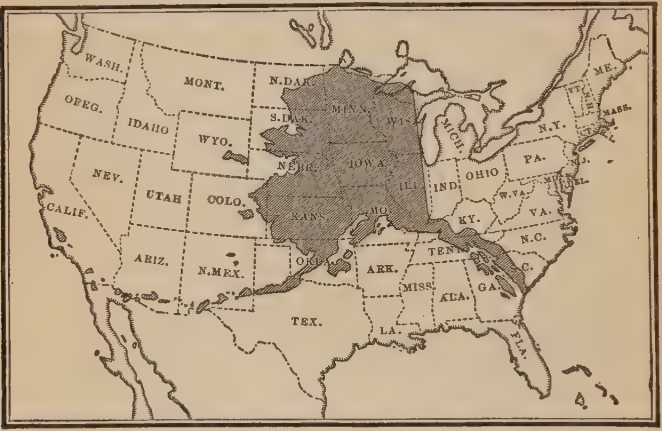
FACSIMILE OF THE CLOSING WORDS OF THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

announced the liberation of 3,500,000 slaves. But the proclamation was, nevertheless, only a war measure, confiscating the "property" of men in rebellion against the government. The proclamation did not free a single slave in the loyal states of Kentucky, Missouri, Maryland, and Delaware. Nor was there anything in it to prevent the seceding states, as soon as they passed from the military control of the North, from reënslaving the negroes. Therefore, an amendment providing that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction," was passed through Congress on January 31, 1865, and being duly ratified by three fourths of the states (including eight of the states of the secession) was proclaimed part of the Constitution on December 18, 1865. When we consider that the Thirteenth Amendment to our Constitution might have been the prohibition of Congress ever to disturb slavery in the Southern states [391], instead of the eternal banishment of slavery from the land, we may say that the awful sacrifices of the Civil War were not made in vain.


By Lincoln's Proclamation Jan. 1, 1863 ▨
By Action of the States 1863-1865 ▩
By Thirteenth Amendment 1865 ░

HOW THE SLAVES WERE EMANCIPATED

432. Napoleon III's Mexican "Empire." Finally, we must notice the relations of our country to the European nations during the war. With the exception of England, France, and Spain these nations were friendly to the federal government — especially Russia. Czar Alexander II, having emancipated the serfs in his own country in 1861, was in sympathy with the liberation of the slaves. During the war Russian fleets visited New York and San Francisco as a mark of friendly recognition, and the Russian admiral on the Pacific coast was even instructed to place his fleet at the disposition of the United States government in case of any hostile move on the part of France or England.[1] The French emperor, Napoleon III, was especially anxious to aid in the disruption of the ~~United States~~. He was jealous of the financial and commercial power of the American republic and entertained grandiose schemes of completing his uncle's project of establishing a French empire in North America



MAP OF ALASKA SUPERIMPOSED ON THE UNITED STATES

[**209**]. He encouraged the secessionist government in every way he dared, short of actually provoking war with the United States. He received President Davis's special envoy, Slidell, with conspicuous favor, permitting him to contract for the building of warships in the French ports. He was the chief factor in floating the only large Confederate loan in Europe, and finally he challenged the Monroe ~~Doctrine by sending an army of thirty-~~

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[1] In 1867 we requited Russia for her good will to the Union cause by purchasing, at her request, the colony of Alaska. Secretary Seward was widely blamed for entailing further expense on a government burdened with a war debt of nearly $3,000,000,000, and was ridiculed for buying an "Arctic waste" ("Seward's icebox"). But the purchase of Alaska turned out to be a great bargain. The gold alone taken from the Yukon valley since 1897 has paid many times over the purchase price of $7,200,000, or about two cents an acre.

five thousand men into Mexico to overthrow the government and establish an empire with his puppet, the Austrian Archduke Maximilian, on the throne. Secretary of State Seward warned Napoleon that the Mexicans must be allowed to enjoy a government of their own choice; but Lincoln's administration, in spite of taunts from the South for its "arrant cowardice" in not defending the Monroe Doctrine, refused to be diverted from its main task of prosecuting the war. When the war was over, the government at Washington promptly compelled Napoleon to withdraw the French troops from Mexico, and the unfortunate "Emperor," Maximilian, deserted by his perfidious patron, was seized by the Mexicans and put to death.

433. Strained Relations with England. England was the country with which President Lincoln's administration had trouble from the beginning to the end of the war. The upper classes in England favored the South, and Mr. Gladstone congratulated Jefferson Davis in a public speech on having created an army and navy and a new nation. The letters of Lincoln's minister to England, Charles Francis Adams, and of his brilliant son and secretary, Henry Adams, are filled with instances of the hostility of the officials and the aristocracy to the Northern cause. On the other hand, the common people of England, even the laborers in the mills who were thrown out of work by the stoppage of the cotton supply, sympathized with the North because it was fighting for free labor. The first cause of complaint against the government of England came a few weeks after the bombardment of Fort Sumter. Lincoln held the theory that secession was illegal and that the Southerners in arms were simply rebels against the authority of the United States, too numerous to be put down by the officers of the law, but still without any standing as belligerents. To be sure, he belied his own theory and practically recognized the South as a belligerent power when he instituted a blockade of her ports and treated the captured Confederates as prisoners of war instead of executing them as traitors. Yet when Lord Palmerston's government refused to consider the Southerners as rebels and a proclamation of Queen Victoria (May 31, 1861) recognized them as belligerents entitled to enjoy all the rules of civilized warfare, the action was resented in the North as an example of "unfriendly haste" on the part of Great Britain. Minister Adams had not yet arrived in London. The South had not yet won a battle. The English government might have waited a little longer, to be sure, before recognizing the belligerency of the South; yet its conduct was not a breach of diplomacy nor an unfriendly act. It did not recognize the independence of the Confederacy, nor did it receive the agent sent over by President Davis as the diplomatic representative of the government at Richmond. Nevertheless, the queen's proclamation so embittered feeling at the North that an event which occurred shortly afterward brought the two countries dangerously close to the verge of war.

434. The *Trent* Affair. The government at Richmond had appointed Messrs. Mason and Slidell as commissioners to England and France, respectively, to attempt to secure recognition for the Confederacy. The commissioners got through the blockade and boarded the British mail steamer *Trent* at Havana, bound for Southampton. On November 8, 1861, Captain Wilkes of the war sloop *San Jacinto* stopped the *Trent* on the high seas, forcibly removed the commissioners from her deck, and brought them to New York, whence they were removed as prisoners of war to Fort Warren in Boston Harbor. Wilkes's deed was hailed with rejoicing in the North. The Navy Department congratulated him, and the House of Representatives gave him a formal vote of thanks. The South was in high hopes that this insult to the British flag would involve the administration at Washington in a war with England, and the queen's government began, in fact, to send troops to Canada. But the sober sense of Lincoln, Seward, and Sumner realized that Wilkes's act, however gratifying to public sentiment in the North, was a high-handed outrage of the principle of the inviolability of vessels of neutral nations, for the defense of which we had gone to war with Great Britain in 1812. Consequently, Seward informed the British minister, Lord Lyons, that the prisoners in Fort Warren would be "cheerfully liberated." The British government was satisfied and the blockade of the Southern ports continued undisturbed.

435. The Confederate Commerce Destroyers. Most serious of Lincoln's difficulties with England was the controversy over the cruisers built in British shipyards to prey on the commerce of the United States. James Bullock of Georgia (an uncle of Theodore Roosevelt) was the Confederate agent in these transactions. Though an act of Parliament of 1819 forbade any subject of the realm to "equip, furnish, fit out, or arm any ship to be employed in the service of a foreign state, to commit hostilities against any state at peace with Great Britain," Bullock persuaded the lawyers that the act would not be violated if the ships were only built in England, and "equipped" and "armed" outside the realm. On the strength of this quibble the shipbuilders of the Clyde and the Mersey set to work. In the spring and summer of 1862 several newly built cruisers sailed from England to various ports outside the realm, there to receive their armaments, enlist their crews, and be turned over to the command of Confederate captains. Minister Adams made repeated protest against this breach of neutrality, pointing out that the purpose and destination of the cruisers were perfectly well known to the British government. Finally, to prevent the delivery of two powerful ironclad rams which the Lairds were building for Bullock in the summer of 1863, Adams wrote to Lord Russell, the British prime minister, on September 5: "It would be superfluous in me to point out to your lordship that this is war." But the ministry had already given orders two days before to have the rams detained. With this virtual admission of her illegal conduct, Great Britain ceased to give aid and comfort to the Confederacy. The damage wrought by these commerce destroyers was enormous. The merchant fleet of the United States was almost driven from the ocean. The *Alabama* alone destroyed more than sixty merchant ships before she was sunk in a spectacular battle off the coast of France by the *Kearsarge* (June 16, 1864). The *Shenandoah* was still roaming the Pacific in search of her prey when the news reached her, several weeks after the surrender of Lee and Johnston, that the Civil War was over.[1]

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[1] The story of England's reparation for the damage done by the vessels, in the adjudication of the *Alabama* claims at Geneva, in 1872, belongs to a later chapter [459].

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Questions for Review

1. Contrast Lincoln's position on secession with Buchanan's. **2.** Why wouldn't the Southern leaders allow Lincoln to send provisions to Fort Sumter? **3.** What was the Thirteenth Amendment proposed in 1861? **4.** What is the actual Thirteenth Amendment? **5.** What important results did the secession of Virginia have? **6.** What advantages did the South have to offset the superiority of the North in population and wealth? **7.** How did Lincoln depart in practice from his theory that the secessionists were traitors? **8.** Why did the upper classes in England favor the South? **9.** Contrast the generalship of McClellan and Grant. **10.** Why was the North so eager to get control of the Mississippi? **11.** What were the causes of discouragement in the North in the spring of 1863? **12.** What is martial law? **13.** Why was the blockade so disastrous for the South? **14.** Do you think Vallandigham ought to have been imprisoned? **15.** Explain the "anaconda policy." **16.** How did selfish persons take advantage of the government in war time to improve their own fortunes? **17.** How did the government deal with criticism of the war? **18.** Why did the old states of the South, on the Atlantic seaboard, furnish more opposition to President Davis than the newer states of the Southwest? **19.** What effect did the use of the McCormick reaper have upon the war? **20.** How did the establishment of the national banking system help finance the war in the North? **21.** Why did the paper money of the South decline rapidly in value after 1863, while the paper money of the North rose? **22.** What effort did Lincoln make to emancipate slaves before he issued his Emancipation Proclamation? **23.** Explain why the Thirteenth Amendment was necessary to "abolish slavery." **24.** How did Napoleon III violate the Monroe Doctrine? **25.** Who was our minister to England during the war? **26.** What do you think the three most important naval battles of the war? **27.** Make a table of four Eastern and four Western campaigns, and trace the movements of the armies on the map.

CHAPTER XII

THE AFTERMATH OF THE WAR

THE POLITICAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SOUTH

436. Andrew Johnson, President. A few hours after Lincoln's death, Andrew Johnson of Tennessee took the oath of office as president of the United States (April 15, 1865). Johnson had been the only member of Congress in seceding states who had remained in his seat at Washington in 1861. He was a state-rights Democrat, but his intense hatred for slavery and slaveholders (for he came from humble origin) had brought him to the support of the Lincoln administration. He had been appointed military governor of Tennessee when that state was won by the Union armies, and had been put on the Unionist ticket with Lincoln in 1864, partly to reward him for his loyalty, and partly to save the Republican party from the reproach of being called "sectional" in again choosing both its candidates from Northern states, as it had done in 1856 and 1860. But the selection of Johnson was most unfortunate. Although he was a man of energy and ambition, having worked his way up from a tailor's bench, Johnson was lacking in those qualities of judgment and delicacy which were so sorely needed at this crisis in our history. Of Lincoln's splendid array of statesmanlike virtues Johnson possessed only two, honesty and patriotism.

437. The Problem of Reconstruction. The war was over, but the question remained of how the North should use its victory. There was a momentary wave of vengeance, and Jefferson Davis, who was most unjustly accused of complicity in Lincoln's assassination, was brought from his prison in Fortress Monroe to answer the charge of treason at Richmond. But he was released on bail, and the case was never pressed. The difficult problem was the restoration of the states of the secession to their proper place in the Union. What was their condition? Were they still states of the Union, in spite of their four years' struggle to break away from it? Or had they lost the rights of states and become territories of the United States, subject to such governments as might be provided for them by the authorities at Washington? Or was the South merely a "conquered province," which had forfeited even the right to be considered a part of the country and which might be made to submit to such terms as the conquering North saw fit to impose? Furthermore, it was a question whose business it was to take in hand the reconstruction of the South. If the war had been only a rebellion of numerous individuals who needed to be pardoned, the remedy lay in the President's power. If, on the other hand, the Southern states had been really out of the Union, their readmission, like the admission of new states, seemed to be a matter for Congress to decide.

438. Lincoln's 10 Per Cent Plan. Lincoln from the beginning of the war held to the former theory. In a proclamation of December, 1863, he had declared that as soon as 10 per cent of the voters of 1860 in any of the seceded states should form a loyal government and accept the legislation of Congress and the proclamations of the President on the subject of slavery, he would recognize that government as legal. And such governments had actually been set up in Arkansas and Louisiana. But Congress did not allow Lincoln's "usurpation" of its authority to go unchallenged. In 1864 it passed the Wade-Davis bill providing that not 10 per cent but more than 50 per cent of the voters must take the vote of allegiance in order that a state be restored to the Union and that the Confederate leaders should be barred from citizenship. Lincoln withheld his signature and, as Congress expired within ten days, the Wade-Davis bill failed to become a law. "I think it providential," said Lincoln to his cabinet in their last meeting before his assassination, "that this great rebellion is crushed just as Congress is adjourned and there are none of the disturbing elements of that body to hinder and embarrass us. If we are wise and discreet we shall reanimate the states and get their governments in successful operation . . .

before Congress comes together in December." But it is certain that had Lincoln lived till December he would have had to meet the struggle with Congress which he passed on to his successor.

439. The Johnson Governments. During the summer and autumn of 1865 President Johnson proceeded to apply Lincoln's plan of reconstruction. On May 29 he issued a proclamation of amnesty to all persons formerly engaged in rebellion against the United States, with the exception of certain prominent classes, who were, however, invited to petition the President for pardon, which would be "liberally extended." He appointed military governors in North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas. He ordered conventions to be held in those states, which repealed the ordinances of secession and framed new constitutions. State officers were elected. Legislatures were chosen, which (with the exception of South Carolina) repudiated the debts incurred during the war and (with the exception of Mississippi) ratified the Thirteenth Amendment. When Congress met in December, 1865, senators and representatives from all the states of the secession, except Florida and Texas, were waiting at the doors of the Capitol for admission to their seats. It was a critical moment in our history. Had Congress recognized the Johnson governments and admitted their representatives, the Southern states would have been allowed to work out their own salvation from the economic and social plight to which the war had reduced them, and our country would have been spared a disgraceful episode in its history.

440. Congress takes Control. But Congress, under the leadership of radicals like Sumner of Massachusetts in the Senate and Stevens of Pennsylvania in the House, refused to admit the Southern representatives. This action was taken for a variety of reasons — personal, constitutional, and political. The radical Republicans hated Johnson for his "leniency" to the South and for his defiance of Congress in going ahead with his reconstruction policy. They feared that if the Southern members were admitted they would be strong enough, in alliance with the Democrats and the Copperheads of the North, to oust the Republicans from power. Furthermore, the Johnson governments had passed certain laws called the "black codes" for the social control of the ex-slaves. Vagrancy laws imposed a fine on negroes without a domicile and allowed the man who paid the fine to take the negro and compel him to work out his debt. Likewise, apprentice laws assigned idle negroes to "guardians," often their former masters, for whom they should work without wages. Northerners interpreted these laws as an attempt to put the negro back into slavery, but the Southerners regarded them as necessary measures of social protection. Few of the liberated slaves had any sense of responsibility or any capital with which to begin a life of industrial freedom. They believed that the Day of Jubilee had arrived; that the plantations of their late masters were to be divided among them as Christmas gifts; and that every negro was to have "forty acres and a mule." They were unfortunately encouraged in these ideas by many a rascally politician, who came down from the North and posed as a guide and protector of the colored race, poisoning the minds of the negroes against the only people who could really help them to begin their new life of freedom well — their old masters.[1] Finally, the Johnson governments had sent some of the foremost men of the Confederacy (including its vice president, Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia) up to Washington to take their seats in Congress. It was a perfectly natural thing for the South to be represented by their leading men at Washington; but it was interpreted by the radicals of the North as a piece of defiance and bravado, a boast that the Southerners had nothing to repent of.

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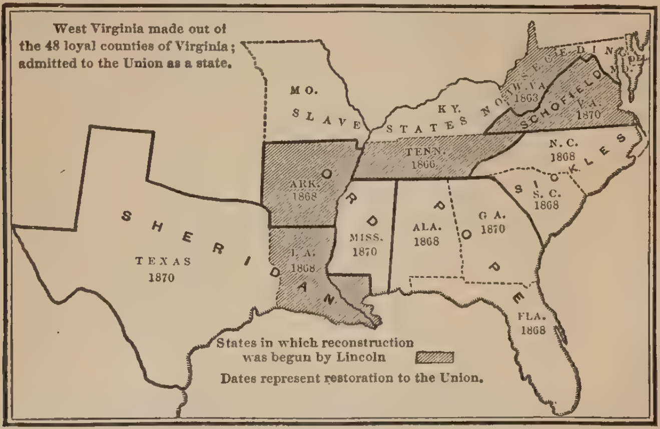
[1] These men were called "carpetbaggers," because they were popularly said to have brought all their property with them in the cheap kind of valise which in those days was made of carpet material; and the Southerners who acted with them in their attempt to raise the negro above his former master in society and politics were called "scalawags." The carpetbaggers and scalawags were of course working for their own profit and political advancement. They must not be confused with the many good men and women who went South to work solely for the education, protection, and uplift of the negro. Before the close of the war Congress had established a Freedman's Bureau in the War Department (March 3, 1865), whose duty it was to look after the interests of the emancipated blacks, securing them labor contracts, settling their disputes, aiding them to build cottages, etc. The carpetbaggers tempted the negroes away from industrial pursuits into politics.

441. Johnson's Quarrel with Congress. President Johnson was offended that Congress should ignore or undo his work. He immediately assumed a tone of hostility to the radicals. Making a speech from the balcony of the White House on Washington's Birthday, 1866, he bitterly attacked Sumner and Stevens by name, accusing them of seeking to destroy the rights of the Southern states, to rob the President of his legal powers, and even to encourage his assassination. When Congress, in the early months of 1866, passed the Freedman's Bureau bill, continuing and enlarging the powers of the bureau under the War Department [**440**, note], and the Civil Rights bill, protecting the negro in his life, property, freedom of movement, and occupation, Johnson vetoed the bills, but Congress was strong enough to pass them over his veto. The battle was then fairly joined between the President and Congress, and it boded ill for the prospects of peace and order in the South.

442. The Fourteenth Amendment. On June 13, 1866, Congress passed the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution and Secretary Seward sent it to the states for ratification. The amendment declared that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States" were "citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside," and forbade any state to deprive them of their privilege as citizens. Furthermore, the amendment reduced the representation in Congress of any state which refused to let the negro vote, and disqualified the leaders of the Confederacy from holding federal or state office. This last provision was harsh and unnecessary, but the rest of the amendment was a fair basis for the reconstruction of the Southern states. It was certainly inconsistent to ask those states to ratify the amendment at the same time that they were denied the right of states to send representatives to Congress. No explicit promise was made them that if they ratified the amendment they would be readmitted as states. However, when Tennessee ratified in July, 1866, she was promptly restored to her full privileges in the Union. All the other states of the secession, however, overwhelmingly rejected the amendment, which thus failed to secure the three-fourths vote necessary for its ratification.

443. The Reconstruction Act. The radicals, strengthened in Congress by the decisive victory of the anti-Johnson forces in the autumn elections of 1866, and angered by the Southerners' rejection of the amendment, now determined to punish the South severely. By the Reconstruction Act of March 2, 1867, the whole area occupied by the ten recalcitrant states was divided into five military districts, each under the command of a major general of the Union army. The Johnson governments of 1865 were swept away and in their place new governments were established under the supervision of the major generals, who, by October, had nearly 20,000 United States soldiers distributed at 134 points in the South to supervise the registration and voting. The Reconstruction Act provided that negroes should be allowed to participate both in framing the new constitutions and in running the new governments. The act further provided that when a new state government should have ratified the Fourteenth Amendment and that amendment should have become part of the Constitution the state should be restored to its place in the Union.


West Virginia made out of the 48 loyal counties of Virginia; admitted to the Union as a state.
MO.
SLAVE STATES NOT SECEDING
KY.
W.VA. 1863
VA. 1870
MD.
DEL.
SCHOFIELD
N.C. 1868
S.C. 1868
SICKLES
TENN. 1866
ARK. 1868
ORD
MISS. 1870
ALA. 1868
GA. 1870
FLA. 1868
POPE
TEXAS 1870
LA. 1868
SHERIDAN
States in which reconstruction was begun by Lincoln ▨
Dates represent restoration to the Union.

THE MILITARY DISTRICTS OF THE RECONSTRUCTION ACT OF 1867

444. The Reconstruction Governments. With the aid of the federal soldiers and the negro vote, governments under the

Reconstruction Act were set up in seven Southern states by the midsummer of 1868, in time to secure their votes for the Republican ticket in the presidential election. But these governments were sorry affairs. In the exhausted states, already amply "punished" by the desolation of war, the rule of the negro and his unscrupulous carpetbagger and scalawag patrons was an orgy of extravagance, fraud, and disgusting incompetence. Of the 7 governors 4 were carpetbaggers, as were 10 of the 14 senators and 20 of the 35 representatives sent up to Congress. In the legislature of South Carolina there were 98 negroes to 57 whites and only 22 of the members could read and write. Of the 155 members 91 paid no taxes at all and the rest paid only small amounts; yet they spent the people's money lavishly, voting themselves large salaries and wasting millions on projects for railroads, canals, and public works, from which they reaped great sums in graft. In one year $200,000 was spent in furnishing the state capitol with costly plate-glass mirrors, lounges, desks, armchairs, and other luxuries, including a free bar for the use of the negro and carpetbagger legislators. The debt of the state increased from $5,000,000 in 1868 to nearly $20,000,000 in 1872. The same story was repeated with variations in the other reconstructed states. The members of the Alabama legislature altogether paid less than $100 in taxes and raised the debt of the state from $7,000,000 to $33,000,000 in four years. Deprived by force of any legal means of defense against this iniquitous kind of government, the South resorted to intimidation and persecution of the negro. Secret organizations, chief of which were the Ku-Klux Klans, made up mostly of young men, took advantage of the negro's superstitious nature to force him back into a condition of social and political obscurity. The members of the Ku-Klux on horseback, with man and horse robed in ghostly white sheets, spread terror at night through the negro quarters and posted on trees and fences horrible warnings to the carpetbaggers and scalawags to leave the country soon if they wished to live. Inevitably there was violence done in this reign of terror inaugurated by the Ku-Klux. Negroes were beaten and scalawags were shot. Of course these deeds of violence were greatly exaggerated by the carpetbagger officials, who reported them to Washington and asked for more troops for protection.

445. The Impeachment of Johnson. President Johnson had been reduced to political impotence by the huge majorities in Congress which merrily overrode his vetoes, but still the radicals were not satisfied to let him finish his term of office in peace. He must be ignominiously forced out of the position to which he had been raised by the accident of Lincoln's death. On the day of the Reconstruction Act (March 2, 1867) Congress passed the Tenure of Office Act, taking from the President his rightful power to remove officials from office. In spite of the act, Johnson dismissed his Secretary of War, Stanton, who was notoriously hostile to his policy. Thereupon the House impeached the President of "high crimes and misdemeanors." Of course the President was not guilty of any high crime or misdemeanor. The Tenure of Office Act had been passed solely to "dare" him to violate it. The whole business was a piece of political and personal vengeance. The Senate tried the case from March 30 to May 26, 1868, but in spite of the frantic efforts of the radical prosecutors, the final vote in the Senate fell one short of the necessary two thirds to convict the President. Stanton immediately resigned, and Johnson reorganized his cabinet, finishing his term of office in comparative peace. The country was saved from the disgrace of having a clause of the Constitution used as a weapon of political vengeance against the highest officer of the land.

446. The Election of Grant. During the impeachment trial the Republican convention had met at Chicago (May 20) and unanimously nominated General Grant for the presidency, indorsing the radical program of reconstruction in the platform. Grant won a decisive victory in the electoral college (214 to 80) over his Democratic opponent, Governor Horatio Seymour of New York, carrying every state in the North and West except New York, New Jersey, and Oregon, and every state of the reconstructed South except Georgia and Louisiana. His popular majority, however, was only 300,000 in a vote of 5,700,000; and but for the 650,000 negro votes cast for him in the South he would have fallen behind Seymour at the polls. Taught by these figures how necessary it was to maintain the negro vote if they were to retain their power, the radical Republicans added a Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution (ratified in 1870), forbidding the United States or any state to deny the right of voting to any citizen on account of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." They also prevailed upon Grant, who was without training in statesmanship and came under the influence of astute party managers like Benjamin Butler and Roscoe Conkling, to support the policy of the military coercion of the South.[1] He approved Enforcement Acts (1870, 1871), severely punishing infractions of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and putting congressional elections in the South under the control of federal judges. He recommended the Ku-Klux Act, giving the President military powers for the suppression of the clans, and in the execution of the act in the autumn of 1871 he put nine counties of South Carolina under martial law. The net result of the policy of the President who had accepted his nomination with the words "Let us have peace!" was to encourage further strife and bloodshed in the South. The very trenches which his troop had occupied at Vicksburg in 1863 were the scene ten years later of an armed conflict between the whites and the negroes.

447. The Restoration of Home Rule in the South. It was impossible to maintain for long the unnatural reconstruction governments set up and controlled by the federal military power. Every year added its crop of new white voters, young men to whom the disqualifying clause of the Fourteenth Amendment did not apply [**442**]; and every year saw the falling off of the negro vote in spite of the Fifteenth Amendment. The people of the North began to be wearied with the appeal of the carpetbaggers for more troops, until even President Grant himself turned a deaf ear to their request. Enthusiasm for the political rights of the negro waned as the extravagant antics of the reconstruction governments proceeded; and the North made no effort to enforce the Civil Rights Act of 1875, — the last of the reconstruction measures of Congress, — giving the negroes the right to equal treatment with the whites in hotels, theaters, and public conveyances. The Southerners, roused by the rule of the carpetbaggers and aided by the Ku-Klux in keeping the negroes from the polls, redoubled their efforts to regain control of their states. Tennessee, Virginia, and North Carolina were already "redeemed" by 1871. But for three years thereafter the Enforcement Act and the federal troops kept the rest of the state under carpetbagger and negro rule. In 1874 the whites carried Alabama, Arkansas, and Texas; and in 1875, Mississippi. At the close of the latter year only Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida were still in control of the reconstruction governments. When President Hayes succeeded Grant in the spring of 1877 [**462**], he withdrew the last of the troops from these three states, which immediately reverted to "home rule." The distressing drama of the political reconstruction of the South was over.

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[1] Grant had been generous in his attitude toward the South after Appomattox and, as special envoy of President Johnson to investigate conditions there, he had reported that the mass of the Southerners accepted the outcome of the war "in good faith." Yet as president "he dwindled from the leader of the people to the figurehead of a party." The contemporary criticism of Grant by men of the highest political wisdom was one of pity rather than censure. George William Curtis wrote, "I think the warmest friends of Grant feel that he has failed terribly as a President, but not from want of honesty." James Russell Lowell said, "I liked Grant, and was struck by the pathos of his face, a puzzled pathos as of a man with a problem before him of which he does not understand the terms."

448. The "Crime of Reconstruction." Why did the North put upon the South the unbearable burden of negro rule supported by the bayonet? For various reasons. Some men, desiring justice above all things, believed that the only way to secure the negro in his civil rights was to put the ballot into his hands immediately, regardless of his ability to use his political privileges wisely. The partisan politicians welcomed negro suffrage as a means of assuring and retaining Republican majorities in the Southern states. And, finally, there were thousands of men in the North who wished to punish the South for the defiant attitude of the Johnson governments in passing the "black codes," in sending Confederate brigadier generals up to Congress, and in rejecting the Fourteenth Amendment. But, however exasperating the conduct of the Southern states was, or however unwise their course may have been in rejecting the plan of reconciliation offered in the Fourteenth Amendment, Congress did them an unpardonable injury by hastening to reconstruct them on the basis of negro suffrage. The South would never have cherished resentment against the North for the defeat of 1861–1865 on the fair field of battle; but all the years that have passed since the death of Abraham Lincoln have hardly seen the extinction of the bitter passion roused in the hearts of the men, women, and children of the South against their fellow countrymen of the North for the "crime of Reconstruction."

Postwar Problems

449. A Turning Point in American History. The Civil War was a turning point in our history. It settled political and moral questions which had been vexing the American people for nearly half a century, and it opened other questions, industrial and economic, which have been increasingly absorbing the attention of our country. It cleared the way for the development of the great free West through the renewed migration of the farmer, the miner, and the ranchman, — a migration which was promoted by the liberal distribution of public lands to Western settlers and the completion of the railway to the Pacific coast. It changed the scene and the setting of our national stage, bringing on the railroad magnate, the corporation promoter, the free-silver orator, the socialist agitator, in place of the old champion of "free speech, free soil, free men," and the old defender of the Constitution and the Union.

450. The Supremacy of the Nation. The first and most important question settled by the war was that this reunited country should be free soil from sea to sea. Our Western domain was to be filled not by hostile factions wrangling over the constitutional and moral right of the white man to hold the negro in slavery, but by fellow Americans competing in the generous rivalry of developing a common heritage and building a new empire of industry. In the second place, the war decided the supremacy of the national government over the states. From the days of the ratification of the Constitution down to the secession of South Carolina, there had been widely divergent opinions as to the amount of power which the states had "delegated" or resigned to the national government. States, both North and South, had claimed the right to annul acts of Congress, and in some instances they had even threatened to secede from the Union unless offensive acts were repealed.[1] But the appeal to arms in 1861–1865 not only put to rest the idea of a separate Southern Confederacy. It stimulated the national government to the exercise of great and unusual powers. President Lincoln had suspended the regular process of the courts in the arrest and trial of men for treason and had emancipated millions of slaves by executive proclamation. Congress had imposed direct taxes, created a national banking system, borrowed huge sums of money, and put into circulation hundreds of millions of paper currency. When the war was over national supremacy was firmly established, and it has grown stronger rather than weaker in the years that have followed.

451. New Problems. It was inevitable that a long and severe war should bring in its train political and social problems of serious import. Huge fortunes had been accumulated in the North as the result of the government's demand for agricultural and manufactured products. Consolidation of railroads, telegraph companies, manufacturing plants, lumber and mineral industries, went on apace. Extravagance, speculation, and the mania for getting rich quickly were rampant. The debtor classes were demanding the continuance of the "greenback" [**427**] as the national currency. The conservative bankers and creditors wanted a return to a specie basis, while the unscrupulous financial operators kept the money market in a fever by speculating on the exchange and trying to corner the gold supply. A national debt of $2,846,000,000 (or $74.28 per capita) confronted the government, necessitating taxes amounting to $11.46 in gold for every inhabitant of the land—the highest taxes levied in any civilized country of the world. And, finally, there were grave diplomatic questions pending, such as the ousting of the French troops from Mexico and the settlement with England of our claims for the depredations of the *Alabama* and the other commerce destroyers [**432**, **435**].

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[1] The student will recall the protests of Virginia and Kentucky against the Alien and Sedition Laws of 1798, of the Hartford Convention against the War of 1812, and of South Carolina against the tariff acts of 1828 and 1832 [**204, 231, 286**].

452. Railroad Construction and Consolidation. The extension of the railroad is the best index of postwar prosperity. Between 1865 and 1873 the total mileage in the United States increased from 35,000 to 70,000. During the war several of the railroads, like the Erie and Pennsylvania in the East and the Chicago and North Western in the West, had absorbed a number of competitors. Between 1869 and 1873 the New York Central and Hudson River railroads joined with five lines between Buffalo and Chicago to make through connection between New York and Chicago under a single management. By 1875 there were five trunk lines from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic seaboard. We have already seen [**357**] how keen the interest was before the war for a railroad from the Mississippi Valley to the Pacific coast. The war itself emphasized the necessity of such a road by revealing how slender was the actual political and economic connection of the remote states of California and Oregon with the Union. Early in the war the Lincoln administration had taken up in earnest the development of the West. The Homestead Act of May 20, 1862, granted a farm of 160 acres free of charge to any citizen of the United States over twenty-one years of age who would settle upon it and cultivate it for five years. A few weeks later Lincoln signed a bill incorporating the Union Pacific Railroad Company with permission to build a line from the western boundary of Iowa to a point where it should meet the Central Pacific Railroad, building eastward from Sacramento, California. Half the public lands in a strip ten miles wide on both sides of the road were given to these Pacific railroad companies and a subsidy of $16,000 in 6 per cent bonds for every mile of track completed. Stock to the amount of $100,000,000 was offered for sale to the public at $1000 a share;

453. The Union Pacific. Although the government encouraged the building of the road by doubling the land grant in 1864, and the par value of the shares was reduced from $1000 to $100, capital was wary of investing in the project. The attempt to lay iron bands across 1800 miles from the Missouri to the Pacific, over yawning chasms and precipitous ledges, through vast deserts where the only signs of life were the black herds of buffaloes or the hostile bands of Indians, seemed like an impossible task. General Sherman declared in 1865 that he "would not buy a ticket on the Pacific Railroad for his youngest grandchild"; yet the general himself lived to have the opportunity to purchase a ticket to the Pacific coast over any one of five great systems. In November, 1866, the Union Pacific was completed for only 270 miles from its eastern terminal at Omaha, Nebraska; but thereafter work proceeded steadily at the rate of about 50 miles a month. On May 10, 1869, the Union Pacific tracks met those of the Central Pacific at Ogden, Utah. The last rail was fastened

LINKING THE FIRST TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROAD

From a photograph. Copyright by Ewing Galloway with spikes of gold and silver to a tie of California laurel, and the two engines drew together "until their noses touched." On July 29 the first through train from California to New York arrived at the Hudson River station after a run of six and a half days, and the famous overland stages, with all their romance of weeks of rough travel exposed to the dangers of prairie fires, highwaymen, and Indian attacks, became a story of the past, to be preserved in the Wild West shows and the modern "movies." Our trade with China doubled in the three years following the completion of the Union Pacific Railroad, and various other chartered and subsidized railroads to the coast (the Kansas Pacific, the Southern Pacific, the Northern Pacific, the St. Paul and Pacific) went ahead, often with reckless confidence, to complete their lines.

454. The Atlantic Cable. While the Union Pacific Railroad was joining the oceans that bounded the New World the electric cable was laid beneath the Atlantic to join the shores of the Old World and the New. The credit for this remarkable feat is due to the perseverance of Cyrus W. Field, who was ridiculed as a dreamer and abused as a fraud. Field succeeded in 1858 in getting a cable laid, but it "went dead" in less than a month. The war interrupted Field's work, but his confidence remained unshaken. A rival promoter named Collins conceived what was generally regarded as the more practical scheme of running an overland telegraph up the coast of British Columbia and Alaska to Bering Strait, where a cable of four hundred miles would connect with telegraph lines through Siberia to Europe. Collins had actually carried his telegraph poles hundreds of miles northward before Field could raise the money necessary for a new attempt to lay the cable. Finally, in July, 1866, Field succeeded in joining Trinity Bay, Newfoundland, with the Irish coast, and opening telegraphic communication with Europe, which has been uninterrupted ever since. The "visionary" Field was now hailed as "a modern Columbus." Congress presented him a gold medal, and Queen Victoria regretted that the rejection of all titles of nobility by the United States prevented her from conferring knighthood upon him.

455. Prosperity Real and Fictitious. Much of the prosperity of the decade of the sixties was due to legitimate business expansion and the utilization of the immense resources of the country, which had lain almost neglected until the stimulus of the war, the discovery of petroleum and mineral deposits, and the rapid improvement of transportation facilities brought them into prominence. There was enough and more than enough room in the mills and factories, the mining regions and oil fields, the railroad-construction camps and meat-packing houses, to absorb the hundreds of thousands of men who returned from the war ready for new occupations. Immigrants began to arrive from Europe in large numbers. Within four days in the spring of 1865 over 6000 landed at the port of New York. More than 300,000 came in the year 1866, three quarters of them British and German subjects, who were distributed almost equally between the farms and the factories. In Philadelphia alone one hundred and eighty new manufacturing plants were established in the years 1862–1864, and the issue of more than five thousand patents in the latter year is eloquent testimony to the alertness of American industry. "The nation," wrote the Commissioner of Revenue, "was infected with a spirit of enterprise which redoubled its energies with every additional burden put upon it." Yet there were sinister elements in the new prosperity. The desire for rapid and unearned riches outran business honesty. Fraudulent promoters sold worthless oil and gold stock to gullible investors. Rival money kings in Wall Street fought for the control of the railroads, not to develop them for the public service, but to put millions into their own pockets by juggling the stocks and bonds. Plungers like Jay Gould and "Jim" Fiske tried to corner the gold supply by bribing Grant's brother-in-law and other men of influence about the unsuspecting President to keep the Treasury's surplus gold out of the market. Speculation ran riot. The transactions on the stock exchange, amounting in the year 1865 to $6,000,000,000, far outran the purchase and sale of sound business securities. The Secretary of the Treasury made the prediction in the autumn of 1865 that "the brief period of seductive prosperity" through which the country was then passing would be followed by a period of "widespread bankruptcy and disaster."

456. The Panic of 1873. Secretary McCulloch's prophecy was soon fulfilled. The great banking house of Jay Cooke & Co., which had done much to finance the Civil War and was thought to be as firm as the Rock of Gibraltar, suddenly failed on September 18, 1873. It had been backing the Northern Pacific Railroad construction and other grandiose schemes beyond its financial strength. Nineteen firms on the stock exchange followed Jay Cooke into bankruptcy the next day. Banks and trust companies failed. Gilt-edged securities dropped twenty-five or thirty-five points on the market. The mercantile failures in the next three years amounted to $775,000,000, and the railways defaulted payment on $553,000,000 of their bonds. It took the country five years to recover from the panic — years which Mr. Rhodes characterizes as "a long dismal tale of declining markets, exhaustion of capital, a lowering in the value of all kinds of property including real estate, constant bankruptcies, close economy in business and grinding frugality in living, idle mills, furnaces and factories, laborers out of employment, deductions in wages, strikes and lock-outs . . . depression and despair."

457. The Low Tone of Public Morality. While the panic of 1873 brought to the business world a solemn sense of the economic evils prevalent since the war, men were beginning to realize that these were only one symptom of the general tone of political and social debasement. It seemed as if the country's moral fiber had been weakened by the war. The tide of idealism receded, leaving the muddy and ill-smelling flats of political corruption and vulgar social extravagance. Our state legislatures and municipal governments fell into the hands of corrupt "rings." The notorious William M. ("Boss") Tweed of Tammany Hall, with a group of rascally associates, got control of the government of New York City in 1869, and from the graft on outrageous contracts for street paving, for municipal buildings, and for other public works, robbed the taxpayers of sums estimated at from $50,000,000 to $200,000,000 before he closed his career in the Ludlow Street jail, in 1878. Corruption went unrebuked in high places and naturally spread to the political, industrial, and social fabric of the country. No other period in our history is as painful for the believer in American ideals of public and private honor to contemplate as the eight years of Grant's administration (1869–1877).

458. The Liberal-Republican Movement. Before Grant's first term was over a reform movement was started in the Republican party, led by Carl Schurz of Missouri, a refugee from the German Revolution of 1848, Charles Francis Adams, our minister to England during the Civil War, and George William Curtis, the editor of *Harper's Weekly*. The chief policies advocated were, first, civil-service reform, by which appointments to office should be made on the basis of merit and not the political influence of the candidate; second, tariff reform for the reduction of the highly protective war duties; third, the complete cessation of federal military intervention in the South. Had the reform party shown the same wisdom in the choice of a candidate as they did in framing their platform, they might have defeated Grant in 1872, but dissensions in their own camp (always the curse of reform movements in politics) prevented the delegates to the new party's convention in Cincinnati, in May, 1872, from nominating a strong candidate. They finally chose Horace Greeley, editor of the New York *Tribune*—"a preposterous candidate," as Rhodes calls him. He was an advocate of extreme protection and was even less friendly to civil-service reform than Grant himself. The Liberal Republicans needed the help of the Democrats to defeat Grant, but Greeley was "the most conspicuous and heated opponent of the Democratic party that could be found in the whole country." On one point alone was Greeley a good Liberal. He advocated general amnesty to the South, urging his countrymen to "clasp hands across the bloody chasm." It was a difficult task for genuine reformers like Schurz to give Greeley enthusiastic support, and it was a bitter pill for the Democrats to indorse a man who had never mentioned their party but to condemn it. Yet the Democratic convention at Baltimore accepted Greeley as their candidate in their hope to defeat Grant. The election in November resulted in a complete victory for the administration.

Greeley carried only six states with 66 electoral votes, while thirty-one states with 286 votes went for Grant.

459. The *Alabama* Claims. One of the factors in Grant's decisive victory was the settlement, a few weeks before the election, of the claims of the United States against Great Britain for damages done by the *Alabama* and the other Confederate cruisers to Northern shipping during the Civil War [**435**]. Senator Sumner, the chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, made the extravagant demand that the British should pay $2,125,000,000 damages[1] and should give up all their colonies on the mainland of America (Canada, Honduras, Guiana). The British ministry denied that they had violated any rules of international law or failed to use all means in their power to prevent vessels built in English ports from preying on the commerce of the United States. However, the exorbitant demands of Sumner (which President Grant called the "indirect damage humbug") were not pressed on our side, and the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War in Europe (1870) made the British ministry "disposed to enter upon negotiations." Accordingly, on May 8, 1871, British and American commissioners signed a treaty at Washington adjusting some points of dispute in the ever-present boundary and fishery questions and agreeing that the claims of the United States for damages to her commerce should be settled by an international arbitration tribunal to meet at Geneva in Switzerland. Besides the British representative (Lord Cockburn) and the American (Charles Francis Adams), the tribunal contained a distinguished statesman from each of the countries of Switzerland, Italy, and Brazil. The tribunal decided (by a unanimous vote in the case of the *Alabama*) that Great Britain had been guilty of a breach of the neutrality laws and it awarded the

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[1] The $125,000,000 was for actual damages to the shipping of the United States. The $2,000,000,000 was for "indirect damages" in encouraging the South to prolong the war for at least two years. As a matter of fact, our merchant marine (which had surpassed Great Britain's in tonnage in 1853) was the only branch of industry that did not recover after the war. In 1860 two thirds of our foreign commerce was carried in American ships; in 1866 more than three fourths of it was carried in foreign ships. Until the World War of 1914–1918 our merchant marine remained insignificant.

United States damages to the amount of $15,500,000 in gold (September, 1872). Lord Cockburn alone dissented from the verdict, and with considerable manifestation of bad feeling. The other matters under dispute were settled a few years later by special commissions. Great Britain was awarded $1,929,819 for injuries done to the property and persons of her subjects during our Civil War, and $5,500,000 for our infringement of her rights in the fisheries of the North Atlantic coast. The peaceable settlement of the Geneva Tribunal was one of the grandest accomplishments of the nineteenth century. It was the first important case of arbitration in our history, and it remains as a landmark on the road of progress toward the substitution of frank discussion for secret diplomacy and a fair compromise for the appeal to arms in deciding the quarrels that arise between nations.

460. Warning to the Republicans in 1874. The protest of the Liberal-Republican movement and the distress of the panic years might have taught the administration to reform its ways.[1] But no improvement was noticeable in the general conduct of the men at Washington, who were supposed to be the servants of the people. In the spring of 1873 an investigation of the building of the Union Pacific Railroad revealed a sickening scandal. A construction syndicate called the Crédit Mobilier, composed of directors of the road and even members of Congress, was found to have voted itself large contracts and distributed stock free of charge to senators and representatives to prevent interference with its nefarious transactions. Then came the exposure of a "Whisky Ring," with headquarters in St. Louis, which was defrauding the government of $100,000 a year in collusion with the collector of internal revenue. The result of such revelations was a sweeping victory of the Democrats in the autumn election. They got control of the House of Representatives for the first time since 1860, wiping out a Republican majority of over a hundred. The election of 1874 warned the administration that the time was past when the Republican party could appeal to the voters on the old issue of "the crime of rebellion" and, on the plea of having saved the country, could rule it as they pleased.

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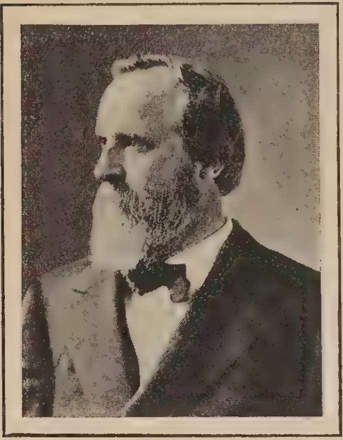
[1] It would have done so if there had been more men in office of the type of Hamilton Fish, the Secretary of State, who not only had the treaty of Washington to his credit, but also acted as the balance wheel of the administration. He kept President Grant from hastily recognizing the Cubans in their revolt against Spain in 1869, and restrained him in his desire to annex the republic of Santo Domingo to the United States. In 1873 he prevented our going to war with Spain over the execution of nine members of the crew of the *Virginius*, a vessel carrying arms to the Cuban insurgents and flying the American flag illegally under fraudulent registration papers.

461. The Hayes-Tilden Campaign. In the national convention of 1876, at Cincinnati, the Republicans nominated a man of unimpeachable honesty and of conciliatory views on the Southern question, General Rutherford B. Hayes, governor of Ohio. The Democrats named Governor Samuel J. Tilden of New York, who had won a national reputation for his exposure of the rascality of the Tweed Ring [**457**]. The result of the campaign was of little importance, for the election of either Hayes or Tilden promised the end of carpetbag rule in the South and the reform of the government at Washington. But the election itself was the most exciting in our history. Late in the evening of election day it was almost certain that Tilden had been chosen. He had 184 electoral votes and only 185 were necessary for a choice. A double set of returns had come in from the states of South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, and one of the votes of Oregon was in dispute.[1] There was no provision in the Constitution or in any law of Congress



RUTHERFORD B. HAYES

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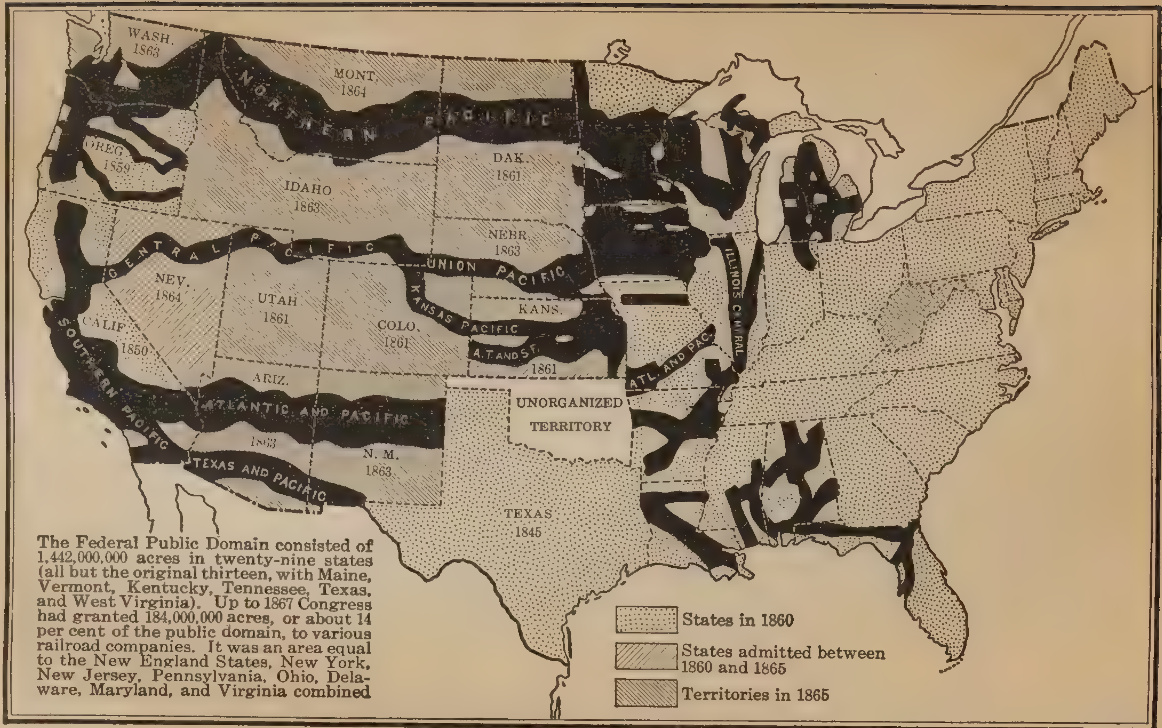
[1] The double set of returns from the three Southern states was due to the fact that the carpetbag governments which were still in control there rejected the votes of some districts on the ground that there had been fraud and intimidation at the polls. In Oregon one of the Republican electors chosen was disqualified by the fact that he held a federal office in the state, and the Democrats insisted that the man with the next highest vote on the list (a Democrat) should replace him.

to decide which set of returns was legal. The Constitution (Amendment XII) simply states: "The president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted." If the Republican president of the Senate was empowered to count the votes as well as open the certificates, he would naturally count the Hayes electors. If, on the other hand, the disputed votes were thrown out, the election would go to the Democratic House, where Tilden would be chosen.

462. The Electoral Commission. Excitement ran high as the winter of 1876–1877 passed and there was a prospect of the country's being without a president on March 4, 1877. As a compromise, an Electoral Commission of 15 members was created by Congress late in January, to consist of 3 Republicans and 2 Democrats from the Senate, 3 Democrats and 2 Republicans from the House, 2 Democrats and 2 Republicans from the Supreme Court, with a fifth justice of the Court to be chosen by his four colleagues on the commission. It was expected that Judge David Davis of Illinois, an Independent, would be chosen as the fifth member from the Supreme Court, but just at the time of the selection of the commission Davis, to his great relief, was elected to the United States Senate; and as there remained only Republicans on the Supreme Bench the commission was perforce made up of 8 Republicans and 7 Democrats. It voted 8 to 7 in favor of accepting Republican certificates from all the states in dispute, and, on March 2, Hayes was declared elected by a vote of 185 to 184. Whether the presidency belonged rightfully to Hayes or to Tilden is a question over which historians still differ. Tilden's popular majority was more than 250,000, but our presidents are not elected by popular vote. As for the election in the states of South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, intimidation of white Democrats by federal troops and of colored Republicans by native whites, ballot-box stuffing and fraudulent counting of ballots, perhaps balanced each other. Professor Schlesinger sums up the situation with the witty comment, "Dishonors were even." Whether Hayes or Tilden was inaugurated in 1877 was, as we have said, of comparatively slight importance. What was of great importance, however, was the fact that the year which opened the second century of American independence found a nation of 45,000,000 so securely established in the habit of orderly self-government that a man whom more than half the country believed to have been fairly defeated on election day could be inaugurated without a sign of civil commotion.

THE BASES OF A NEW INDUSTRIAL AGE

463. Our "Economic Revolution." During the generation following the Civil War our country went through one of the most remarkable transformations recorded in history. It woke to the realization of its enormous natural resources and exploited them with an energy which changed us from a people of small farmers and manufacturers, producing for local markets, into a land of highly organized industry, which multiplied and monopolized the products of the mines, farms, factories, the lines of transportation, and the markets of consumption. The bases for this transformation were laid in the period from Lincoln to Hayes, when the government was absorbed in winning the war and in adjusting the political, financial, and diplomatic problems which grew out of the war. If history recorded only the behavior of governments, there would be little reason for regarding the period which we are studying in this chapter as important; none, certainly, for regarding it as inspiring. For the men who directed the policy of the government at Washington — Johnson, Grant, Stevens, Sumner, Seward, and their kind — were busy winding up the affairs of the era which had come to a close with the triumph of the Union arms and seemed not to be aware of the new era of industrial expansion that was opening. But it was problems raised by this new industrialism — the regulation of transportation and the trusts, agrarian unrest, labor agitation, the influence of big business in politics, immigration, the tariff, and the currency — that were to occupy the attention of the government until the dawn of a new century. So pronounced was the change effected in the social and political life of the American people that we call it the "economic revolution."



The Federal Public Domain consisted of 1,442,000,000 acres in twenty-nine states (all but the original thirteen, with Maine, Vermont, Kentucky, Tennessee, Texas, and West Virginia). Up to 1867 Congress had granted 184,000,000 acres, or about 14 per cent of the public domain, to various railroad companies. It was an area equal to the New England States, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia combined

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF WEST, AND LAND GRANTS TO RAILROADS

464. The Mining Frontier. At the time of the Civil War our Western frontier (that is, the region of from two to six inhabitants per square mile) was marked by an irregular line extending from the western boundary of Minnesota to the Gulf of Mexico. California, Oregon, and Texas were the only states west of the Missouri River. Patches of denser population were to be found in California, Oregon, and Utah, but in general the western half of our country was still a hunting ground of Indian tribes. In 1858 gold was discovered near Pikes Peak in Colorado, in 1859 rich veins of silver were found in Nevada, and within the next few years prospectors had found deposits of copper, silver, gold, and lead in the foothills of the great mountain system from Montana to Arizona. People rushed to the new fields of wealth as the Forty-niners had rushed to California. In the decade of the sixties the Rockies from the Mexican to the Canadian border were dotted with mining camps and "boom cities." Before the close of the war Colorado had sent over $10,000,000 worth of gold to the United States mints, Nevada was yielding $20,000,000 worth of silver annually, and $16,000,000 worth of gold had been taken from Alder Gulch in Montana. It was "one vast field of bewildering wealth." The trans-Missouri traffic multiplied sevenfold during the four years of the Civil War. It was chiefly the attraction of the new mining frontier that led to the creation of territorial governments in the Far West — Dakota, Colorado, and Nevada in 1861, Arizona and Idaho in 1863, Montana in 1864. Thus, except for the territory of Wyoming (1868) and the division of the Dakotas (1889), the boundary lines of all the future states west of the Missouri were drawn before the close of President Lincoln's administration, and the geographical pattern of the country was completed.

465. The Cow Country. Between the agricultural frontier, which extended westward into the states of Kansas and Nebraska, and the new mining frontier of the Rockies there was a region several hundred miles wide in which the great grass-covered plains offered admirable grazing fields. The stock raisers of Texas, as soon as the war was over, began to send droves of longhorned cattle "north of 36" to fatten on the plains before they were sold to the packers and shippers for the Eastern market. In 1871 more than 600,000 cattle crossed the Red River on the "long drive" northward from Texas. Huge cattle ranches paralleled the mining camps all the way from western Kansas to Montana, and the cowboy in his leather "chaps" and broad sombrero, rounding up the branded cattle of his own drove at the close of the grazing season, became one of the most picturesque figures in American life. So long as the cow country remained open land, roamed over by the buffalo and the Indian, the cattlemen and ranchers realized large profits, but when the farmers and sheep raisers began to encroach upon the "open range," staking out their claims under the Homestead Act [**452**] and inclosing their farms with wire fences, the cowboy began to give place to the more prosaic farm hand.

A ROUND-UP ON A WESTERN RANCH

466. Agricultural Development. Most important of all the bases of the new economic revolution following the war was the marvelous growth of agricultural production on a large scale. The impetus was given by the war itself with its demand for food for more than 2,000,000 soldiers and sailors.[1] The Homestead Act, under which more than 65,000,000 acres of land (an area equal to New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey combined) were granted to settlers between 1860 and 1880; the rapid succession of inventions in agricultural machinery for sowing, cultivating, fertilizing, reaping, husking, and binding; and the constantly lengthening lines of railroad for the distribution of the crops, — all hastened the process. In the decade of the sixties over 600,000 new farms were started. Our exports of wheat rose to 187,000,000 bushels and of corn to 102,000,000 bushels as compared with 52,000,000 and 55,000,000 bushels respectively in the decade before the war. By 1880 these figures had jumped to 551,800,000 bushels of wheat and 439,600,000 bushels of corn. The value of farm property and implements in the latter year was $12,587,000,000, — more than a quarter of our total national wealth. On the average our population has doubled about every thirty years, but in the twenty-year period 1860–1880 the population of Minnesota increased three and one-half fold, of Kansas eightfold, and of Nebraska over fourteenfold; while the per capita production of wheat, due to the new farm machinery, increased from 5.6 to 9.2 bushels. We were already supplying half the needs of the wheat-importing countries of the world.

467. The Indian Wars. The constant migration of the miner, the ranchman, and the farmer transformed the face of the West. Herds of millions of buffaloes had roamed the prairies from time immemorial. Trains on the advancing Pacific railroad were held up for hours at a time to let the shaggy, slow-moving animals pass, and travelers in the seventies told of riding through herds for more than a hundred miles. But in the beginning of the next decade the beasts were almost exterminated. William F. Cody, a scout on the Union Pacific force, earned the nickname of "Buffalo Bill" by killing over 4000 buffaloes in eighteen months. The Indian tribes, which depended chiefly on the buffalo for their meat, clothing, tent skins, and bowstrings, were roused to resistance by the wholesale slaughter of the herds and by the pressure of the whites, who crowded them out of their reservations and appropriated their best lands. Again and again the Sioux, Cheyennes, Comanches, and Apaches went on the warpath behind their chieftains, "Sitting Bull," "Little Crow," "Black Kettle," and "Red Cloud"; and it took twenty years of fighting by some of the best generals of the Civil War (including Hancock and Sheridan) and cost the United States over $20,000,000 before the red men were pacified. The culminating event in the struggle was the massacre of General George A. Custer and his force of 264 men by the Sioux under Sitting Bull in the ambush of the Little Big Horn River in Montana, on June 25, 1876. The story of the subjugation of the Indians is not an edifying one. Mrs. Helen Hunt Jackson described it in a book entitled "A Century of Dishonor." The Indians were the wards of the nation, living on reservations to which many of them had been forcibly removed from their homes east of the Mississippi [**312**] and which had been guaranteed to them by the public faith. Yet they were cheated by rascally government officials, fed on rotten rations, debauched with whisky, and robbed of their lands. An Indian Commission established in 1869 attempted to introduce reforms, but it found itself in constant quarrels with the War Department and received no support from President Grant in its crusade against dishonest officials — including Secretary of War Belknap himself. It was not till 1887 that the government officially repudiated the opinion of General Sheridan that "the only good Indian is a dead Indian" and by the Dawes Act conferred citizenship and a homestead grant upon the head of any Indian family who would substitute allegiance to the United States for allegiance to his tribe.

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[1] Exceptionally good harvests in the United States in the war years coincided with poor harvests in England. Of the bumper crop of 170,000,000 bushels of wheat which we raised in 1862, we sent abroad 60,000,000 bushels, or three times the exports of any previous year. Supplies of Northern wheat were even more important to Great Britain than supplies of Southern cotton — which goes far to explain the failure of Jefferson Davis's effort to secure British recognition or the independence of the Confederacy.

468. The Farmers' Grievances. So long as the demand created by the war and the foreign importers absorbed the products of the increasing acreage of the West the farmers were content. They got their land free and could borrow capital for their buildings and implements on easy terms. They were enthusiastic supporters of the newly projected railroads, which would carry their crops to Eastern markets and bring back new immigrants and machinery. They profited by the cheap greenback currency, which increased the money value of their crops. But early in the seventies discontent began to develop among them. The return of peace in Europe liberated thousands of soldiers for the cultivation of the farms of France, Austria, and Germany. Abundant harvests in Russia and Argentina increased the world's wheat supply by hundreds of millions of bushels, and the price of wheat fell nearly a third in the years 1872–1878. The panic of 1873 [**456**] wiped out most of the value of the farmers' railroad investments. And in 1875, after a vacillating policy of ten years, Congress passed the Resumption Act, making the greenbacks all redeemable in gold on January 1, 1879. The Western farmer did not understand how conditions in Europe affected world prices or why it was necessary for the United States to have a currency which would command respect on the foreign exchange. He only knew that he was getting lower prices for his crops and that he was having to pay more bushels of wheat and corn for a dollar to meet the interest on his mortgages held by the Eastern capitalists. He laid his misfortune to two causes: excessive rates of transportation and storage by the railroad and grain elevator companies and the substitution of gold for the cheap currency of the greenbacks. He knew that wheat for which he was receiving 90 cents a bushel was selling for $1.50 in New York, and he was burning his corn because at 15 cents a bushel it was the cheapest fuel that he could use.

469. The Granger Laws. In 1867 Oliver H. Kelly, a clerk in the Bureau of Agriculture at Washington, had organized a farmers' league called the Patrons of Husbandry, with a purpose of spreading agricultural education and creating social fellowship among the farmers. The "grange," as the local unit of the organization was called, was a kind of club where the farmers with their families met to enjoy games and a picnic supper and listen to a lecture on improved methods of fertilization or discuss a plan for "chipping in" to buy a new agricultural machine. The granges attracted only few members during the first six years, but when the panic of 1873 came and the farmers began to suffer from the conditions we have just mentioned, they joined by the thousands and turned the granges into political clubs. By 1875 there were thirty thousand granges, representing all the states of the Union except Connecticut, Rhode Island, Delaware, and Nevada. In the upper Mississippi Valley, especially in Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota, where more than one third of the wheat of the country was grown, the granges boasted a membership of over half a million. In about a dozen Western states parties were formed under the various names of Independent, National, Reform, and Antimonopoly, pledged to fight for the public control of railroad rates, relief from the Eastern bankers, and economy and honesty in government. Beginning with Illinois in 1871, the legislatures of several of these states passed laws regulating railroad and elevator rates. But the railroads, which had the farmers at their mercy, made it so uncomfortable for them by mishandling their grain that the "independent" farmers were worsted in the fight. The courts, too, were hostile to the Granger laws and declared many of them unconstitutional. Finally, the Grangers made a failure of their attempt at the coöperative buying or manufacture of farm implements. They found themselves involved in expensive patent suits and without the legal talent to contend with the clever lawyers on the other side. By 1876 the Granger movement was on the wane. But it had accomplished much in the way of awakening the farmers of the West to a realization of the economic interests which they have striven from that day to this to defend in state and national legislatures. It had even carried its case into the Supreme Court, which in 1876–1877 decided that a state legislature had a right to fix maximum rates for elevator storage and to regulate railroad rates for transportation in interstate commerce "until such time as Congress should legislate on this matter." Chief Justice Waite declared in favor of the control of the railroads because they were property "affecting the community at large."

470. Big Business. A most important element in the economic revolution was the consolidation of business. In place of the modest factories of prewar times, run by a few hundred workers under the personal supervision of the owners or partners, came huge industrial plants covering acres of ground and costing millions of dollars, equipped with expensive machines tended by tens of thousands of laborers pursuing monotonous tasks under a hired "boss." The worker had none of the satisfaction which comes from creative effort, for he could not see the product of his labor. He or she might be attached all day to a machine making some small part of a shoe or locomotive. The "soulless corporation," which replaced the human partnership, was ruled by a board of directors, who determined policies, output, and wages with a view not to making work attractive or comfortable for their "hands," as the men, women, and children in the factory were called, but to making as much money as possible for dividends on their stock, which was distributed among thousands of investors. The value of our manufactures increased 200 per cent in the period from 1860 to 1880, and certain sections of the country became great centers of special industries, like the steel region about Pittsburgh and the textile sections of southern New England and eastern Pennsylvania. The Western Union Telegraph Company absorbed most of the fifty independent companies that were doing business in 1850. There were over two hundred oil refineries in Pennsylvania alone in 1865, but about a decade later nearly 90 per cent of the petroleum industry was controlled by the Standard Oil Company. The power wielded by these gigantic aggregations of capital began to be a menace to the independence of our legislatures and courts. The most important line of cleavage in political life was no longer that between Republicans and Democrats or between strict constructionists and loose constructionists, but that between the men who believed that the government should allow capitalists to "run their own business in their own way with due regard to the Ten Commandments and the penal code," as Thomas Platt once said, and the men who thought it a part of the duty of the government to "provide for the general welfare" by controlling certain practices of big business which might escape the penal code but for which no provision was made in the Ten Commandments.

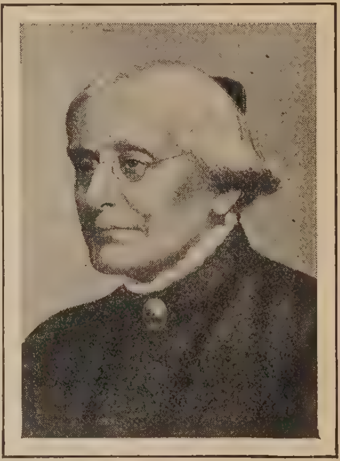
471. The Standard Oil Company. Volumes have been written on the history of the various "trusts" in transportation, banking, timbering, coal, steel, petroleum, sugar, textiles, and other industries in our country. Perhaps the most typical, as well as the oldest, of these combinations is the Standard Oil Trust. Toward the close of the Civil War, John D. Rockefeller, a successful young business man in Cleveland, Ohio, became interested in the possibilities of petroleum, which had begun to "gush" in 1859 from wells drilled in western Pennsylvania. Rockefeller set out to monopolize the oil-refining business. In 1865 his Standard Oil Company of Cleveland was operating on the modest capital of $100,000. Five years later he organized the Standard Oil Company of Ohio, with a capital of $1,000,000 and the control of most of the business of the state. Five years later still he had absorbed the important refineries in New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, and was controlling nearly 90 per cent of the oil-refining business of the country. The methods of the Standard Oil Company were mercilessly efficient. Competitors who refused to be bought out at Mr. Rockefeller's figure were "frozen out" by price cuts in their region. The Standard's agents, who managed the sales in the carefully mapped-out districts of the country, had to get the business or they lost their jobs. The company manufactured its own barrels, built its own tank cars, and laid thousands of miles of pipe lines to carry the oil from the fields to the great refining and distributing centers like Bayonne, New Jersey. It held the whip hand over the oil-carrying railroads (Erie, Pennsylvania, New York Central), dictating the rates that they should charge on pain of losing the enormous Standard business if they refused. For example, an ultimatum to the Cleveland and Marietta Railroad in 1872 reads as follows: "You shall make a uniform rate of 35 cents a barrel for all persons except the Standard Oil Company; you shall charge them 10 cents a barrel and also pay them 25 cents a barrel out of the 35 cents collected of the other shippers." An investigating committee of the New York Assembly declared in 1879 that the railroad companies had paid $10,000,000 in rebates to the company. Whatever advantages there were in the way of producing cheaper illuminating oil for the public and utilizing the by-products of petroleum, like lubricants, gasoline, paraffin, vaseline, coal-tar dyes, were offset by the unjust business methods and the undue political influence of the Standard Oil Company.

472. The Knights of Labor. As business became consolidated into great corporations the laborers had no way of protecting themselves against low wages and long hours of work except by united effort. They saw the cleft widening between capital and labor and the masters of industry growing rich rapidly. They believed that they were not getting a fair share of the wealth which they were producing. During the Civil War over sixty new trade unions were formed. ~~In 1869~~ the garment cutters of Philadelphia organized the ~~Knights of Labor~~, an association which aimed to bring together all the workers, skilled and unskilled, into a brotherhood for their mutual protection against "the aggression of employers." With such mottoes as "the injury of one is the concern of all" and "labor is the only creator of values and capital," the Knights began to work for material and moral reform in the industrial world, — an eight-hour day, the settlement of disputes by arbitration, the abolition of child labor, the encouragement of coöperative stores and factories. In many respects the Knights were the counterpart in the field of industry of the Patrons of Husbandry (Grangers) in agriculture. Both were founded at almost the same moment as secret societies. Both combined business enterprise, economic reform, and the fellowship of a social club in their programs. Both grew with great rapidity during the hard times following the panic of 1873. Both failed to hold together for more than a few years because of the lack of a clear-cut policy and the lack of sufficient managerial ability and experience to contend with the capitalistic groups in transportation and manufacture. The Knights were especially hampered by the great number of unskilled and ignorant wage earners in their ranks and by the intrusion of radical agitators, who advocated violence in railroad and industrial strikes. Their influence waned after a series of such strikes in the middle eighties, and the leadership of labor passed to a more conservative and better-managed organization of the skilled trades under the name of the American Federation of Labor.

473. Labor in Politics. National congresses of labor unions had been meeting annually since the close of the Civil War. In 1870, when the Grangers of Illinois were beginning to formulate their grievances against the railroads, the National Labor Union Congress at Cincinnati passed resolutions demanding the abolition of the national banking system, the use of greenbacks as "the true national currency," the reform of the tariff, an eight-hour day for government employees, the prohibition of Chinese labor, and the creation of a Department of Labor at Washington. It organized a National Labor Reform party, which entered the presidential campaign of 1872 with a platform declaring that "our government is wholly perverted from its true designs . . . in this beneficent country of unlimited resources with the land annually groaning beneath the products of human effort, the mass of the people have no supply beyond their daily wants and are compelled from these unjust conditions in sickness and misfortune to become paupers and vagrants." The Labor Reform party made no impression on the election of 1872, its candidate, Charles O'Conor, polling less than 30,000 votes. But it lived on in several of the states, and by its fusion with the Greenback party and the various Antimonopoly, Independent, and Reform parties of the West it contributed its share to the enormous Greenback Labor vote of over 1,000,000 in the congressional election of 1878.

474. The South. While the West and the East were making great strides forward in agricultural and industrial production, the South, suffering under the double handicap of economic exhaustion and the political and social incubus of the Reconstruction governments, was struggling to get on its feet again. Its money capital was gone and its labor supply was demoralized. The land remained, to be sure, but its great resources in timber, coal, phosphates, and food crops had been neglected for the cultivation of cotton. Northern capital was chary of investing in the South until the disorders of the Reconstruction period were remedied. Cotton was fortunately high after the war, but the crop of 1860 was not equaled until 1879. The South was burdened with a debt equal to 10 per cent of the assessed value of its land as compared with 3.6 per cent in the states of the West, which were complaining of the burden of their mortgages. The old plantations were broken up, as the old masters had to sell off parts of their estates to get the capital for new implements and improvements. The average size of the plantation decreased from 335 acres in 1860 to 153 acres in 1875. The new owners seldom had money to buy the land outright, and a system of "share cropping" sprang up, by which the proceeds of the crop were shared between the owner and the tenants. The crops were often mortgaged, even before they were planted, to the brokers who advanced money or to the merchants who furnished food and clothing to the planters. The South had little money to spend on education, and the help offered by Northern philanthropists was not gratefully received during the reign of the carpetbaggers. Nevertheless, the South had some advantages in the cheapness of land for the location of cotton mills, the abundance of laborers who were willing and eager to work for low wages, and the absence of foreign immigrants and socialist agitators who often disturbed the industrial peace of the North. It was not till the end of the period covered in this chapter, however, that the "New South" emerged. The census of 1880 was the first to show figures in her manufactures, her output of coal and iron, her expanded railroad mileage, her school enrollment, her negro farm owners and artisans, which told that the humiliating period of turmoil between the old South of the planters' aristocracy and the new South of industrial democracy was over.

475. Social Changes. The economic revolution meant much more than a transformation of the industrial life of the country. It had an enormous influence on social habits and institutions. At the close of the Civil War we were still a rural people. Over 80 per cent of the population lived on farms or in small towns. Fifteen years later nearly a fourth of the population was living in cities of 8000 inhabitants or over. More than 5,000,000 immigrants were added to our population in the years 1860–1880, and in the latter year the foreign-born comprised 32 per cent of the laborers in industrial plants as against 10.6 per cent in agriculture. The herding of people in great and growing urban communities brought with it the social problems of housing, sanitation, education, and recreation. The presence of large numbers of newly arrived foreigners offered the bosses of the cities unrivaled opportunities for political control. The economic revolution brought a great change in the home. The new factories drew many women and girls into the ranks of wage earners, as they drew men from the country districts to the cities, while the girls of the more fortunately situated families began to go to college. More colleges for women were opened, and soon women were admitted on equal terms with men to many of the Western state universities like Wisconsin, Michigan, and Ohio. Women doctors, preachers, and lawyers increased steadily in numbers. In 1879 women were permitted to plead cases before the Supreme Court of the United States. In the same period the women, led by Susan B. Anthony, Dr. Anna Shaw, and Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, were waging the battle for women's rights, prohibition, and woman suffrage. The states of Kansas, Michigan, and Minnesota gave women the vote on matters relating to schools, and the territory of Wyoming conferred full suffrage upon them in 1869. But no state granted the women equal suffrage with men until Wyoming was admitted to the Union in 1890. Although the outstanding accomplishments of the era were in the field of material progress, as was to be expected in a young, vigorous, and inventive people



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that had just awakened to the enormous natural resources at its command, progress in education, letters, arts, science, and humanitarian projects was not wholly lacking. The flowering of a true American culture, however, is still delayed by the prevalence of the commercial spirit and the exaggerated value attached to the mere accumulation of wealth.

476. The Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia. The closing year of Grant's presidency (1876) was the centennial of American independence. The event was celebrated by a great world's fair at Philadelphia, the birthplace of the republic. Three million visitors to the exposition grounds caught the inspiration of the wonderful achievements in science and invention which the years of peace were bringing forth. The Centennial Exposition was a pledge of the recovery of our nation from the political, industrial, and financial difficulties brought on it by the Civil War. Already the rule of the stranger was passing in the Southern states, and a Mississippi congressman had pronounced a eulogy over the body of Charles Sumner, exhorting his fellow countrymen to know one another that they might love one another (1874). Already the United States had passed a law pledging the payment of every dollar of its war debt in the precious metals of gold and silver (1875). Already a national convention had declared in its platform that "the United States of America is a nation, not a mere league" (1876). It had taken a full hundred years and cost a long and bloody war to decide that point. The century had seen the rounding out of our national domain. The railroad ran from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and all the area between had been organized into states or territories. The country was ready for new tasks, and the belted wheels, the giant shafts, the splendid specimen products of the farms, gardens, and wheat fields of the land, the improved models in machinery, and the wonderful inventions in transportation, which were displayed at the Centennial Exposition of 1876, were all a prophecy of a new age.

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TOPICS FOR SPECIAL REPORTS

1. **The Union Pacific Railroad:** RHODES, Vol. VII, pp. 1–14; OBERHOLTZER, Vol. I, pp. 319–330, Vol. II, pp. 474–484, 598–609; J. P. DAVIS, *The Union Pacific Railway*; MOODY, chaps. vi, ix; H. U. FAULKNER, *American Economic History*, pp. 452–465; L. H. HANEY, *Congressional History of Railways*, Vol. I, pp. 234–269; HART, *Contemporaries*, Vol. IV, No. 163.

2. **The Disputed Election of 1876:** E. STANWOOD, *History of the Presidency*, pp. 356–393; DUNNING, *Reconstruction, Political and Economic*, pp. 294–341; RHODES, Vol. VII, pp. 227–291; C. R. WILLIAMS, *The Life of Rutherford B. Hayes*, Vol. I, pp. 491–540; JOHN BIGELOW, *The Life of Samuel J. Tilden*, Vol. II, chaps. i–iii, vi; MACDONALD, No. 177.

3. **Filling in the Frontier:** H. U. FAULKNER, *American Economic History*, pp. 403–415; EMERSON HOUGH, *The Passing of the Frontier* (Chronicles of America, Vol. XXVI); F. L. PAXSON, *The Last American Frontier*, chaps. ii, ix–xi, xix, and *The Cow Country* (*American Historical Review*, Vol. XXII, pp. 65–82); E. E. DALE, *The Ranchman's Last Frontier* (*Mississippi Historical Review*, Vol. X, pp. 34–46); R. L. STEVENSON, *The Amateur Emigrant* and *The Silverado Squatters*.

4. **The Geneva Tribunal:** OBERHOLTZER, Vol. II, pp. 391–473; RHODES, Vol. VI, pp. 335–376; JOHN MORLEY, *The Life of Gladstone*, Vol. II, chap. ix; T. W. BALCH, *The Alabama Arbitration*; HART, *Contemporaries*, Vol. IV, No. 175; MUZZEY, *Readings*, pp. 473–480.

5. **Southern Industry after the War:** F. L. Paxson, *The New Nation*, pp. 192–207; Broadus Mitchell, *The Rise of Cotton Mills in the South* (Johns Hopkins University Studies, Vol. XXIX, No. 2); Holland Thompson, *The New South* (Chronicles of America, Vol. XLII); T. M. Young, *The American Cotton Industry*, pp. 54–99.

Questions for Review

1. Define the terms "scalawag," "carpetbagger," "Freedmen's Bureau," "civil rights," "grange," "the long drive," "rebate," "black codes." **2.** Explain why the President and Congress each claimed the right to restore the Southern states to their place in the Union. **3.** Do you think Lincoln would have been more successful in his reconstruction policy, if he had lived, than Johnson was? Why? **4.** Why did the Southern states object so strongly to the Fourteenth Amendment? **5.** Compare the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment, the Reconstruction Act, and the Fifteenth Amendment in regard to negro suffrage. **6.** What methods did the South employ to restore white rule in their states? **7.** Why did Congress pass the Fifteenth Amendment? **8.** What problems did the Civil War settle? **9.** Why did not the South share in the economic development of the country immediately following the war? **10.** Define the Homestead Act of 1862. **11.** Had the national government given away land before? If so, to whom? **12.** How did the Homestead Act differ from the Preëmption Act of 1841 [**356**]? **13.** When was the Atlantic cable successfully laid? **14.** Was Johnson impeached? **15.** How did the war strengthen the national government? **16.** What were some of the effects of the building of the Union Pacific Railroad? **17.** What reforms did the Liberal-Republican movement seek to accomplish? **18.** Why did the movement fail? **19.** Why did the electoral college fail to choose a president in 1877? in 1825? in 1801? **20.** Mark on an outline map the states west of the Mississippi in 1865; the new territories erected between 1860 and 1865. **21.** How were the Indians mistreated? **22.** What were the grievances of the farmers after the Civil War? **23.** What effect did the "economic revolution" have on immigration to America? **24.** Name some of the leaders in the movement for women's rights. **25.** Why did not art and letters flourish in America in the period following the war?

CHAPTER XIII

FROM HAYES TO HARRISON

"Stalwarts" and "Half-Breeds"

477. The Government and Big Business. The economic revolution just described had been long under way before the government paid any attention to it. The Constitution gave little power either to the Executive or to Congress to deal with industrial questions. The Constitution was framed for a nation of three million people whose main occupations were farming and shipping. The Fathers, of course, could not foresee the rise of huge business corporations, spreading over the country from ocean to ocean, and the transportation system, striding across the boundaries of a dozen states. The clause in the Constitution giving Congress the power to regulate "commerce among the several States" (Art. I, sect. 8, par. 3) was really intended as a part of the provision for the defense of the coasts; for practically all the "commerce" between the states until the rise of the railroads was coastwise shipping. Moreover, it accorded with the American idea of freedom of initiative that business should be allowed to develop without government interference. One of the chief grievances against Great Britain in colonial times had been the laws passed by Parliament to prohibit or regulate American manufacture and commerce. Therefore, while the *political* supremacy of the government at Washington had grown steadily until its complete triumph in the victory of the Civil War, there had been no similar development of the *economic* supremacy of the government. It was not until exactly a century had elapsed since the framing of the Constitution that the first act of Congress was passed regulating the railroads (1887), to be followed three years later by the first act aiming at the control of the monopolies or trusts.

478. The Political Situation. Furthermore, the action of Congress on such matters as were clearly within its powers (such as the tariff and the currency) was halting and vacillating in the generation following the Civil War. Party politics seemed to take precedence over any consideration of public welfare. For the "ins" to remain in power and for the "outs" to get into power was the all-important thing. For a decade after the war the Republicans had control of the government in all its branches, but with the capture of the House by the Democrats in 1874 [**460**] there began a long period of political deadlock. For more than a score of years there were only two brief intervals (1889–1891, 1893–1895) when the President had a majority of his party in both Houses of Congress, and sometimes (1879–1881, 1895–1897) he had a hostile majority to contend with in both branches. Only once (1889–1891) in the entire period did either party have as large a majority as ten in the Senate. This seesawing of party fortune prevented either Republicans or Democrats from carrying through any positive program for fear of losing votes, or from grappling earnestly with the problem of big business for fear of losing the campaign contributions of the corporations, or from "turning the rascals out" of their own party by reform of the civil service for fear that the "rascals" of the other party would come in.

479. Opposition to President Hayes. President Hayes was in an embarrassing position when he was inaugurated in March, 1877, and his difficulties increased during his term of office. He had been nominated only because it had been impossible to break the deadlock between the supporters of Grant and Blaine, neither of whom wanted a reform administration. He offended the "Stalwart" Republicans, who held above all to the preservation of party power by maintaining the carpetbagger government in the South and refusing to reform the civil service. They called him a "half-breed" Republican. When he carried out the Republican platform (which promised the people of the South "complete protection in the free enjoyment of their rights") by withdrawing the federal troops from South Carolina and Louisiana and allowing those states to revert to white (Democratic) rule, the Stalwarts declared that he had "deceived, betrayed, and humiliated" the party, and Senator Chandler of Michigan in a Fourth of July oration called him "a president who had climbed to his high seat over the dead bodies of the loyal men in the South." The Democratic papers printed cartoons in which Hayes's face appeared with the word "Fraud" written across his brow, and the Democratic House actually passed a resolution that Tilden had been rightfully elected. In the face of all this opposition the upright president clung to his motto that "he serves his party best who serves his country best," and, like John Quincy Adams in a remarkably similar situation, he pursued his lonely path of duty, confiding to his diary the rectitude of his conduct.

480. The Railroad Strike of 1877. Hayes had been in office but a few months when a railroad strike of unprecedented violence broke out. In the depression following the panic of 1873 the railroads had engaged in a series of "cut-throat" rate wars until they were actually carrying freight at a loss. At one time the rate on cattle from Chicago to New York was only a dollar a carload. Failing to keep up their income, the roads began to cut wages. In July, 1877, the Baltimore and Ohio announced the fourth reduction in wages since 1870 — a 10 per cent cut for all men receiving more than a dollar a day. On the day that the cut was to take effect, a strike began at Martinsburg, West Virginia, and spread rapidly through fourteen states, from New York to Kansas and Texas. Chicago, Baltimore, Reading, and Pittsburgh were the scenes of riot and bloodshed. The President was forced to call on the militia of several states and even to dispatch United States troops to certain points to quell the disorder. In Pittsburgh, where the rioting was at its worst, $10,000,000 worth of property in cars, buildings, and freight was destroyed, and over fifty men were killed or wounded before order was restored.[1]

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[1] At the same time a strike of 8000 anthracite miners in eastern Pennsylvania terrorized Luzerne County. The mayor of Scranton was obliged to call upon the state militia and eventually to ask for the protection of 1500 federal troops under General Hancock. The region had been the scene less than a month before the strike broke out of the hanging of ten "Molly Maguires," members of a secret Irish society which for a dozen years had been terrorizing the anthracite region by cold-blooded assassination of unpopular bosses and superintendents.

481. The Currency Problem. We have seen how the government was obliged in war time to issue the greenback paper currency [**427**] and how the debtor West profited thereby in the payment of the interest on its farm mortgages and in the relatively higher prices for its grain [**468**]. When the law of 1875 made the greenbacks all redeemable in gold on January 1, 1879 (the "resumption of specie payment"), the Westerners had to fall back upon the advocacy of silver as the cheap currency. Thus the long fight began for "free silver"; that is, for the unlimited coinage of silver by the United States Mint and its use as a national currency at a fixed ratio with gold. Silver and gold had both been recognized as money since the beginning of the government; but in 1873 silver was "demonetized," which means that the government stopped the coinage of silver dollars. The reason for this was that for almost twenty-five years no silver had been brought to the mint. So little of it was mined that it was worth more in the silversmith's market than the price that the government paid for it: namely, one ounce of gold for sixteen ounces of silver. But just about the time silver was demonetized, enormous deposits were discovered in our Western states. One mine, whose product in 1873 was worth but $645,000, increased its output to $16,000,000 in two years. The famous Comstock lode in Nevada yielded $42,000,000 in three years. Our production of silver, which was $1,000,000 in 1861, rose to $20,000,000 in 1875. The market was flooded, the price of silver fell, and the mine owners were anxious again to have the government take their product at the old rate. In 1874, for the first time in a generation, the silver in a dollar was worth more than the same weight of silver in a salad bowl or an umbrella handle. The mine owners, therefore, clamored for the repeal of the law of 1873 (which they called "the crime of 1873"), and, for the reasons we have just noticed, the Western farmers joined with the mine owners in the demand for the resumption of silver coinage.

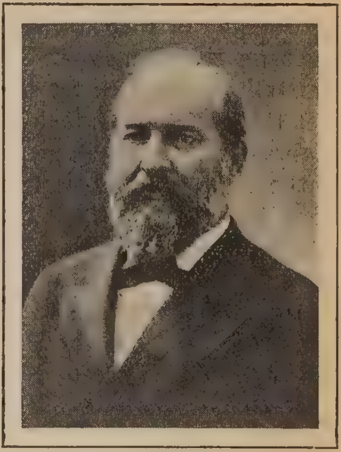
482. The Bland-Allison Act. Representative Richard P. Bland of Missouri therefore introduced a bill for the unlimited, or "free," coinage of silver at the old rate of 16 to 1. The bill was modified in the Senate by Allison of Iowa so that the government should purchase not less than $2,000,000 nor more than $4,000,000 worth a month. In this form the bill passed both Houses of Congress by large majorities in February, 1878. Hayes immediately vetoed the bill as a violation of the nation's good faith. Most of the public debt had been incurred "when gold alone was the coin for which the bonds were sold and gold alone the coin in which both parties to the contract understood that the bonds would be paid . . . and when nobody would have bought them if it had been understood that they would be paid in silver." Congress, however, passed the Bland-Allison Act over the President's veto, and our government pledged itself to take from the mine owners at least $24,000,000 worth of silver every year to coin into "dollars" which were worth in 1878 less than 90 cents apiece. We shall see in a later chapter some of the results of this policy of trying to make coins more valuable than the worth of the metal they contain by stamping the United States eagle upon them.

483. The Spoils System. The great army of officials and clerks in the executive department of the government, like postmasters, revenue collectors, and patent clerks, make up what is called the Civil Service. It had long been the custom of the president and the heads of departments to bestow these political offices (the "patronage") not on account of any fitness of the applicant for the job but as reward for party services. Every change of administration saw the capital thronged with office seekers pestering the president for appointments. Republicans and Democrats were alike in their "insatiable lust for office." One politician, when taken to task for not working in his office, cynically replied, "Work! why, I worked to get here!" "Voluntary contributions," or assessments, equal to from 2 to 5 per cent of their salary, were levied on officeholders for campaign expenses. Ever since the Civil War reformers like George W. Curtis, Carl Schurz, and Dorman B. Eaton had tried to stir Congress to abolish the corrupt "spoils system." For seven years in succession Congressman Jenckes of Rhode Island introduced a bill into the House for this purpose. The reformers succeeded in getting a law passed in March, 1871, authorizing the president to appoint a commission to prescribe rules for the conduct of the civil service. But the low tone of public morality prevailing during Grant's administration [**457**] discouraged reform. The Stalwarts ridiculed the "snivel service" and sneered at the "pharisaical pretensions" of the reformers, and in 1875 Congress failed to make any further appropriation for the commission.

484. Hayes's Efforts for Civil Service Reform. President Hayes was determined to purify the civil service. In his letter accepting the nomination he said, "If I am elected, all the constitutional powers vested in the executive will be employed to establish this reform." He revived the commission of 1871. He wrote to John Sherman, his Secretary of the Treasury, that no assessments for political purposes should be allowed in his department and no officers should be required or permitted to take part in the management of the political campaign. He encouraged Secretary Schurz to make drastic reforms in the Department of the Interior. He removed Chester A. Arthur, collector of the port of New York, and Alonzo B. Cornell, the naval officer, who, together with Senators Conkling and Platt (the "Big Four"), were using their positions to build up the Republican machine in the state of New York. Hayes won his fight for reform in the New York customhouse, but he did not win the Stalwarts of the party. His "victims," Arthur and Cornell, were honored in 1880 by nominations to the offices of vice president of the United States and governor of New York respectively. Hayes also failed to secure any legislation from Congress on civil-service reform. Still his efforts bore fruit. During his administration civil-service leagues were formed in over thirty states of the Union and a National Civil Service Reform League was organized at Newport, Rhode Island, in 1881. It took the shock of the assassination of the President of the United States by a crazed Stalwart partisan in the latter year to rouse Congress to action.

485. The Election of 1880. No president ever deserved reelection more than Hayes. But, aside from his own declaration that he would not accept a second term, his independence of the party leaders made his nomination in 1880 out of the question.

General Grant had returned in September, 1879, from a world-circling tour, in which he had been received with royal honors by the sovereigns of Europe and Asia. A trio of Stalwart senators (Conkling of New York, Chandler of Michigan, and Logan of Illinois) boomed Grant for a third term, chiefly with the hope of reëstablishing the power of the Republican machine, which had been somewhat damaged by President Hayes. Grant's chief rivals in the convention were Senator James G. Blaine of Maine and Secretary of the Treasury John Sherman of Ohio. After the convention had balloted thirty-five times without giving the necessary majority to either Grant or Blaine, the Wisconsin delegation led a "stampede" to General James A. Garfield of Ohio, who had been sent to the convention to work in the interests of Sherman. The Blaine and Sherman delegates went over to Garfield in a body, but the "old guard" of 306 super-Stalwarts cast their ballots for Grant to the end. Chester A. Arthur of New York was nominated for vice president to appease the Stalwart faction. The Democrats named General Winfield S. Hancock, like Garfield a gallant soldier, but wholly without Garfield's experience as a statesman. Garfield was elected by 214 votes to 155, though his popular majority was less than 8000. It was the first presidential election since 1860 in which all the states freely expressed their choice. The South, embittered against the Republican party for its Reconstruction policy, cast a solid Democratic vote (for the victor of Gettysburg!), and for a quarter of a century thereafter the "solid South" was found in the Democratic column of every presidential election. It was not until 1920 that a Republican candidate (Harding) carried a state of the Southern Confederacy (Tennessee).



JAMES A. GARFIELD

486. The Assassination of Garfield. President Garfield was one of the best examples of our self-made men. He had worked his way up from the towpath of an Ohio canal to a college presidency and then to a seat in the state senate of Ohio. He had distinguished himself for gallant conduct in the famous corps of General Thomas at Chickamauga [**413**]. In the winter of 1863 he had been elected to the House of Representatives, where he served with great distinction and became the undisputed Republican leader when Blaine went to the Senate (1877). In the midsummer of 1880 Garfield had the unique honor of being at the same time a member of the House, a senator elect, and the Republican nominee for the presidency of the United States. Yet the choice of Garfield was a bitter disappointment to the Stalwarts. At Grant's request Conkling had taken the stump in the campaign and contributed not a little to Garfield's election. But Garfield made Conkling's bitterest enemy, James G. Blaine, Secretary of State, and refused to consider the wishes of the New York senator in his appointments. Stung by this "ingratitude," Conkling and his colleague, Thomas C. Platt, resigned their seats in the United States Senate. Factional spirit ran high and culminated in a dastardly crime. A few weeks after the resignation of the New York senator, as President Garfield, accompanied by Secretary Blaine, entered the railroad station at Washington to take the train for a college reunion at Williamstown, he was shot in the back by a cowardly wretch named Guiteau, who had been vainly seeking for an office and who at his trial boasted that he was a Stalwart and wanted to see Arthur in the presidential chair. After lingering through the hot weeks of summer in dreadful agony, President Garfield died at Elberon, New Jersey, on September 19, the anniversary of his gallant service at Chickamauga.

487. The Pendleton Act. The elevation of "Chet" Arthur to the presidency by the assassination of Garfield was regarded as a calamity by the friends of good government. John Sherman had written just after the convention of 1880: "The nomination of Arthur is a ridiculous burlesque. It attaches to the ticket all the odium of machine politics." Yet this erstwhile companion of the boss and the spoilsman completely disappointed the apprehensions of the reformers. Under the responsibilities of his high office he rose to a stature of dignity and gave the country an honest, vigorous, and efficient administration. He insisted on fair terms to China in the act of 1882 for the restriction of Chinese immigration to the United States;[1] attempted in vain, by his veto of "pork barrel" bills appropriating huge sums of money for rivers and harbors, to prevent a shameless raid on the Treasury; advocated a fair revision of the tariff; and laid the foundation for our modern navy of ironclads. Most significant of all, this man who had been dismissed by President Hayes from the New York customhouse because of flagrant abuse of the patronage, three years later signed the act which has been called the "Magna Carta of Civil Service Reform." Guiteau's pistol shot had roused the whole country to the disgraceful state of the public service. Following Arthur's recommendation in his message to Congress of December, 1882, George H. Pendleton of Ohio introduced a bill into the Senate providing for a bipartisan commission to classify the grades of the civil service and devise a system of competitive examinations by which the candidates might qualify for appointments. The bill also forbade political assessments on officeholders or removals from office for failure to make a voluntary contribution to political campaigns. It was passed by large majorities in both Houses of Congress and signed by President Arthur in January, 1883. Arthur showed his sincerity in the cause by appointing a commission of ardent civil-service reformers, promulgating a set of rules for the faithful execution of the act and himself putting about fifteen thousand government employees into the classified service before he left office.

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[1] Thousands of Chinese coolies had been imported to work on the construction of the Central Pacific Railroad. By 1870 there were over 60,000 Chinese in the country, nearly five sixths of them in California. Their low standard of living aroused the hostility of American labor, and with the sharp business depression following on the panic of 1873 there began a crusade, led by Dennis Kearney, the "sand-lots" orator of San Francisco, to get the Chinese out. President Hayes sent a commission to China to secure the modification of the Burlingame Treaty of 1868, which had given Chinese subjects the unlimited right of immigration into the United States and the guarantee of treatment here accorded to the citizens of the most favored nation. The Chinese government agreed to permit the United States to "regulate, limit, or suspend" the immigration of Chinese laborers, and on the basis of this treaty Congress passed a bill in the spring of 1882 forbidding their entrance into the country for a period of twenty years. President Arthur vetoed the bill on the ground that the "suspension" of immigration for so long a period was virtually a prohibition of it and forced Congress to reduce the period to ten years. But he might as well have signed the original bill, for at the close of the ten-year period Chinese exclusion was renewed by the Geary Act, and again in 1902.

488. Blaine nominated for the Presidency. Arthur, like Hayes, deserved a renomination. But, like Hayes, he had alienated the leaders of the party by his independent course. Blaine was the acknowledged chief of the party and the idol of the rank and file. His vigorous assertion of American prestige in controversies with Chile, Peru, and Great Britain during his brief months as Secretary of State in Garfield's cabinet had increased his popularity. His bitter enemy, Conkling, who had prevented his nomination in 1880, was definitely "out of politics" practising law. It was Blaine's turn now, as Thomas Platt said. The reform delegates in the convention at Chicago (among whom was the young Theodore Roosevelt of New York) opposed Blaine's nomination. They wanted a candidate unembarrassed by connections with railroad deals or by reputation for scorn of civil-service reform. But they had no one to nominate in his place who could make any appeal to the voters of the country. Blaine was nominated on the fourth ballot amid a pandemonium of cheering. Immediately after his nomination the reform element of the party began to work to prevent his election. These men were called "Mugwumps" — an Indian word meaning "big chief" — because they affected superiority to the rest of the party. The Mugwumps had the support of several influential Republican and independent newspapers and of many of the leading editors, clergymen, and educators of the country. They invited the Democrats to nominate an honest, independent candidate for whom public-spirited citizens could conscientiously vote.

489. Grover Cleveland. The Democrats responded to this invitation by nominating Grover Cleveland, governor of New

York. Cleveland was the son of a poor Presbyterian minister. He had grown up in western New York, supporting himself as best he could by tending a country store, teaching in an asylum for the blind, and acting as clerk in a lawyer's office in Buffalo. Here he studied law, was admitted to the bar, and, entering local politics, served as assistant district attorney, then as sheriff of Erie County, and in 1881, in his forty-fifth year, was elected mayor of Buffalo on an independent ticket. His administration of the office was so honest, able, and courageous that it brought him the Democratic nomination for the governorship of New York the next year. He carried the state by the unprecedented plurality of 192,000 votes. In the governor's chair he showed the same devotion to measures promoting the public welfare and the same fearless opposition to machine politics which had won him the name of the "veto mayor" of Buffalo. By nature and training Cleveland was the direct antithesis of his rival for the presidential election. Blaine was brilliant, genial, and daring; Cleveland was deliberate, patient, plodding, but firm as a rock when he had once reached his decision.

GROVER CLEVELAND

JAMES G. BLAINE

490. The Campaign of 1884. The campaign was perhaps the most bitter and disgraceful of all our history, conducted, as the *Nation* remarked, "in a spirit worthy of the stairways of a tenement house." Being unable to revive the issues of the Civil War for a generation of voters who had grown up since the surrender at Appomattox, and having no ground for criticism of Cleveland's public record in the state of New York, the Republican campaign orators attacked the private life of the Democratic candidate, ransacking every page of it for occasion of slander or traces of scandal. The Democrats replied in kind by reviving the story of Blaine's railroad bonds and the Mulligan letters.[1] The vote throughout the country (except in the "solid South") was very close, Cleveland receiving 4,874,986 votes to 4,851,981 for Blaine. The result turned on the state of New York, which Cleveland carried by the slim margin of 1149 votes out of a total of more than a million.[2]

491. The Party Revolution of 1884. Cleveland's election was the first Democratic victory since the campaign of 1856. For the quarter of a century since the Confederate mortars had opened their fire on Fort Sumter the Republicans had held control of the executive branch of our government, with the thousands of offices in its patronage. This long tenure of power was the reward the country paid the Republican party for its services in preserving the Union and abolishing slavery. These services were great; but the party had fallen under the domination of Stalwart leaders, who sneered at civil-service reform, opposed reconciliation with the South, reluctantly reduced the tariff 3 per cent (by an act of 1883) when their own expert commission recommended a reduction of 20 per cent, and hampered and hectored their "reform president," Hayes, at every step. Consequently, in 1884, the Republicans were deposed from their long tenure of power by the votes of the reformers in their own party, to whose entreaties and remonstrances they had turned a deaf ear for more than a decade.

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[1] These were letters which Blaine had written a decade earlier, when a member of Congress, to Warren Fisher of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad, expressing gratitude for being allowed to share in certain enterprises in his "present state of crippled finances," and promising not to be a "deadhead" in the business. Blaine thought these letters so damaging to his chances of nomination in 1876 that he borrowed them from Fisher's bookkeeper, Mulligan, and refused to return them — though in a very dramatic scene he read them (or such parts of them as he chose) to the House, "inviting the confidence of 44,000,000 of his fellow citizens" in his integrity.

[2] Blaine probably lost the state, and therewith the election, on account of a remark made by the Reverend Dr. Burchard of New York at a reception to the candidate at the Fifth Avenue Hotel. Dr. Burchard referred to the Democratic party as the party of "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion." Blaine failed to reprove Burchard for this insult to the Catholic Church and the Democratic party. The phrase was taken up by the Democratic press all over the land, and it doubtless cost Blaine many thousands of votes.

A People's President

492. Cleveland's Idea of the Presidency. In a book called "Presidential Problems," written some years after his retirement from public life, Cleveland spoke of the presidency as "preeminently the people's office." His administration of that office during the two terms 1885–1889 and 1893–1897 proved the sincerity of his remark, for he acted always as the head of the nation, even when such action threatened to cost him the leadership of his party. His motto was "A public office is a public trust," and in his inaugural address he declared that "every patriotic citizen on the farm, in the workshop, in the marts of trade, ought to share with him the oath to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States." His path was not an easy one, for he was confronted with a hostile Republican majority in the Senate during his whole term. Moreover, his own party, deprived of the executive control of the government ever since the Civil War, was hungry for the patronage and wanted every Republican officeholder turned out to make place for a Democrat. Cleveland believed that the people should be relieved of undue taxation, but his attempt to reduce the tariff was frustrated by the big manufacturing interests, Democratic and Republican alike. He thought it time for the animosity of the Civil War to be laid aside, but when he divided the chief foreign missions and consulships equally between the North and the South and appointed two cabinet officers from the states of the secession[1] he was assailed for intrusting the high offices of government to "ex-Confederate brigadier generals." The Republicans had for twenty years been telling the country that a Democratic administration could be neither efficient nor loyal, and now they made the election of Cleveland the occasion for the same prophecies of national disaster which the Federalists had spread abroad on the election of Thomas Jefferson in 1801. John Sherman even called the Democratic party "the left wing of the new Confederate army."

493. The Civil Service. Cleveland had pledged himself in a letter to George W. Curtis, president of the National Civil Service Reform League, to enforce the Pendleton Act [**487**] "in good faith" and make no removals from the classified list except for "offensive partisanship." But only about 7 per cent of the offices were as yet classified under the Pendleton Act, and Henry Watterson, a Louisville editor, expressed the view of the great majority of the Democrats when he wrote that every official out of sympathy with the party was "offensive." The President showed his sincerity in reform by adding twelve thousand railroad post-office employees to the classified list and trying to curb the zeal of the higher officials for making removals in their departments. Civil-service reformers like Curtis and Roosevelt allowed that he did all he could for reform without actually disrupting his party; but in the end, equally embarrassed by the clamors of the spoilsmen and the criticisms of the reformers and absorbed in public questions which seemed to him of more importance, Cleveland abated his zeal for civil-service reform. Before the close of December, 1885, there had been 643 removals, and eventually all of the 85 internal-revenue collectors, 100 out of the 110 collectors of customs, and 4 out of every 5 of the land officers and the fourth-class postmasters were replaced.

494. The Pension Vetoes. It was in limiting the expenditures of public money to legitimate purposes and in keeping taxation down to the point necessary for such expenditures alone that Cleveland saw the chief test of his stewardship of the interests of the American people. The pensions paid to the veterans of the Civil War had increased from $15,000,000 in 1866 to $56,000,000 in 1885. In the latter year there were nearly 350,000 names on the pension rolls. In so far as these names represented soldiers or sailors actually wounded or disabled in the war, or their dependents, the expenditure was just and was, as Cleveland said, "cheerfully approved by the people." He himself signed more pension bills than any of his predecessors. But there was an immense amount of fraud in the system. Pension agents, or brokers, were abroad in the land soliciting (for a fee) soldiers and their families to make claims on the government for which there was no justification at all — claims for pensions, for diseases of all sorts contracted since the war, for the families of ex-soldiers who had been killed or maimed by accidents like falling into a cellar or being thrown out of a buggy. One man had been killed by a snowslide in Colorado in 1884; another had been shot by a neighbor who was aiming at an owl. Over 700 pension bills were passed in Cleveland's administration, and he insisted on examining each one before he gave his approval. He vetoed 233 of them, writing indignantly at the end of one of his messages, "I believe that if the veterans of the war knew all that is going on in the way of granting pensions by private bills they would be more disgusted than any class of our citizens." He was unmercifully criticized by the Republican press for "insulting" the veterans of the Civil War; and when he vetoed the Dependent Pension bill of 1887, which granted $12 a month to every soldier and sailor who had served three months, regardless of whether he had received any injury or even participated in a battle, if he was now "disabled and dependent upon his own labor for support," the abuse heaped on him by certain officials of the Grand Army of the Republic was so bitter that he canceled his engagement to visit their encampment at St. Louis. However, the President's message was convincing; for Congress, which had originally passed the bill by more than a two-thirds majority, failed to repass it over the veto, and the veterans of St. Louis voted (318 to 173) their approval of the veto.[1]

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[1] These were the Secretary of the Interior, L. Q. C. Lamar of Mississippi, who had drawn up that state's ordinance of secession in 1861, and the Attorney-General, A. H. Garland, ex-governor of Arkansas.

495. Labor Unrest. Strikes of laborers for higher wages, shorter hours of toil, and better treatment by their masters have been known to history since the days of ancient Egypt. They had occurred in our own country from the beginning of the government. But never had there been such an epidemic of strikes as broke out in the middle eighties. From 485 in 1884, they increased to 645 in 1885 and 1411 in 1886, involving in the latter year 9861 establishments and about half a million workers. This sudden labor unrest was due partly to a return of hard times soon after 1880, partly to organizations of labor, first in the Knights of Labor, then in the better-organized American Federation of Labor, and partly to the challenge and opportunity given to labor agitators by the existence of the two great bodies of organized capital and organized labor, facing each other in hostile jealousy. A sinister element in the situation was the presence of European agitators with programs of social revolution and anarchy strange to American ideals of law-abiding democracy. We had welcomed the foreigner to our shores without restriction for nearly a century, and the immigrants had been easily assimilated with our farming and industrial population. But now there were beginning to come men seeking not the improvement of their own fortunes here but the destruction of the fortunes of others. In 1883 the tide of postwar immigration, which had been interrupted by the hard times following the panic of 1873, reached its flood, bringing in 778,992 immigrants — a record figure for a decade. In the same year the social revolutionists and anarchists of Chicago formed the International Working People's Association, the precursor of the present Industrial Workers of the World (the "I. W. W."). Their membership was largely recruited from the nations of continental Europe, and but one of the eight anarchist newspapers in Chicago was published in the English language. The most serious of the strikes in 1886 culminated in a deed of horror. An open-air meeting in Haymarket Square, Chicago, called by the anarchists to protest against the forcible repression of the strike in the McCormick Reaper works and to demand an eight-hour day, was ordered by the police to disperse. When the police charged, a dynamite bomb was thrown into the midst of the squad, killing seven men and wounding sixty more. The ringleaders of the anarchists were arrested and the next year four of them were hanged.

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[1] Cleveland's unpopularity with the G. A. R. was increased by his "rebel-flag order," instructing the Adjutant General to return to their respective states a number of flags that had been captured from the Confederate armies and were lying in the attic of the War Office building at Washington. Cleveland revoked the order when he realized that it was the business of Congress to dispose of the flags. Twenty-two years later a Republican Congress ordered the return of the flags by a unanimous vote, and President Roosevelt signed the order with the approval of the whole country.

496. The Government and Labor. President Cleveland was greatly concerned over these labor troubles. In the spring of 1886 he sent a special message to Congress on the subject, in which he spoke of the dignity of labor and the necessity for the government to protect the interests of both labor and capital. The House had already appointed a standing committee on labor and had created (1884) a national Bureau of Labor in the Department of the Interior for collecting statistics on the condition of wage earners. Cleveland now recommended the creation of a national commission of labor, to consist of three persons who should have power to hear and to settle controversies between capital and labor. However, it was to be many years before the national government was ready to interfere in labor troubles except to quell rioting when it had passed beyond the point where it could be dealt with by local authority. Congress failed to adopt Cleveland's recommendation, but several of the states (Massachusetts, New York, Iowa, Kansas) passed laws in 1886 and 1887 creating boards for the settlement of labor disputes by arbitration.

497. The Railroad Problem. The most serious trouble was with the railroads. We have already seen in the Granger movement the hostility of the Western farmers to the railroads in the early seventies [**469**]. As the great wheat and corn fields, the ranches, and the mines west of the Mississippi were developed, and the cities of the Middle West grew into busy manufacturing and distributing centers, the problem of freight transportation became of increasing importance. The railways, except for some slight competition on the Great Lakes and the Mississippi, had a monopoly of this transportation and could regulate their rates at their own good pleasure. During the years 1879–1884 the railroad mileage increased four times as fast as the population of the United States. The railroads had undoubtedly rendered a great service in developing the vacant tracts of the West, but they were guilty of grave offenses, such as putting up freight charges to make dividends on "watered stock" (overcapitalization), influencing legislatures to show them favors in taxation,[1] and discriminating in their rates to the advantage of certain localities or shippers.[2] The Granger Laws had sought to remedy these abuses. But when the Supreme Court in the case of the Wabash Railroad *vs.* the State of Illinois ruled, in 1886, that no state law could apply to commerce carried on between two or more states, the Granger Laws became utterly ineffective; for no railroad of any importance had its traffic confined to a single state.

498. The Interstate Commerce Act. It was up to Congress, then, to deal with the railroads, if they were to be dealt with at all. Senator S. M. Cullom of Illinois, who for more than a decade had been working in his state, as a member of the legislature and as governor, in the cause of the farmers and shippers, was made chairman of the Senate Committee, in 1885, for the investigation of the interstate railroads. After an immense amount of investigation, the committee reported in favor of the creation of a national Interstate Commerce Commission to regulate the railroads; and after a great battle between the representatives of the "interests" and the public, the bill creating the commission was passed early in 1887 and signed by President Cleveland.

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[1] For example, the railroads of Iowa were estimated at one fourth of the wealth of the state in 1885, but they paid only one twentieth of the taxes.

[2] See, for example, the case of the Standard Oil Company [471]. On a "long haul" between through points like New York and Chicago, where there was competition with other lines, a railroad would lower its rates to get the business and would make up by charging higher rates on a "short haul" between points where it had no competition.

The Interstate Commerce (or the Cullom) Act contained twenty-four sections, the most important of which provided (1) that special rates, rebates, and drawbacks should henceforth cease; (2) that there should be no discrimination between persons, places, and commodities; (3) that more should not be charged for a short haul than for a long haul over the same line in the same direction; (4) that pooling[1] should be made illegal; (5) that schedules and rates must be open to public inspection; (6) that violators of the law should be subject to a fine up to $5000 for each offense; (7) that a commission of five appointed by the President should have power to supervise the interstate railroads, receiving complaints from shippers, conducting hearings, compelling the production of papers, invoking the aid of federal courts for punishing offenders, requiring annual reports from carriers, and prescribing a uniform system of railroad accounting. The act was of great importance, for it taught the people that our government could and would exert its power in the sphere of private industries, and it created a precedent for the government regulation of other corporations, making the more effective legislation that followed in the twentieth century seem like the natural extension of a policy already firmly established.

499. Nonpartisan Legislation. The lack of harmony in Congress prevented the carrying out of any party program in Cleveland's administration. Indeed, almost all the successful bills originated in the Republican Senate. For example, a Presidential Succession Act was passed in 1886, providing that in the case of death or disability of both president and vice president the succession should go to the officers of the cabinet in order of the creation of their departments[2] (State, Treasury, War, etc.). An Electoral Count Act of February 3, 1887, made the repetition of the crisis of 1877 [**462**] impossible by providing that if more than one set of electoral returns were sent in, the set which had the seal of the governor of the state should be accepted. The same year the Dawes Act conferred land and citizenship on the Indians who renounced their tribal allegiance. Cleveland was the first president since the Civil War to take a lively interest in the protection of our national domain. He rescued over eighty million acres of the public lands from "illegal usurpations, improvident grants, and fraudulent entries and claims, to be taken for the homesteads of honest industry." The day of the belief in the limitless abundance of Western land which could be lavished on the railroads or left open to the herds of cattle moving northward from Texas on the "long drive" was over. The census of the year following Cleveland's departure from office announced that the American frontier had ceased to exist.

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[1] By "pooling" is meant dividing the traffic by amicable agreement among the various roads which would naturally compete for it. The total profits are then put into a common treasury and divided according to the business assigned to each road. It is a device to kill competition between the roads.

[2] Under the old law of 1792 the succession went to the president *pro tempore* of the Senate and after him to the Speaker of the House, who might both be of the opposite party to the president. Vice President Hendricks had died in November, 1885, and the prominent Republican president *pro tempore* of the Senate, John Sherman, would have succeeded to the presidency in case of Cleveland's death or disability.

500. The Problem of the Surplus. What President Cleveland wanted above all else was reform in the revenue system "to relieve the people of unnecessary taxation . . . and prevent the accumulation of a surplus in the Treasury to tempt to extravagant waste." The unexampled prosperity of our country after the recovery from the panic of 1873 had created so much wealth at home and stimulated such a volume of foreign trade that the tariff duties which had been essentially unchanged since the Civil War brought into the Treasury every year far more than enough money to run the government. The surplus was piling up at the rate of a hundred million dollars a year, and the retention of a single year's surplus in the Treasury meant that from 10 to 15 per cent of the circulating medium of the country was lying idle. Of course the surplus could be spent by the appropriation of large sums for the improvement of rivers and harbors, for coast defenses and a new navy, for education in the South, or for increased pensions to veterans of the Civil War. Or the surplus might be used to reduce the national debt of over a billion dollars. But anything like the old "American system" of Henry Clay and the Whigs, which advocated the spending of public money for bounties of any sort, was opposed to the principles of the Democratic party. The people should support the government, said Cleveland, but the government should not support the people. To pay off the debt would mean to retire the national bonds, which were the basis of the currency needed for the expanding volume of the country's business [**427**]. There remained, then, the way of reducing the surplus by lowering the duties which brought the excessive sums into the Treasury, and to this end Cleveland devoted the chief energies of his administration.

501. The Fight for Tariff Reform. Cleveland began his attack on the protective tariff in his first message to Congress (December, 1885), but the House refused by a vote of 157 to 140 to consider any bill for revision. In December, 1886, the President returned to the attack, pointing to a surplus of $93,956,588 for the fiscal year and calling the protective tariff a "ruthless extortion of the people's money." The next year he so far departed from precedent as to devote his *entire* annual message to the tariff situation. He declared that it was not a question of free trade or protection. "It is a condition which confronts us, and not a theory," he wrote. He insisted that the people were being overtaxed by a tariff that was "vicious, illegal, and inequitable." Against the manufacturers' plea that a high tariff made high wages possible, Cleveland contended that it was much more to the point that a high tariff made high prices possible. He showed that of the 17,392,099 of our workers who were engaged in industries of all kinds, according to the census of 1880, only 2,623,089 were employed in protected industries. The other 85 per cent of the workers were obliged to share with the rest of our population the burden of artificial taxes on almost every necessity of life without any compensation in the shape of increased wages.

502. The Defeat of the Mills Bill. In June and again in December, 1886, Cleveland tried in vain to get the House to frame a bill for tariff reform. But the high-tariff Democrats combined with the Republicans to sidetrack every suggestion for the enlargement of the free list or the reduction of duties. It was not until the session of 1887–1888 that Cleveland succeeded in getting the House to consider a moderate bill introduced by Roger Q. Mills of Texas, chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, reducing the tariff rates by some 6 or 7 per cent. The bill put wool, salt, hemp, flax, and tin plate on a free list and aimed to reduce the internal-revenue taxes by about $25,000,000 and the tariff duties by $50,000,000. It was warmly debated in the House until the middle of July, 1888, and then passed by a majority of only thirteen. The Republican Senate took no notice of the Mills bill, and the tariff rates remained unchanged.

503. The Campaign of 1888. The reason why the Senate ignored the Mills bill is plain. The national nominating conventions had been held while the bill was still being debated in the House, and the Republicans had adopted a platform declaring, "We favor the entire repeal of the internal-revenue taxes rather than the surrender of any part of the protective system." Blaine, who was absent in Europe, might easily have had the Republican nomination at Chicago, for his popularity with the party had been greatly enhanced by his spirited attacks on Cleveland's tariff policy. But Blaine declined the honor, and the convention at his suggestion[1] selected from the dozen "favorite sons" who were seeking the nomination General Benjamin Harrison, United States senator from Indiana, an able lawyer and honored veteran of the Civil War, a grandson of the old Whig president, William Henry Harrison. Cleveland was renominated by acclamation by the Democratic convention at St. Louis. The campaign, waged on the tariff issue, was happily free from the disgusting personal abuse which had marked the contest of 1884. New York was again the pivotal state, and there the defection of the large manufacturers from Cleveland on the tariff issue was sufficient to cause his defeat. The state went Republican by 12,000 in a total of 1,300,000 votes, giving Harrison the presidency. Cleveland's popular vote throughout the country, however, exceeded Harrison's by over 100,000 — more than double the popular plurality of any successful presidential candidate since 1872. Grover Cleveland returned to private life with this splendid indorsement of his policies by his fellow citizens.

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[1] After the fifth ballot had been cast a cable message was sent by the convention leaders to Blaine, who was visiting Andrew Carnegie at his country seat, Skibo Castle, in Scotland, asking him to change his mind and accept the nomination. The answer came: "Too late. Blaine immovable. Take Harrison and Phelps." The convention took Harrison and Morton.

A Billion-Dollar Country

504. The New Administration. Benjamin Harrison was not a leader. Gifted as a lawyer and administrator, he completely lacked the magnetic appeal which was so conspicuous in presidents like Jackson, Lincoln, and Roosevelt, to make men work with him and for him. His frigid dignity in official intercourse was never relaxed by sympathy or relieved by humor. It was said that he could address an audience of ten thousand in a speech and make them all his friends, but that if he met each of the ten thousand in private he would make them all his enemies. Moreover, he regarded the presidency literally as the office of the "chief executive"; that is, of the man whose duty it was to carry out the acts of the legislature. He heeded the advice of John Sherman just after the election: "The President should touch elbows with Congress — he should have no policy distinct from that of his party, and this is better represented in Congress than in the Executive." Therefore, the history of the Harrison administration can be written with hardly more than an occasional reference to the name of the President. The brilliant, aggressive Blaine, who had made Harrison the nominee and had in return received the first place in the cabinet, overshadowed his chief in the White House. Masterful men in Congress, like Speaker T. B. Reed and William McKinley in the House, and Sherman, Evarts, Hoar, and Quay in the Senate, shaped the policy of the administration.

505. "Czar" Reed. In 1889, for the first time in fifteen years, the administration had a majority in both Houses of Congress. This meant that the deadlock in the legislature, which had yielded but two laws of first-rate importance (the Civil Service Act of 1883 and the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887) in a decade, was broken. The Congressional session of 1889–1891 showed a remarkable record of legislation. This would not have been possible, however, except for the new rules adopted by the House through the insistence of Speaker Reed. The Republican majority in the House was slim, and without the presence of the Democrats it was impossible to get a quorum. It had always been the custom to regard members who did not answer to the roll call as not present. Now, when the Democrats refused to answer, Reed counted them present just the same as if they were in their seats. He counted even members in the lobbies, the coat-room, or the barber shop of the House. The business of Congress must go on. "Of what use was an election," he said, "if, after all, nothing could be done without the sanction of the beaten party." The Democrats raged and stormed, even rushing up to the Speaker's desk to shake their fists in his face and hurl at him the epithets of "Czar" and "Tyrant." But the large, good-natured man calmly met the situation with sallies of sarcastic wit and continued to conduct business. The House supported him by adopting the Reed rules (February, 1890), which gave the Speaker the right to count all members actually present to make the quorum and to refuse to entertain motions made with the obvious purpose of obstructing the work of legislation. When the Democrats regained control of the House they paid Reed the compliment of adopting the rules against which they had protested so vigorously. And neither party has since thought of returning to the old system of obstruction and confusion, which, as Reed said, made the House of Representatives "the most unwieldy parliamentary body in the world," where "three resolute men could stop all public business."

506. The Republican Reaction. Although the election of 1888 gave the Republicans only a narrow majority in Congress and actually registered a popular triumph for Cleveland, the Republicans proceeded to reverse the entire policy of the Cleveland administration, advocating large expenditures in the place of public economy, increase in tariff rates rather than reduction, a bold, aggressive foreign policy instead of the cautious diplomacy carried on by Cleveland's Secretary of State. Acting on the remark of General Grant's son that "a surplus is easier to handle than a deficit," Congress immediately began to reduce the surplus by generous appropriations, expending large sums on coast defenses, lighthouses, harbors, and federal buildings. It repaid the state treasuries some $15,000,000 of the direct taxes levied at the beginning of the Civil War. During the campaign, Harrison, referring to Cleveland's careful study of all applications for pensions, had remarked that it was "no time to be weighing the claims of the old soldiers with an apothecary's scales." Congress now proceeded to grant pensions, sometimes without weighing the claims at all. The Dependent Pension bill, which Cleveland had vetoed [**494**], was revived, and as a result the number of applications for pensions rose from 36,000 in 1889 to 363,000 in 1891. During the four years of Harrison's administration the pension roll was doubled, and the appropriations increased from $81,000,000 to $135,000,000 annually — a sum greater than the cost of the army and navy of the United States in any year of peace during the nineteenth century.

507. The New Navy. If there was some carelessness in expenditures, it is also true that there was wise and patriotic forethought in the Republican program, especially in the building of a navy. We were rapidly growing to be a power of the first magnitude, and our government recognized that it must keep abreast of the development of the country. The beginnings of our navy had been laid by an act of Arthur's administration (1883), which provided for the construction of the armored cruisers *Chicago*, *Boston*, and *Atlanta* — the first vessels of the White Squadron. More than twenty vessels of various sorts had been authorized under Cleveland's energetic Secretary of the Navy, William C. Whitney, including the battleships *Texas* and *Maine* and the cruiser *Baltimore*, and contracts had been made with the Bethlehem Steel Company for the manufacture of armor plates. Still, we had only three steel vessels in commission at the end of Cleveland's administration. "It is questionable," wrote Whitney, "whether we have a single naval vessel finished and afloat at the present that could encounter the ships of any important power." We were practically without coast defenses.

The new Secretary of the Navy, Benjamin Tracy of New York, pushed the work. Nine ironclads were put into commission before the close of 1890 and ten more before the end of Harrison's term. The first-class battleship *Oregon* was authorized in June, 1890, followed by the *Massachusetts*, the *Indiana*, and the *Iowa*. Appropriations for the navy reached $30,000,000 under Harrison, and our country advanced from twelfth to fifth place in the navies of the world.

508. Our Billion-Dollar Country. Altogether the appropriations of Harrison's first Congress reached the $1,000,000,000 mark. When the Democrats cried out against this "raid on the Treasury," Speaker Reed quietly replied that it was a "billion-dollar country." The eleventh census (1890), compiled in twenty-five volumes, revealed the astonishing prosperity of the United States at the end of the first century of its existence under the Constitution. Our population was 62,500,000 and our wealth $65,000,000,000. The products of the mills and factories had increased from $5,300,000,000 to $9,300,000,000 in the decade, the urban population from 11,300,000 to 18,200,000, and the number of wage earners from 2,700,000 to 4,300,000. The most important feature of our industrial growth was the concentration of capital in the hands of fewer and fewer establishments. The number of leather factories, for example, decreased by about 70 per cent in the decade, yet the products of leather increased over 500 per cent. Only 910 plants were manufacturing agricultural machinery in 1890 as against 1043 plants in 1880, but the capital and value of the products in the industry more than doubled in the interval. The protest against monopoly in the control of industry and trade grew stronger every year. In 1880 Henry George attacked the monopoly of land in his book, called "Progress and Poverty," and the next year Henry D. Lloyd's "Story of a Great Monopoly" exposed the methods of the Standard Oil Company. There were two labor parties in the field in the presidential campaign of 1888. Investigations of the methods of the oil, sugar, and beef trusts led to a demand for action by Congress to protect business "against unlawful restraint and monopoly."

509. The Sherman Anti-Trust Act. The Republican party, which profited most by the contributions of big business to its campaign fund, was not particularly eager to "curb the trusts." Blaine declared that business was a purely private affair with which the government should not meddle. It was not until more than a dozen states had passed laws against monopolies that Congress yielded to the increasing popular demand for action. On July 2, 1890, it passed the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, which declared that "every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy or restraint of trade among the several states or with foreign nations" was illegal, and attached a penalty of a fine of $5000 or a year's imprisonment, or both, to the infraction of the law. But the terms "combination," "conspiracy," "restraint," and "trade" were capable of such a variety of interpretation by clever corporation lawyers that the law remained virtually a dead letter. Seven of the first eight prosecutions under it resulted in a victory for the corporations. The trusts grew more rapidly than ever. From the Civil War up to 1890 there had been organized only twenty-four of these great corporations, with a total capital of $436,000,000; but in the ten years following the Sherman act one hundred and fifty-seven new trusts were formed, with a capitalization of over $3,000,000,000.

510. The McKinley Tariff. The Republican platform of 1888 pledged the party to a high protective tariff. In April, 1890, therefore, William McKinley of Ohio, chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, introduced a bill increasing the duties on almost all articles of household consumption,— food, carpets, clothing, tools, coal, wood, tinware, linen, thread. The bill, as McKinley boasted, was "protective in every paragraph and American in every line and word." For the first time farm products as well as manufactures were protected. Articles of necessity which did not compete with American products (tea, coffee, sugar, spices, drugs) were to be admitted free or with nominal duties, and it was expected that the embarrassing surplus would be reduced some $70,000,000 by the abolition of the duty on imported sugar, and the bounty of two cents a pound paid to the producers of sugar in the United States. The bill passed the House by a strict party vote in May, but in the Senate it met with a delay of nearly four months.

511. Dissensions in the Senate. It was not hostility to protection that caused the Senate to hold up the McKinley bill all summer, but rather the demands of other interests for consideration as a price of their support of the bill. Blaine, resuming a policy which he had begun as Secretary of State under Garfield, was working for a closer commercial union between the United States and the countries of Latin America.[1] We had but 8 per cent of the $600,000,000 of foreign trade of these countries, and Blaine was convinced that we could have 80 per cent of it if we adopted the policy of "reciprocity," that is, of admitting their products to the United States without duty in return for a free market for our goods. It was a breach of propriety for a cabinet officer to interfere with Congress, but Blaine worked upon the senators who opposed any relaxation of the protective policy until he finally got his reciprocity clauses incorporated into the bill. Another struggle came with the advocates of free silver. In November, 1889, President Harrison had proclaimed the admission of North and South Dakota, Montana, and Washington into the Union, and the next year Idaho and Wyoming were added. An unbroken tier of states now reached from the Atlantic to the Pacific.[2] The new states were expected to contribute ten senators and five or six representatives to the slim Republican majority in Congress and to add as many electoral votes to the Republican column in the next presidential year, but they brought embarrassment as well as strength to the party. They were mining states, and their new senators insisted that "something must be done for silver" in return for their votes on the tariff. A third cause of dissent and delay came from the Southern senators, who were ready to make an alliance with the Westerners to kill the McKinley bill, unless all further attempts of the Republicans to control elections in the South should cease.

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[1] A Pan-American Congress (already proposed in 1881) met at Washington on Blaine's invitation in October, 1889. It was composed of delegates from nineteen countries of Latin America. The subjects discussed were mutual trade regulations, a uniform standard of weights and measures, a common currency, and a code for the arbitration of quarrels among the Latin republics. A Bureau of the American Republics was founded at Washington to keep us informed of the fortunes of our sister republics to the south.

[2] The government purchased from the Indians the district of Oklahoma ("the beautiful land") in Indian Territory and opened it for settlement at noon, April 22, 1889. A horde of pioneers, who had been waiting anxiously on the borders, swarmed into the coveted territory, and before night several "cities" were staked out. In 1890 the only territories that remained within the limits of the United States were Utah, Oklahoma, Indian Territory, Arizona, and New Mexico. Utah was entitled to statehood by its population, but the existence of the Mormon institution of polygamy prevented its admission until the Mormon Church promised

512. The Sherman Silver Purchase Act. In order to smooth out these dissensions, compromises were necessary. By the Bland-Allison Act of 1878 [**482**] the government had for twelve years been purchasing silver at the rate of $2,000,000 a month, and yet the price of the metal had steadily declined. The silver miners wanted the government to "protect" them (as it protected the manufacturers by the tariff) by taking all the silver that should be brought to the mint. In order to head off "free silver" and win votes for the McKinley bill, Congress made a deal with the silverites. A bill was passed on July 14, 1890, pledging the government to buy 4,500,000 ounces of silver every month (or almost the entire product of the country) at the market price and issue legal-tender Treasury notes to the full amount of the silver purchased. The government stored the silver in its vaults and, as the price kept declining in spite of its large purchases, it saw its accumulating stock of silver constantly shrinking in value.

513. The Federal Election Bill. The Republicans made their recapture of both branches of Congress in 1888 the occasion for the last attempt to enforce the laws passed in Grant's administra-

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to abolish polygamy (1895). Oklahoma and Indian Territory were combined and admitted as the state of Oklahoma in 1907. In 1912 New Mexico and Arizona were admitted to statehood after a long controversy over the proposed union of the territories. With the admission of New Mexico and Arizona we had a solid band of forty-eight states from ocean to ocean. Our only territories now (Alaska, Hawaii, Porto Rico) are rather of the nature of foreign colonies.

tion [**446**] for the maintenance of the party's influence in the South. The Democrats had twenty-four seats in Congress and a corresponding number of votes in the electoral college (based on the six million colored population of the South), which they would have to surrender if the second clause of the Fourteenth Amendment were observed [**442**]. And if the negroes were allowed to vote the Republicans would certainly elect more than thirteen congressmen (1890) in the eleven states of the old Confederacy. How completely the negro had been disfranchised in the South was shown by the fact that in four districts of Mississippi the Republican vote had dwindled from 60,000 in 1872 to 3000 in 1878. "There has been no decrease of the Republican population to account for this change," said McKinley; "no plague or pestilence has swept them from the face of the country, but oppressed, bullied, and terrorized, they stand mute and dumb in the exercise of citizenship, politically paralyzed." On July 2, 1890, a Federal Election bill was passed by a narrow margin in the House, providing that on the petition of five hundred voters in any local district, supervisors appointed from Washington should have the right to inspect and verify the votes cast in the federal elections. The Southerners were aroused to instant protest. They declared that they would allow no interference with the white man's rule. The Southern senators therefore joined the silver senators to block the tariff legislation until the Republicans gave way (August 16) and postponed the Federal Election bill till the next session of Congress — when it was removed entirely from the calendar. Thus ended the futile attempt of twenty years to enforce a policy which ran counter to the convictions of a large section of the country.[1]

514. The Democratic Landslide of 1890. The McKinley bill was finally passed only a few weeks before the mid-term election of 1890, and consequently there was no time to see how it would actually affect prices. But the Democrats had been busy all summer spreading the predictions of distress for the people.

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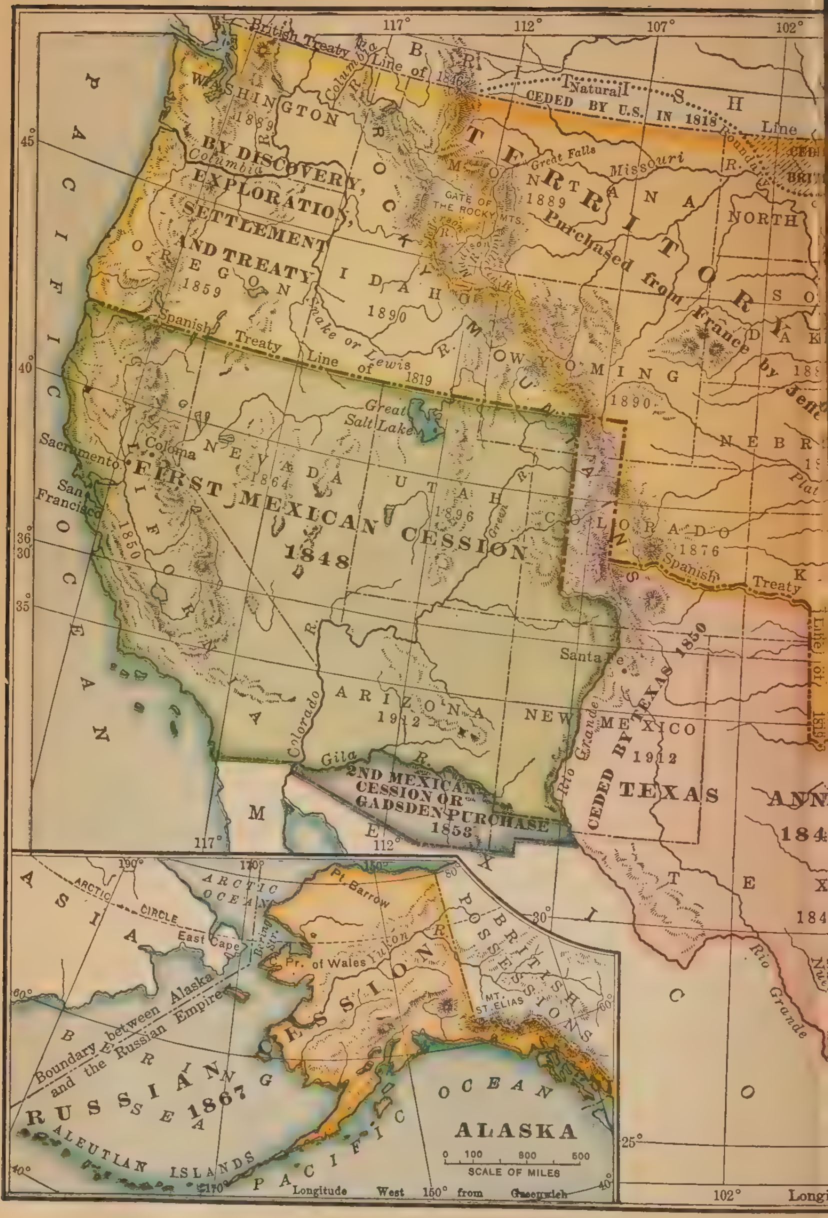
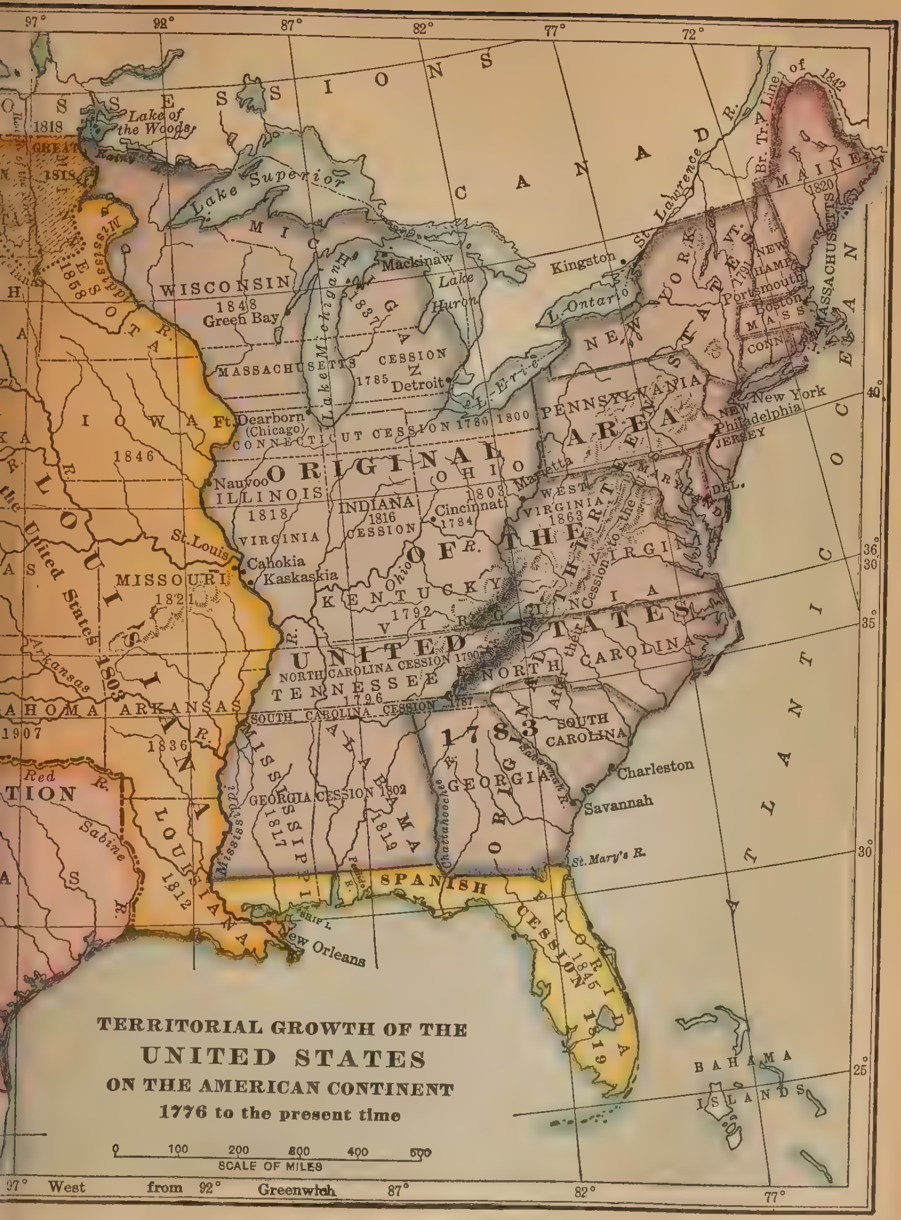
[1] When, in 1897, the Republicans again came into control of all the branches of the government, there was no effort made, in spite of a few voices raised here and there, to enforce the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.


British Treaty Line of 1846
CEDED BY U.S. IN 1818
Natural
Line
WASHINGTON 1889
OREGON 1859
IDAHO 1890
MONTANA 1889
WYOMING 1890
NEVADA 1864
UTAH 1896
CALIFORNIA 1850
COLORADO 1876
ARIZONA 1912
NEW MEXICO 1912
TEXAS
CEDED BY TEXAS 1850
BY DISCOVERY, EXPLORATION, SETTLEMENT AND TREATY
FIRST MEXICAN CESSION 1848
2ND MEXICAN CESSION OR GADSDEN PURCHASE 1853
TERRITORY Purchased from France by Jeff
Spanish Treaty Line of 1819
ROCKY MOUNTAINS
GATE OF THE ROCKY MTS.
Great Falls
Missouri
Columbia
Snake or Lewis R.
Yellowstone R.
Great Salt Lake
Green R.
Colorado R.
Gila R.
Rio Grande
Sacramento
Coloma
San Francisco
Santa Fe
PACIFIC OCEAN
MEXICO
NORTH DAKOTA
NEBRASKA
Platte
ANN
184
117°
112°
107°
102°
45°
40°
36° 30'
35°
30°
25°
Longitude
ASIA
ARCTIC OCEAN
ARCTIC CIRCLE
East Cape
Bering Str.
C. Pr. of Wales
Pt. Barrow
Yukon R.
MT. ST. ELIAS
BRITISH POSSESSIONS
Boundary between Alaska and the Russian Empire
BERING SEA
RUSSIAN CESSION 1867
ALEUTIAN ISLANDS
PACIFIC OCEAN
ALASKA
0 100 300 500
SCALE OF MILES
Longitude West 150° from Greenwich
190°
170°
150°
60°
40°



TERRITORIAL GROWTH OF THE UNITED STATES ON THE AMERICAN CONTINENT 1776 to the present time

Their agents were sent into the country regions to sell pots and pans at exorbitant prices in order to frighten the people into believing that the cost of living was to become prohibitive. The women who did the shopping, said Reed, "heard in every store the clerks behind the counter explain how this article or that would not be sold hereafter at the former price, because of the McKinley bill; then they went home and told their husbands and their stories had a tremendous effect at the ballot boxes." The election of November 6 brought one of those complete reversals of power that are known as landslides. The Democrats returned 235 members to the House and the Republicans but 88. McKinley himself, after seven consecutive terms, was defeated in his Ohio district. For the remaining two years of Harrison's term, nothing in the way of legislation could be accomplished. All interest in these years centers in the foreign policy of the country, where the Republican executive and Senate could act unhampered by the Democratic House.

515. The Samoan Islands. Diplomatic quarrels with Germany, Great Britain, and Chile brought us at times to the verge of war during Harrison's administration. The Samoan Islands in the Pacific Ocean (see map opposite page 604) had been occupied since 1880 on a "tripartite" agreement made by Great Britain, Germany, and the United States. Prince Bismarck, the German chancellor, suddenly ordered the German consul in Samoa to oust the British and the Americans. The consul raised the German flag over Apia, the chief town of the islands, set a pretender on the throne, and prepared to shell the villages which resisted him. When the rightful king appealed to America for help, German sailors trampled the American flag in the streets of Apia. American warships were hurried to the islands, and the decks were cleared for action, when a terrific typhoon struck the harbor (March 16, 1889), capsizing the American and German ships or dashing them on the coral reefs. A conference followed at Berlin the next month, in which the chancellor, after considerable blustering, recognized the rightful king and the full privileges of England and the United States in the islands. It was the first conspicuous participation of our country in "world politics," and it was also a spur to the construction of an adequate navy [**507**].

516. The Seal Fisheries in Bering Sea. Blaine had inherited from the Cleveland administration a dispute with Great Britain over the seal fisheries in Bering Sea (see map opposite page 470). He contended that Bering Sea, which is almost entirely inclosed by Alaska and the Aleutian Islands, was a *mare clausum* ("closed sea"), appertaining entirely to Alaska, and hence within the sole jurisdiction of the United States. The British claimed that it was the "high sea" and that our jurisdiction extended only to the ordinary three-mile limit from shore. Under executive orders our revenue cutters seized eight British sealing vessels during the summer of 1889, all outside the three-mile limit, and Blaine addressed the British premier, Lord Salisbury, in language which drew in reply a virtual threat of war (June, 1890). On sober reflection our government receded from its dictatorial position and agreed to submit the whole matter to arbitration. The tribunal, which met at Paris in 1893, decided every point against us. Bering Sea was declared open, and we were forced to pay damages of $473,000 for the seizure of the British vessels.

517. Quarrels with Italy and Chile. In the spring of 1891 the Italian government demanded that our State Department investigate the lynching of eleven Italians by a mob in New Orleans and bring to punishment the guilty men. Not satisfied with Blaine's explanation that our federal government has no jurisdiction over crimes committed in the states and that the state courts are open to foreigners residing in our country, the Italian government withdrew its minister from Washington, and there were rumors that a squadron of Italian warships was on its way to New Orleans. But when Harrison expressed his regret for the lynching and our friendship for the Italian government and people, the matter was amicably adjusted. King Humbert accepted a "gift" of $25,000 voted by Congress for the families of the murdered men. The trouble in Chile was caused by the partiality of our minister, Patrick Egan, for the dictator Balmaceda, whom a successful revolution of the Congressional party had overthrown. It looked like war with Chile when, in the autumn of 1891, American sailors from the cruiser *Baltimore* were attacked in the streets of Valparaiso and two men were killed and eighteen wounded. Blaine demanded an apology for the insult and an indemnity for the killed and wounded, but the Chilean government refused to discuss the matter and the Chilean foreign minister, Señor Matta, publicly characterized President Harrison's account of it to Congress as "erroneous or deliberately inexact." An ultimatum was sent to Chile on January 21, 1892, and a squadron of eight cruisers was made ready for action in the Pacific. However, the firm attitude of our government, coupled with patience and consideration in the negotiations, finally brought Chile to offer the apologies which closed the incident.

518. The Resignation and Death of Blaine. Blaine's popularity was enhanced by his vigorous administration of the Department of State. The man in the street was delighted when he used sharp language to Lord Salisbury, declared that the extent of the German chancellor's irritability was no measure of American rights, and replied to the Italian ambassador, "I do not recognize the right of any government to tell the United States what it shall do." As early as the summer of 1890 there was talk of Blaine's nomination for the presidency in 1892. He gave no support to the movement himself and even declared early in 1892 that he was not a candidate. However, three days before the Republican convention met at Minneapolis (June 4, 1892) Blaine suddenly resigned his cabinet position in a curt note. His motives have never been fully known. Illness, tedium of the cares of office, lack of sympathy with his chief, an eleventh-hour desire for nomination for the presidency, have all been advanced as the causes for his resignation. At any rate, he received only 182 votes in the convention to 535 for Harrison and retired, much broken in health, to his Maine home. He died the following January. Blaine's character is one of the hardest to estimate in all our history. He was brilliant, able, genial, and brave. The American people loved and admired him, but they did not quite trust him. There were incidents in his career which called for "explanation," like the Mulligan letters [**490**, note 1]. He could be mercilessly clear in his exposure of other men; but in his revelation of self there was always a suggestion of fog. On the whole, he was our most prominent political leader between Lincoln and Roosevelt.

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1. **For and against a Third Term for Grant:** SPARKS, pp. 165–172; EDWARD STANWOOD, *History of the Presidency*, pp. 368–409, and *James Gillespie Blaine*, pp. 225–231; T. C. SMITH, *The Life and Letters of James Abram Garfield*, Vol. II, pp. 947–948, 953–984; A. BADEAU, *Grant in Peace*, pp. 319 f.; RHODES, pp. 109–127; series of articles for and against a third term in the *North American Review*, Vol. CXXX, pp. 116, 197, 224, 370.

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3. **The Exclusion of Chinese Immigrants:** SPARKS, pp. 229–250; RHODES, pp. 180–196; MARY R. COOLIDGE, *Chinese Immigration*; G. E. MCNEILL, *The Labor Movement*, pp. 429–453; LUCILE EAVES, *California Labor Legislation*, chaps. iii–vi; MACDONALD, No. 190.

4. **The Interstate Commerce Act:** Dewey, pp. 91–111; S. M. Cullom, *Fifty Years of Public Service*, pp. 305–332; W. Z. Ripley, *Railroads: Rates and Regulations*, pp. 441–486; H. C. Adams, *A Decade of Federal Railway Legislation* (*Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. LXXXI, pp. 433–443); Rhodes, pp. 288–292; MacDonald, No. 180; H. U. Faulkner, *American Economic History*, pp. 465–470; Hart, Vol. IV, No. 165.

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Questions for Review

1. Why was the national government so slow to control business? **2.** What were the doctrines of the Stalwarts? **3.** Why was Hayes opposed by his own party? **4.** What does the phrase "resumption of specie payment" mean? **5.** Why did we stop coining silver dollars in 1873? When did we begin to coin them again? Do we coin them now? **6.** Why did the West want cheap money? **7.** Did Hayes or Cleveland do more for civil-service reform? **8.** Define the terms "Mugwump," "reciprocity," "force bill," "Molly Maguires," "crime of 1873." **9.** Why was Cleveland unpopular with the G. A. R.? **10.** What decision of the Supreme Court made the Granger Laws useless? **11.** What clause of the Constitution gives Congress power to regulate the railroads? **12.** What services have the railroads rendered to the country? **13.** What were the important clauses of the Interstate Commerce Act? **14.** What did Cleveland do for the preservation of the national domain? **15.** Why should not the government have used the surplus in the 80's to pay off its debt? **16.** Why did we exclude Chinese immigrants? **17.** Contrast Cleveland's and Harrison's ideas of how to reduce the surplus in the Treasury. **18.** What was the subject of Henry George's "Progress and Poverty"? **19.** Why did not the Sherman Anti-Trust Act stop the formation of trusts? **20.** Compare the Bland-Allison Act and the Sherman Silver Purchase Act in respect to (*a*) the amount of silver bought by the government, (*b*) what was done with the silver. **21.** What states were added to the Union in Harrison's administration? What states have been added since? How many are there in the Union now? Are there likely to be any more? Why? **22.** When was the last attempt made to enforce the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments? **23.** With what European countries did Secretary Blaine have controversies? **24.** What is your estimate of Blaine, of Reed, of Harrison, of Cleveland?

CHAPTER XIV

THE RISING OF THE WEST

The Populists

519. The Farmer and the Laborer. There have been two large classes in our population that have become increasingly conscious of their interests since the Civil War and have sought in various ways to remedy their grievances against the growing monopoly in production and transportation. The united efforts of these two classes to better their condition began at almost the same moment, when Oliver H. Kelly organized the Patrons of Husbandry in 1867 [**469**] and Uriah S. Stephens founded the Knights of Labor in 1869 [**472**]. Attempts in the seventies and eighties to fuse the farmers and the laborers into a strong political party met with little success. The farmer of the West and the wage earner of the industrialized East did not have enough in common to make them permanent allies. The farmer, being a borrower of capital, wanted a cheap currency (greenbacks or silver), and, being a shipper of crops, wanted cheap transportation and storage rates. The wage earner was especially interested in higher pay and shorter hours, which did not concern the farmer, since he had to hire his own helpers, and his work was necessarily from sunrise to sunset. Again, the unionized laborers wanted immigration restricted in order to keep out the "pauper labor" of Europe, while the farmers welcomed the immigrants as new hands in the field. The disposition of the public lands was of little importance to the wage earner in the factory, but to the farmer it was galling to see thousands of acres of the choicest land lavished upon the railroads or fraudulently appropriated under the Homestead Act to be held for higher prices. "The virgin soil of the West," wrote one of the protesters, "is rapidly ceasing to be the home and possession of the sturdy American freeman. He is but a tenant at will and dependent upon the tender mercies of corporations or absentee landlords." It is not strange, therefore, that the general opposition to monopoly failed to hold the farmer and the laborer together when the specific evils against which each complained were so different.

520. The Farmers' Burden. The growth of agrarian discontent was very rapid in the latter eighties. In the first place, cheap land, increasing immigration, the extension of the railroads, and the constant improvement of agricultural machinery had caused an enormous increase of population and production in the farming states. During the period 1870–1890 the population of Kansas jumped from 364,000 to 1,427,000; of Nebraska, from 123,000 to 1,034,000; of the Dakotas, from 14,000 to 510,000. The exports of wheat and corn rose from 290,000,000 bushels in the decade 1860–1870 to over 990,000,000 in the decade 1870–1880. James Bryce, who made a trip to the West on the newly completed Northern Pacific Railroad in 1883, wrote: "The confidence of these Westerners is superb. Men seem to live in the future rather than in the present. . . . They see the country not merely as it is but as it will be twenty, fifty or a hundred years hence, when the seedlings shall have grown to be forest trees." It was just this confidence that had tempted the farmer to borrow beyond his means and to extend his operations beyond the line of sufficient average rainfall. Exceptionally abundant showers made farming prosperous in western Kansas and Nebraska in the middle eighties, but when a few dry years came the farmers were "starved back." Between 1885 and 1890 the value of the corn crop shrank over $70,000,000 and the farmer was getting so little for his corn that he burned it for fuel. The total amount of mortgages on American farms increased during the decade 1880 to 1890 from $343,000,000 to $586,000,000. The farmer laid his troubles to the "money lords" of Wall Street, who made him pay high interest rates for his loans, and the remedy he proposed was that the government should issue an abundance of paper money directly to the people.

521. The Passing of the Frontier. After all, the fundamental cause of the farmer's plight is to be found in the statement of the census of 1890, that the American frontier had ceased to exist. General Sheridan had written in 1882: "The civilization from the Atlantic is now reaching out toward that rapidly approaching it from the Pacific. The long intervening strip from the British possessions to old Mexico yearly grows narrower. Finally the dividing lines will entirely disappear and the mingling settlements will absorb the remnants of the once powerful Indian nations, who, fifteen years ago, vainly attempted to forbid the destined progress of the age." The general's prophecy was now fulfilled. By 1890 six lines of railroad, the southernmost starting from New Orleans and the northernmost from Minneapolis, crossed the deserts and mountains to the Pacific coast. The mileage had increased from 93,000 in 1880 to 167,000 in 1890. Every part of the country was brought within the reach of the emigrants. The picturesque cowboy gave place to the farmer. The government began to realize that it must conserve its resources in land, like the young spendthrift who awakens to the sobering fact that he is running through his fortune. Frauds in homestead entries and illegal inclosures of land were investigated. Early in 1883 President Arthur signed a law for the removal of fences from the public domain. A few months later President Cleveland began to reclaim millions of acres of land granted to railroads, but never earned by the fulfillment of the terms of the grant. A Department of Agriculture was created in 1889, and the first Secretary of Agriculture, ex-Governor Rusk of Wisconsin, took his seat in the cabinet. A scientific survey of our public domain was made, which became the basis for the splendid conservation policy of President Roosevelt and his successors.

522. Social Effects. Ever since colonial times the constantly westward-moving frontier had exerted a powerful influence on American life. The free virgin lands beyond the tidewater settlements, beyond the Appalachians, and beyond the Mississippi had beckoned the successive generations of pioneers, offering an outlet for the adventurous and the discontented and an opportunity to begin life anew. In spite of the danger from the savages and the toil of clearing the dense forest, Americans had pressed steadily forward into the land of promise toward the setting sun. It was on the frontier that the most distinctive qualities of our social life were developed, — initiative, confidence, inventiveness, self-dependence, freedom from convention, and the sense of democracy. Emerson wrote nearly a century ago: "Europe extends to the Alleghenies; America lies beyond." With the frontier obliterated, the free lands restricted, and the great West filling up with compact communities connected by the thickening mesh of railways, a social transformation was bound to come. The West, though preserving its problems as an agrarian region, tended more and more to become like the East in its social habits. Easy and rapid communication with the older parts of the country brought comforts and luxuries into the homes of the farmers, — the kerosene lamp, the incandescent electric light, sewing machines, pianos, curtains, and rugs. The trolley car (1882) transformed outlying farms into city suburbs. Libraries, high schools, and colleges multiplied. The social inequalities that characterized the civilization of the Eastern states and of Europe began to appear.

523. Immigration. At the same time a change was taking place in the type of immigrant that came to America. Until 1890 about four fifths of our immigrants were from the northern countries of Europe: the British Isles, Germany, and Scandinavia. Their assimilation was not a difficult matter, for they were essentially like the population already here, farmers and artisans with a spirit of individual initiative and a love of free institutions. But from the early eighties on immigration from Italy, Austria-Hungary, Poland, and Russia, which had constituted less than a half of 1 per cent of the total up to the Civil War, began to grow, until by the end of the century it exceeded the immigration from the northern European countries. The newer immigrants, coming from wretched conditions at home, were content to work long hours for low wages, debasing the standards of the American laborer. They were brought over in gangs to work on railroad construction or in the great mills and foundries. One in three among them was unable to read or write as compared with one in thirty of the older type. Many of them cared only to make a few hundred dollars to take them back to their native land, and such immigrants had little desire to understand American ideals or to learn our language. They remained undigested masses of foreigners, crowded into slum districts in the great cities, reading the newspapers printed in their own languages, and creating serious problems of health, housing, schooling, and recreation for the social workers to cope with.

IMMIGRANTS FROM POLAND

524. The Farmers' Alliances. One of the most striking facts of our history between 1870 and 1890 is the great number of organizations formed by the farmers and the wage earners. The names of these organizations are legion, — Farmers' Alliances, Agricultural Wheels, Corn-growers Associations, Mutual Benefit Associations, and the like. But their purpose was one, namely, the fight against monopoly. They fused and split and reformed in various combinations. Some were for remaining clear of politics and depending upon such devices as coöperative buying and marketing or the strike, the boycott, and collective bargaining to accomplish their ends. Others were for entering the political field. Every election from 1872 on saw independent or "third" parties in the field with candidates pledged to essentially the same platform. Even the Prohibition party, which appeared in 1872, included, in addition to its main plank for the suppression of the liquor evil, such agrarian and labor demands as the issue of greenback currency and the eight-hour day. Beginning in Texas in 1875, Farmers' Alliances sprang up rapidly in the West and the South. By 1880 there were nearly a thousand local alliances, and in the same year a National Farmers' Alliance Congress met at Chicago. Three years later they claimed a membership reaching into the millions. "The Farmers are waking up," wrote one enthusiast, "as they have not since the Granger movement." The silver producers joined with the farmers, and the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 with gold became one of the main demands of the Alliance.

525. The Populist Party. During the summer of 1890, while Congress was busy with its political program of the tariff and the trusts, the West was seething with agrarian discontent. "The country school-houses were packed with excited throngs. County, district, and state conventions were attended by great crowds of earnest and indignant farmers. The excitement and enthusiasm were contagious and the Alliance men deserted their former parties by thousands." The passage of the McKinley tariff precipitated the storm. In December a convention representing the alliance met at Ocala, Florida, and suggested a new "People's party." The party was formally launched under that name at a convention of fifteen hundred delegates at Cincinnati, in May, 1891. It invited all progressive organizations to meet in conference early in 1892, to call "a convention of the People's party for the nomination of a president."

526. The Southern Populists. The farmers and cotton growers of the South were in agreement with the Westerners in their complaint against the grip of the money lenders and the monopoly of the railroads. The Southerners, too, felt the pinch of falling prices of their crops. Cotton, which had sold at an average of eleven cents a pound before 1890, dropped in two years to less than eight cents. But the race question in the South complicated the problem. The Westerners could form a new party to draw recruits from Republicans and Democrats alike, but the Southerners had to maintain the integrity of the Democratic party as the white man's party. Therefore they opposed the formation of new political parties and, instead, attempted to get control of the Democratic organization in their states. Moreover, fearing the appeal of the Populist movement to the negroes (for there was a Colored Alliance in the South), the Southerners began to take steps to exclude the blacks from the suffrage without formally violating the Fifteenth Amendment. Beginning with Mississippi in 1890, most of the former slave states revised the electoral clauses of their constitutions within the next twenty years, prescribing residential, educational, and tax requirements that shut out far more negroes than whites.[1] There were radicals enough in the South, like Benjamin Tillman of South Carolina, to bring great strength to the Populist movement, but these men were Democrats first and Populists second. The new party was to be Western, not Southern.

527. The Omaha Platform. The national convention of the Populist party met at Omaha, Nebraska, on July 2, 1892. It celebrated the Fourth by adopting a platform which condemned the old parties in terms of bitterest denunciation. It said: "We meet in midst of a nation brought to the very verge of moral, political, and material ruin. Corruption dominates the ballot box, the legislature, the Congress, and touches even the ermine of the bench. . . . The newspapers are largely subsidized or muzzled; public opinion silenced; business prostrated; our homes covered with mortgages; labor impoverished; and the land concentrated in the hands of capitalists. . . . The fruits of the toil of millions are boldly stolen to build up colossal fortunes for a few, unprecedented in the history of mankind. . . . We have witnessed for more than a quarter of a century the struggles of the two great political parties for power and plunder. . . . Neither do they now promise us any substantial reform . . . they propose to sacrifice our homes, lives, and children on the altar of mammon." After this terrible indictment the platform formulated the demands of the party: the free coinage of silver, the abolition of the national banks, a graduated income tax, a government ownership of railroads, steamship lines, telegraph and telephone service, and the election of United States senators by popular vote. James B. Weaver of Iowa, the candidate of the Greenback-Labor party in 1880, was nominated for the presidency.

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[1] The famous "grandfather clause" of the Louisiana constitution of 1898 exempted from the new requirements all persons who had voted in the state before 1867 or were descended from such voters. In other words, it reënfranchised the poor and illiterate whites. It was not until 1915 that the Supreme Court disallowed this clever annulment of the Fifteenth Amendment by declaring the grandfather clause in the Oklahoma constitution to be unconstitutional.

528. The Campaign of 1892. Meantime the Republicans and Democrats had held their conventions. The former renominated Harrison with little show of enthusiasm, in spite of an attempt made to stampede the convention to Blaine [**518**]. The Democrats named Cleveland for the third successive time. Cleveland had made foes among the machine politicians of the East by his independent course and had alienated the managers of the party in the West by his fearless condemnation of free silver in 1891. His enemies in New York tried their best to discredit him, and Governor Hill in a "snap convention" at Albany, in February, 1892, got the delegates of the state pledged to his own candidacy. But Cleveland was the strongest man in the party and, though he made no effort to secure the nomination, he received 617 votes on the first ballot to 114 for his nearest rival, Hill. Both the old parties treated the Populists with ridicule as "prairie financiers," "calamity howlers," and "political rain-makers." But as the campaign progressed they began to worry. A strike in the Carnegie Steel works at Homestead, Pennsylvania, in the summer of 1892, attended with violence and bloodshed, seriously damaged the cause of the Republicans, who were preaching the security and prosperity of the laboring man under the McKinley tariff. The Democrats swept the country in the election in November, retaining their ~~control of the House by a margin of~~ 121 and winning the Senate, which they had held but once (1879–1881) since the Civil War, and which they were not to hold again until the inauguration of Woodrow Wilson in 1913. For the first time since the administration of James Buchanan, the Democrats, on the fourth of March, 1893, would have control of the executive and both branches of Congress. Cleveland's electoral vote was 277 to 145 for Harrison and 22 for Weaver.

529. The Significance of the Populist Vote. For the first time since the Civil War a third party had appeared in the electoral column. The Populists carried the four states Colorado, Kansas, Idaho, and Nevada, polling over a million votes. This remarkable showing, however, was an exaggeration of the actual strength of the party as an organization, because in several of the Western states the Democrats had either put no ticket in the field or had supported the Populist nominees. Cleveland would have won the election by a wide margin even if all the Weaver states had gone for Harrison. Yet the campaign showed that the Populist influence had pervaded the West. In state after state Populist doctrines had been adopted by the Democrats. The Populists had elected three United States senators and eleven members of Congress. In the mid-term elections of 1894 the Democrats lost the House by a landslide like that which had overwhelmed the Republicans in 1890 [**514**], yet the Populist vote increased over 40 per cent. The Populists, in short, had leavened the Democratic party with the leaven of radicalism, and in the next national convention they captured the party and nominated a candidate pledged to their doctrine of the free coinage of silver and war to the death on the monopolies of the railroads, the trust magnates, and the bankers.

CLEVELAND'S "LUCKLESS YEARS"

530. Difficulties confronting Cleveland. It is doubtful if any other American president in times of peace has ever had to contend with such harassing problems as Grover Cleveland faced when he was inaugurated for a second time, March 4, 1893. The Treasury was nearly empty. During Harrison's administration, while the national income had remained almost stationary, the expenditures had mounted steadily to the level of the receipts. In 1893 our exports fell for the first time in fifteen years below our imports, leaving an adverse balance of $35,000,000 to be met in gold. So low had the reserve of gold maintained by the government to protect the paper money in circulation sunk that Harrison's Secretary of the Treasury was on the point of selling bonds to replenish the supply, when the New York bankers came to his relief with gold enough to tide the administration over till the fourth of March. Throughout the country there was serious industrial depression, due to uncertainty as to how a Democratic Congress would treat the tariff and apprehension lest the radicals should make a concerted attack upon business. Thousands of laborers were thrown out of employment just at the time when the high prices following the McKinley tariff made their living hard.

531. The Gold Fund. The most immediate problem that confronted the President was the condition of the Treasury. Ever since the resumption of specie payments, in 1879, it had been the policy of the government (confirmed by an act of Congress in 1882) to keep a reserve of at least $100,000,000 in gold for the redemption of any of the $346,000,000 in greenbacks still in circulation. By the Sherman Silver Act of 1890 [**512**] the government was increasing the volume of its paper money by about $50,000,000 a year. The greenbacks and silver certificates in circulation in 1893 amounted to nearly $500,000,000, all of which the Treasury considered itself bound to redeem in gold if the demand were made. Now it is a well-known economic law that when currency of different grades of value exists in a country, the cheaper kind drives the other out of circulation. This means simply that if a man has his choice between paying a bill with dollars that he knows will always and everywhere be worth 100 cents and dollars which he suspects may sometime or somewhere be worth only 50 cents, he will part with the latter and save the former. In spite of our government's efforts to maintain a "parity," or a constant ratio, between silver and gold, silver steadily declined in price, and the value of the silver dollar consequently shrank. In 1893 it was worth only 60 cents. Banks and individuals then began to hoard their gold. The yellow metal threatened to disappear from circulation.

532. The Repeal of the Sherman Act. Before the passage of the Sherman Act in 1890, the government was receiving 85 per cent of its duties at the customhouse in gold. In 1893 over 95 per cent of these duties were paid in paper. And to make matters worse, foreign investors in American stocks and bonds, fearing the effect of the radical discontent upon the business of our country, began to sell their securities here, demanding gold in payment. Our shipments of gold to Europe increased 74 per cent in the years 1890–1893. During that period $132,000,000 of gold was taken from the Treasury, while $150,000,000 of the newly purchased silver was stored in its vaults. Cleveland regarded it as his first duty to stop the ruinous purchase of silver and replenish the gold supply. To that end he called Congress in extra session on August 7, 1893, and asked for the immediate repeal of the Sherman Act. The House readily consented, but there was a bitter contest in the Senate. Seven silver states of the West, representing less than 2 per cent of the population of the country, sent fourteen of the eighty-eight senators to Congress. These silver senators, in combination with a group of Southern senators who had promised them help in return for votes against the Federal Election Bill [**513**], took advantage of the unlimited privilege of debate which the rules of the Senate allowed and held up the repeal of the bill until the end of October, when it was finally passed by a vote of 48 to 37. The purchase of the depreciated silver was stopped, but the task of replenishing the gold reserve of the Treasury still remained.

533. The Wilson-Gorman Tariff. Cleveland had been elected in 1892 mainly on the tariff issue, and his concern for tariff reform was even greater in his second administration than in his first. For, meantime, the McKinley bill had been passed, raising the rates to unprecedented levels [**510**]. As soon as the first regular session of Congress convened in December, 1893, William L. Wilson of West Virginia introduced a bill for the removal of duties on raw materials (wool, iron ore, coal, lumber, sugar) and a considerable reduction in the duties on manufactures (china, glass, silk, cotton and woolen goods). The bill promptly passed the House by 182 votes to 106, but when it reached the Senate it was "held up." It made no difference that the Senate was Democratic. The "coal senators" of West Virginia, the "iron senators" of Alabama, the "sugar senators" of Louisiana, the "lumber senators" of Montana, all fought for the protection of their interests. Senator Brice of Ohio insisted upon the protection of the sheep raisers and Senator Murphy of New York insisted on the protection of the collar industry of his native city of Troy. Under the lead of the Democratic Senator Gorman of Maryland (heavily interested in the sugar trust) the Wilson bill was mutilated beyond recognition by over six hundred amendments. Most of the McKinley rates were restored. Refined sugar, iron ore, and coal were put back on the protected list. Wool and lumber alone survived in the campaign for free raw materials. The House protested in vain against the amendments, but at last reluctantly yielded. The choice was between the bill as it came from the Senate or the continuance of the McKinley rates; and after all the Wilson-Gorman Bill showed some slight reduction. But President Cleveland was disgusted with the bill, which he called a piece of "party perfidy and dishonor." It became a law (August, 1894) without his signature.

534. The Panic of 1893. With the financial and tariff policy of the country at sixes and sevens, the administration was still further harassed by serious labor troubles. An industrial ~~depression~~ in the summer of 1893 brought failures, ~~strikes, and lockouts~~ in its train. More than six hundred banks closed their doors in the panic of 1893, and the losses of the eight thousand business houses that failed between April and October totaled nearly $300,000,000. Great railroad systems, like the Philadelphia and Reading and the Erie, went into the hands of receivers. Railroad building came almost to a standstill and company after company passed their dividends. The worst of the panic was over by the autumn, but it took the country many months to recover. The winter was attended with great suffering throughout the country. The resentment of the victims was keener than it had been in the great panic of twenty years before [**456**], because they had become convinced, by the violent strikes of the eighties and the agitation of the various agrarian and labor movements, that their capitalistic enemies were ready to employ any method to cow them into submission. Tramps and vagrants swarmed over the land and an "army" of the unemployed, led by one Jacob Coxey, marched from Ohio to Washington to demand that Congress issue $500,000,000 in irredeemable paper, to be spent in furnishing work for the idle by improving the highways all over the Union. The "invasion" of Washington by "Coxey's army" ended in a farce. As the men marched across the lawn of the Capitol on May-day morning their leaders were arrested for "walking on the grass," and the men straggled away to be lost in the motley city crowd.

535. The Pullman Strike. There was nothing farcical, however, in the conflict between capital and labor which broke out in Chicago that same month of May, when the workers in the Pullman Palace Car Company's shops struck on account of a reduction in wages. About four thousand of the Pullman employees were members of the powerful American Railway Union, an organization founded in 1893 under the presidency of Eugene V. Debs. The union took up the matter at its June meeting in 1894 and demanded that the company submit the question to arbitration. This Mr. Pullman refused to do. The union then forbade its men to "handle" the Pullman cars. The boycott extended to twenty-seven states and territories, affecting the railroads from Ohio to California. But the dire conflict came in Chicago. Early in July only six of the twenty-three railroads entering the city were unobstructed. United States mail trains carrying Pullman cars were not allowed to move. President Cleveland ordered troops to the seat of disturbance, and an injunction was issued by the federal court ordering the strikers to cease obstructing the United States mails.[1] The reading of the injunction was received with hoots and jeers. Debs had appealed to the strikers to refrain from violence and the destruction of property, but they could not be restrained.[1] Trains were ditched, freight cars destroyed, buildings burned and looted. At one or two points it became necessary for the federal troops to fire on the mob to protect their own lives. Debs and his chief associates were arrested and imprisoned for contempt of court in not obeying the injunction. The strike was broken by the prompt action of the government, but it left ugly consequences. For the first time in our history federal troops had fired upon American citizens to preserve order. Governor Altgeld of Illinois, who had pardoned the anarchists of the Haymarket riot [**495**], took the President severely to task for sending troops into the state, declaring that "Illinois was able to take care of herself"; and he was generally supported by the Populist element of the West, while even among the conservatives of the East there was grave complaint of the injustice and danger of "government by injunction."

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[1] By an "injunction" a judge "enjoins" certain persons not to commit an act which he has defined in advance as punishable. If the person disobeys the judge's order, he is fined or even committed to prison for "contempt of court," instead of being duly tried and sentenced for the act itself. The judge by this procedure becomes both the accuser and the punisher.

536. The "Luckless Years." In telling the story of what Cleveland himself called these "luckless years" of 1894–1895, the writer has to narrate the events in separate paragraphs, but the student must be reminded that these events were occurring simultaneously. While mobs were wrecking trains in Chicago and legislators were wrecking the Wilson bill in the Senate, while Coxey's tramps were marching on Washington and the deficit in the government finances was increasing, while the President was being denounced by the silverites as the "tool" of Wall Street, by the protectionists as the "dupe" of free-trade Britain, and by the "labor unions" as the slave of the capitalists, the Democratic party, hopelessly split, faced the mid-term campaign of 1894. The Republicans won a complete triumph, carrying the House by the enormous majority of 248 to 104 and recovering the control of the Senate. For the remaining half of his administration the President was a man without a party. His influence with Congress ceased. The Democrats of the West and South drew closer to the radical Populists, and the Republican majority in both Houses of Congress refused to help the President in the financial difficulty which they claimed his own mistaken policy alone had brought upon the country.

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[1] Especially as their number was swelled by thousands of vagrant ruffians and "bums," who had been attracted to Chicago by the great Columbian Exposition of the preceding summer. This so-called "World's Fair" of 1893, in celebration of the four-hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America, was a veritable fairyland of dazzling white buildings, softened by fountains and lagoons. The Exposition cost about $30,000,000 and sold over 12,000,000 tickets of admittance.

✓ **537. The Morgan Bond Transaction.** The month after the inauguration of Cleveland the gold reserve sank below the $100,000,000 sanctioned by Congress, and before the end of the year it had fallen to $70,000,000. Twice during the year 1894 Secretary John G. Carlisle of the Treasury sold $50,000,000 worth of bonds for gold, without helping matters much. In January, 1895, the reserve was down to what Cleveland called "the frightfully low" sum of $41,000,000. The explanation of this loss of gold is simple. As soon as the subscribers to the bonds paid the gold into the Treasury, they immediately presented silver notes or greenbacks to the Treasury to draw out the gold which they had paid in. And since by law the notes had to be reissued and kept in circulation, they served as a constant magnet to draw out the gold. Determined to stop this "endless-chain" process, Cleveland early in 1895 summoned to the White House Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, the most powerful financial figure in America. The Morgan-Belmont-Rothschild syndicate arranged with the President to furnish the Treasury some $62,000,000 in gold in return for the government's 4 per cent bonds. The price Mr. Morgan charged for the gold secured him the bonds at a considerably lower figure than the public were paying for them at the time, and the cry went up from the Populists that Cleveland had entered into an unholy alliance with the money lenders and was squandering the country's resources to enrich the bankers of New York and London. If Mr. Morgan did drive a hard bargain with the government he at least secured a stable supply of gold for the Treasury (one half the amount being obtained from foreign bankers) and went to considerable expense to prevent the shipment of gold abroad. Cleveland maintained that the transaction was necessary because the people had twice within a year given proof of their unwillingness to come to the relief of the

Treasury by parting with their gold hoardings.[1] Altogether during Cleveland's administration the government issued bonds to the amount of $262,000,000 in order to attract enough gold to keep the reserve up to the $100,000,000 mark. The campaign of 1896, which was fought on the currency issue, resulted in the defeat of silver, and gold came out of hiding. But before we describe that great battle between the East and the West we must turn to foreign affairs in Cleveland's second administration.

538. Our Intervention in Hawaii. The little kingdom of the Hawaiian Islands in the mid-Pacific (see map opposite page 604) had for many years harbored American residents, who came first as missionaries, then as planters and merchants to exploit the coffee and sugar farms. The American residents enjoyed rights of citizenship in Hawaii, with the franchise, and occupied high offices. Ever since 1854 there had been talk of annexation. Early in 1893 the new Queen Liliuokalani, a bitter enemy of the whites in the Islands, was deposed for attempting to overthrow the Constitution. A provisional government was set up by the white inhabitants, and the United States minister, John L. Stevens, protected the new government by a detachment of troops landed from the cruiser *Boston*. The Islands were declared a "protectorate" of the United States, and the American flag was raised over the government buildings. A few days later a treaty of annexation was sent by President Harrison to the Senate for ratification (February 15, 1893). The United States was to assume the Hawaiian debt of $2,000,000 and pay the deposed queen a pension of $20,000 a year. But before the treaty was ratified Congress expired, and Cleveland succeeded Harrison in the White House. Cleveland withdrew the treaty from the Senate, and after satisfying himself through a special commissioner to Hawaii that Stevens had acted too zealously in the January revolution, he ordered the flag to be lowered from the state buildings and offered to restore Queen Liliuokalani to her throne on condition that she should pardon all the Americans concerned in the revolution. When the queen refused to abandon her cherished plans of vengeance, President Cleveland dropped the whole matter. He was abused roundly for "hauling down the American flag" in Hawaii, but he had followed the century-old tradition of our republic in refusing to seize by force the distant possessions of weaker nations on the plea of "civilizing" them.[1]

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[1] Opinion will always be divided on the wisdom of Cleveland's action. It cost him the bitter hostility of the West, but it satisfied his own conscience. He concludes the chapter on The Bond Issues in his "Presidential Problems" (1904) with the words, "Though Mr. Morgan and Mr. Belmont and scores of others who were accessories in these transactions may be steeped in destructive propensities and may be constantly busy in sinful schemes, I shall always recall with satisfaction and self-congratulation my association with them at a time when our country sorely needed their aid."

539. The Venezuelan Boundary Dispute. That the President lacked neither force nor courage in dealing with foreign nations, however, was amply proved in a serious controversy with Great Britain over the validity of the Monroe Doctrine. The South American republic of Venezuela borders on the British colony of Guiana. A chronic boundary dispute between the two nations assumed acute form in 1886, when Great Britain maintained that the line of her frontier included some 23,000 square miles of territory, containing rich mineral deposits. Venezuela complained of the rapacity of her powerful neighbor, and diplomatic relations between the countries were broken off (February, 1887). The United States, by the Monroe Doctrine in 1823, had guaranteed the integrity of the Latin-American republics by declaring that the western continent was closed to any further extension of the European colonial system. Our State Department offered its friendly offices to Great Britain in arbitrating the disputed boundary line, but the British government rejected the offer. Lord Salisbury regarded the Monroe Doctrine as an antiquated piece of American bravado and declined to view the United States as an interested party in the dispute. Importuned by Venezuela, our State Department again and again begged Great Britain to arbitrate her claims. In February, 1895, Congress took up the matter, and by a joint resolution urged the same policy. Still Lord Salisbury remained obdurate; and when Secretary of State Olney in a rather sharp dispatch (July 20, 1895) declared that the United States was "practically sovereign on this continent," and that it would "resent and resist any sequestration of Venezuelan soil by Great Britain," the British prime minister again replied in polite terms that the dispute was none of our business.

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[1] The provisional government maintained itself without much difficulty until the Republican administration which followed Cleveland annexed the Hawaiian Islands to the United States, by a joint resolution of Congress (July, 1898), and later made them a fully organized territory with United States citizenship (April, 1900).

540. The Monroe Doctrine Upheld. But the American people believed that the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine *was* their business. In December, 1895, President Cleveland sent a message to Congress recommending that we take the decision of the boundary between Guiana and Venezuela into our own hands, "fully alive to the responsibility incurred and keenly realizing all the consequences that may follow," — in other words, even at the risk of war with Great Britain. Both Houses of Congress immediately adopted the recommendation by a unanimous vote, appropriating $100,000 for the expenses of a boundary commission. The President's message and the action of Congress took the British people by storm. A wave of protest against war with their American kindred swept over the country. Three hundred and fifty members of Parliament rebuked Lord Salisbury's stubborn attitude by sending a petition to the President and Congress of the United States that all disputes between the two nations be settled by arbitration. The prime minister gave way and consented courteously to furnish the American boundary commission with all the papers it needed. In January, 1897, a treaty was signed at Washington, by which Great Britain agreed to submit her entire claim to arbitration; and on October 3, 1899, a tribunal at Paris gave the verdict (favorable on the whole to Great Britain), fixing the line which had been in dispute for nearly sixty years.

THE FREE-SILVER CAMPAIGN OF 1896

541. Democratic Dissensions. The only thoroughly popular act of President Cleveland in his second administration was pushing the electric button which opened the World's Fair at

Chicago, on May Day, 1893. His spirited defense of the Monroe Doctrine aroused a momentary response of patriotic ardor among his fellow citizens, but it was not enough to atone for the evils which his fellow Democrats attributed to him. On March, 1895, a manifesto was sent out by thirty-one Democratic congressmen representing the West and the South, urging the radical Democrats, the Populists, the National Silverites, and the Laborites to unite and seize control of the party to make it "an instrument in the accomplishment of needed reform."

542. The Income Tax Decision. Two decisions of the Supreme Court in the spring of 1895 added to the radical discontent. To make up for the anticipated loss of some $50,000,000 in tariff duties, the Wilson-Gorman Bill [**533**] contained a provision for a tax of 2 per cent on incomes exceeding $4000. An income tax had been imposed at the time of the Civil War and its constitutionality had been upheld in 1870 by a unanimous decision of the Supreme Court; but the new tax was resisted by the wealthy class, on whom its burden would fall, as an infringement of the Constitution, which provided (Art. I, sect. 2, par. 3) that "direct taxes" should be "apportioned among the several states" according to their population. An income tax so apportioned would be futile, for wealth was concentrated in the great industrial centers of the country and bore no fair ratio to population.[1] The blanks for the income tax were all ready for distribution when the Supreme Court decided by vote of 5 to 4 that the tax was unconstitutional. Thus by the vote of a single judge (and, incidentally, of a judge who had changed his mind while the case was being argued) the Treasury was deprived of an estimated income of from $40,000,000 to $50,000,000. A week later the Court by unanimous decision upheld the constitutionality of the injunction under which Debs had been imprisoned at the time of the Pullman strike [**535**]. For these decisions the

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[1] When, in 1913, the Sixteenth Amendment permitted Congress to levy an income tax without regard to the distribution of the population, New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, which comprised less than 30 per cent of the population of the country, paid more than 75 per cent of the tax. The single state of Illinois paid more than all the states south of the Mason and Dixon line.

Court was decried by the radicals as the "rich man's ally," and the revocation of its power to pronounce laws of Congress unconstitutional was demanded.

543. William J. Bryan. Among the Democratic congressmen who lost their seats in the landslide of 1894 was a young lawyer from Lincoln, Nebraska, who had served two terms in the House, displaying his remarkable oratorical powers in the attack on monopoly in every form. Bryan was characterized by Cleveland as "a Populist pure and simple, without the remotest notion of the principles of Democracy." He sympathized thoroughly with the radical demands for the destruction of the trusts, the government control of the railroads, the direct election of senators, the imposition of an income tax, and the reorganization of the Supreme Court; but he devoted his energies chiefly to a crusade for the free coinage of silver. The root of all the economic evils ~~of the country, he believed~~, was the dictatorship over the government by Wall Street, which had control of the gold supply and insisted that gold should be the only standard of value. By lectures and speeches up and down the states of the West, in

WILLIAM McKINLEY

WILLIAM J. BRYAN

articles and editorials, Bryan expounded his doctrine with unflagging zeal and unabated confidence. His impetuous oratory brushed aside the arguments of trained economists. The poisoned arrows of ridicule and abuse never penetrated his armor of righteous conviction. He was Martin Luther and William L. Garrison rolled into one. He would not retract, he would not retreat, and above all he would be heard!

544. The Free Coinage of Silver. Since the great battle of 1896 was to be waged on the issue of the free coinage of silver, it is well to define that phrase. It means that the government should buy any amount of silver that anyone should bring to its mints (just as it was a customer for any amount of gold) and coin it into legal currency at the rate of sixteen ounces of silver to one ounce of gold. As sixteen ounces of silver were worth in the open market only about $11 in 1896, while one ounce of gold was uniformly and universally worth $20.67, the silverites were therefore demanding that our government should maintain in circulation "dollars" that were worth intrinsically only a little more than fifty cents. When it was pointed out that our credit in the eyes of the world would be ruined if we used a debased currency like that of Mexico or Turkey, they argued that the United States were strong enough and independent and rich enough to use whatever metal they pleased for money, without regard to what England, France, or Germany did. They contended that the supply of gold did not furnish sufficient currency for the business of the country anyway, and that what there was of it was in the hands of the bankers, who hoarded it to increase its value; that the farmers and small traders had to pay an ever-increasing tax on the fruits of their labor to meet the interest (reckoned in gold values) on their mortgaged farms and shops. The relief of the masses of our countrymen was more important than our reputation in the eyes of foreign bankers. And if the United States led the way in the establishment of the use of both metals as currency (which was called "bimetallism") the other great nations would probably follow suit.

545. Marcus A. Hanna. At the same time there came into prominence a man who was the antithesis of Bryan in every respect. Marcus A. Hanna was a wealthy business man of Cleveland, Ohio. He believed that the welfare of the country depended on a close and sympathetic alliance between the government and "Big Business," and that the prosperity of the farmer and the laborer was assured only by the prosperity of the capitalists. He favored the high tariff and the gold standard and frowned upon any attempt of the government to interfere with the initiative of the great masters of industry, banking, and transportation. Hanna was not ambitious for political honors, but gave his time and money generously for the advancement of Ohio statesmen, whose superior qualifications for the presidency he recognized. He backed John Sherman until Sherman's third successive defeat for the nomination in the convention of 1888 convinced him of the hopelessness of his candidacy. Then he turned to William McKinley, to whom he became personally and politically attached with a devotion that grew steadily stronger until McKinley's death. When McKinley lost his seat in the House in the landslide of 1890 [**514**] he was elected governor of Ohio largely through Hanna's efforts, and soon afterwards he owed to the same friend his rescue from serious financial embarrassment. In 1894 Hanna gave up his business to devote himself entirely to "grooming" McKinley for the Republican presidential nomination two years later. Long before the convention met at St. Louis (June 16, 1896) he had enough delegates pledged to McKinley to nominate him on the first ballot by a vote of 661 to 84 for his nearest competitor, Thomas B. Reed of Maine.

546. The "Cross of Gold." The Democrats met at Chicago on July 7. Bryan had done his work as thoroughly as Hanna. Democratic conventions in thirty of the forty-four states had already declared in favor of free silver, and it was certain that the radicals would control the national convention. They elected a free silverite as temporary chairman of the convention by a vote of 556 to 349 and adopted a platform indorsing the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, condemning the income tax and injunction decisions, and demanding enlarged powers of the federal government in dealing with the trusts. When conservatives like Governor Russell of Massachusetts and Senator Vilas of Wisconsin attempted to speak, they were interrupted by a howling mob. A motion commending the "honesty, economy, fidelity, and courage" of President Cleveland was rejected by a vote of 357 to 564. After this gratuitous insult to the man who had been the standard bearer of the party for a dozen years, the convention proceeded to ballot for a candidate for the presidency. Richard P. Bland of Missouri ("Silver Dick"), who for twenty years had been regarded as the champion of the silver forces, led at first with nearly double the number of votes for his nearest competitor; but he was steadily overtaken by Bryan, who had come to the convention with the confidence that he would be the party's nominee. Bryan's nomination was directly due to a speech which he had rehearsed many times over during his two years of missionary work in the cause of free silver, and in which he pleaded the case of the debtor farmer versus the heartless creditor of the East in impassioned and defiant oratory. "We are fighting," he cried, "in the defense of our homes, our families, our posterity. . . . We have petitioned, and our petitions have been scorned. We have entreated, and our entreaties have been disregarded. We have begged, and they have mocked when our calamity came. We beg no longer, we entreat no more, we petition no more. We defy them! Having behind us the producing masses of this nation and the world, supported by the commercial interests, the laboring interests, and the toilers everywhere, we will answer their demand for a gold standard by saying to them: 'You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns — you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold!'" The applause which had interrupted the orator at nearly every sentence burst into a frenzy before the echo of the last defiant challenge had died. The man of the hour had been found, "the savior of Democracy," "the new Lincoln." Bryan was nominated on the fifth ballot amid scenes of the wildest enthusiasm.

547. A Complicated Situation. Neither of the great parties accepted unanimously the nominee of the convention. The silver Republican delegates, led by Senator Teller of Colorado, walked out of the St. Louis convention just as the extreme proslavery Democrats had seceded from the Charleston convention in 1860 [**385**]. But, unlike the latter, the silver Republicans did not put a separate ticket in the field, but drifted generally into the Bryan ranks. The gold Democrats, however, nominated a ticket which had the support of President Cleveland, but which polled only 135,000 votes on election day. The Populists and National Silverites accepted Bryan, and the Labor and Socialist parties, while making their own nomination, indorsed the free-silver platform. McKinley's position was somewhat embarrassing. He had voted for the Bland-Allison Act in 1878 and for the Sherman Silver Act in 1890, and had not been in Congress in 1893 to vote for the repeal of the latter act. Many utterances of his in favor of bimetallism could be quoted. The delegates from Wyoming, in fact, had come to the St. Louis convention instructed to vote for "McKinley and free silver." But Hanna had managed the situation cleverly, holding back the insertion of the famous "gold plank" into the St. Louis platform until the nomination of McKinley was assured.[1] McKinley was eager to have the campaign conducted on the issue of the tariff and remarked to Judge Day, who visited him shortly after the nomination, "In thirty days you will hear nothing of free silver." "In thirty days," the Judge replied, "you will hear of nothing else." And he was right.

548. The Campaign of 1896. The campaign was a bitter battle between the Western plowholder and the Eastern bondholder. The Republican campaign chest, variously estimated as containing from $3,000,000 to $7,000,000 relentlessly collected from the big-business interests by Manager Hanna, enabled the party to hire hundreds of speakers and to send out hundreds of millions of tracts, pamphlets, speeches, and posters printed in a dozen languages. McKinley himself conducted a "front-porch campaign" at his house in Canton, Ohio, addressing delegations of business men, clergymen, laborers, bankers, and farmers in carefully prepared speeches which were published broadcast by his managers. Bryan carried his message in person to the people, traveling over 18,000 miles in fourteen weeks, through twenty-nine states, and making 600 speeches, which it is estimated were heard by over 5,000,000 people. The Republicans had boasted the year before, when the Democratic party seemed shattered beyond repair, that they could elect a "rag baby" in 1896, and at first they were inclined to take Bryan's nomination as a joke; but as the campaign progressed and Bryan's eloquence converted thousands to his doctrine of free silver, the Republicans began to realize that they had a hard battle. Bryan, who was a man of unimpeachable integrity and patriotism in spite of his advocacy of a "fifty-cent dollar," was denounced as an idiot, an anarchist, a blasphemer, and a lunatic who was fomenting "the uprising of disorder in all its forms and grades against the institutions of the American Republic." Wage earners in many of the Eastern factories were paid off on the Saturday before the election with the warning that they would not be needed further in case of Bryan's election. "Probably no man in civil life," remarked the New York *Nation* at the close of the campaign, "has succeeded in inspiring so much terror without taking life as Bryan." In the unprecedented vote of 13,937,527 at the polls in November, McKinley won by a plurality of 600,000, the largest that any presidential candidate had received since Grant's victory over Greeley in 1872. The electoral vote was 271 for McKinley to 176 for Bryan, the latter carrying, in addition to the solid South and eight mining states of the Far West, only Kansas, Nebraska, and Missouri.

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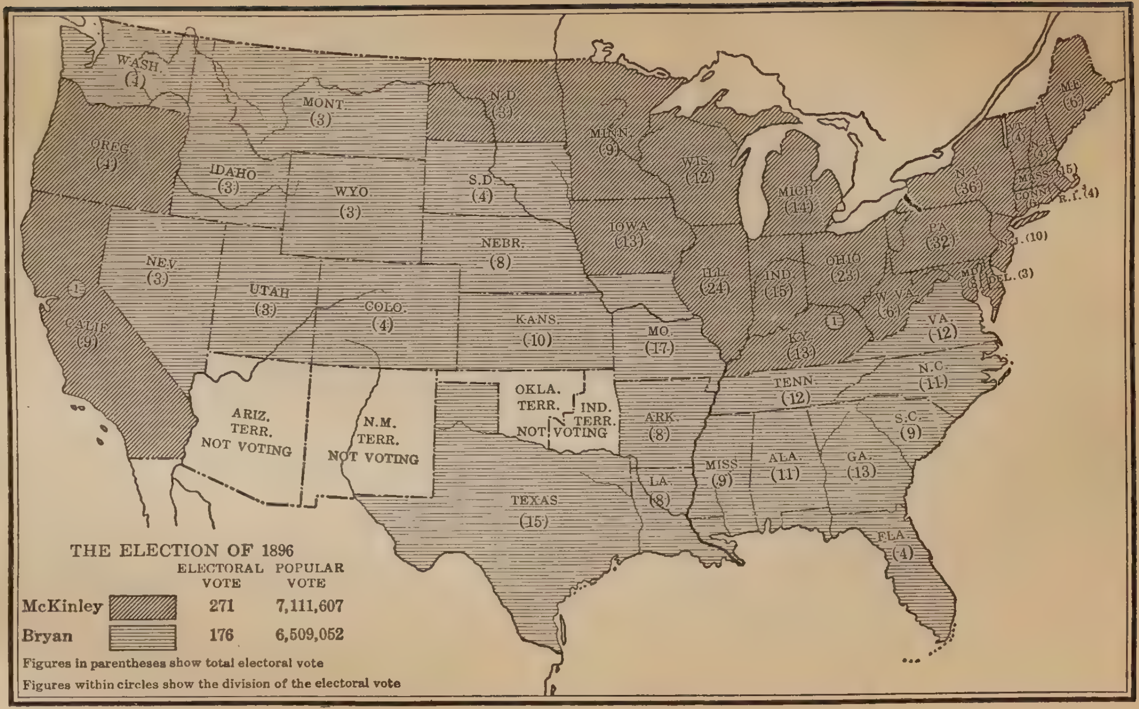
[1] The Republicans, however, made a slight concession to the demands of the Free Silverites by indorsing "international bimetallism," or the use of both silver and gold as currency by common agreement among the more important nations of the world. This was, however, only a futile suggestion, for a number of international conferences on the subject, held between 1878 and 1892, had shown that none of the European countries that had the gold standard was willing to abandon it.

549. Significance of the Election. The election of 1896 was the most important in our history since the Civil War. In the first place, it demonstrated the firmness of the Union. Though the Populists used violent language and some scare heads talked about the secession of the West, there was no slightest thought in the mind of Mr. Bryan and his followers of an appeal to arms.



THE ELECTION OF 1896

Benjamin Tillman of South Carolina was hissed down by the Chicago convention when he started to make a comparison between the grievances of the farmers in 1896 and those of the slaveholders in 1860. Again, the election of 1896 marked the end of the organized political efforts, made ever since the close of the Civil War, to commit the government at Washington to the support of an unsound, inflated currency for the relief of the debtor classes. But most important of all, the election signalized the victory in the Republican party, which was destined to control all branches of the government for more than a decade to come, of "big business" as the power behind the throne. Many thousands of Americans were doubtless ready in 1896 to support a platform which advocated a sane opposition to the growing power of the trusts, to the monopoly of coal, oil, and lumber lands, to the nurture of highly prosperous industries by a protective tariff which taxed the poor man's food and clothing, and to the growing influence of railroads, express companies, and other corporations with our legislatures. But neither of the great parties offered such a platform. The Republicans were guided by men who believed that the welfare of the people and stability of the government depended on the prosperity of big business. The Democrats, led astray by the glittering oratory of the silver champion, rallied to a call that was intensely sectional, to a doctrine that was economically unsound, and to a leader who was immature and untried. Confronted with this alternative at the polls, a majority of the voters were convinced that the choice of McKinley was the safer course.

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Questions for Review

1. Why did not the farmer and the labor elements fuse easily? **2.** How did the passing of the frontier affect the farmers? **3.** How do you account for the rapid increase in the population of the West from 1870 to 1890? **4.** What was the influence of the frontier on social life? **5.** Explain the change in immigration to America about the year 1890. **6.** Describe the formation of the Populist party. **7.** How have the Southern states evaded the Fifteenth Amendment? **8.** Why does the United States keep a gold reserve in the Treasury? **9.** What effect did the repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act have upon the gold reserve? **10.** Why did not Cleveland veto the Wilson-Gorman tariff act? **11.** Why did Cleveland intervene in the Pullman strike? **12.** Define "parity," "injunction," "bimetallism," "free coinage," "the gold plank." **13.** How can the government levy an income tax now, when the Supreme Court declared the income tax of 1894 unconstitutional? **14.** How many different kinds of paper money can you find in circulation? **15.** Why was the Republican convention of 1896 embarrassed on the money question? **16.** Contrast the opposition to the Supreme Court in 1896 with that in 1857 [**379**]. **17.** Why could not the government keep gold and silver at a parity? **18.** Do you think that Great Britain's action in Venezuela was a violation of the Monroe Doctrine, like the action of Napoleon III in Mexico [**432**]? **19.** Why did the campaign of 1896 create such bitter feeling? **20.** Do you uphold or condemn Cleveland's Hawaiian policy? **21.** How did radicalism stand in the way of reform in 1896? **22.** Contrast Bryan and Hanna. **23.** Do you think Cleveland was wise in asking Morgan's help in 1895? **24.** Why was Cleveland repudiated by the Democratic convention of 1896? **25.** Describe Bryan's nomination. **26.** Are the farmers dissatisfied today for the same reasons that they were in the 90's?

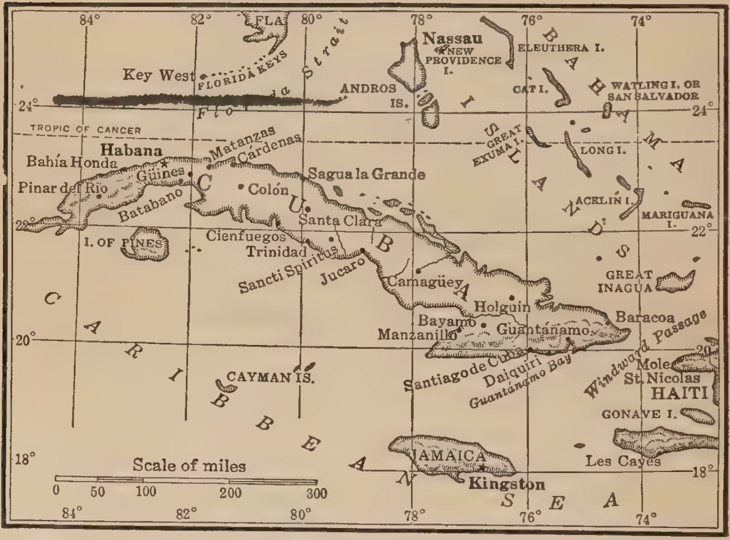
CHAPTER XV

AMERICA AMONG THE WORLD POWERS

The War with Spain

550. The Revolution in Cuba. Ever since its discovery by Columbus the island of Cuba, "the pearl of the Antilles," had belonged to the crown of Spain. Corrupt officials squandered its revenues, raised by heavy taxation, and Spanish soldiers overawed the natives, who were denied freedom of speech or any semblance of political rights. Revolutions occurred frequently. After a bitter civil war of ten years Spain had promised some concessions to the Cubans in 1878, but the promises had not been kept. An especially severe insurrection broke out in 1895. The insurgents quickly overran nearly all the open country, and the Spanish leader, General Weyler, unable to bring them to face his one hundred and twenty thousand troops in regular battle, resorted to cruel methods that earned for him the name "the Butcher." He gathered the noncombatants (old men, women, and children) from the country into certain fortified "reconcentration camps" and herded them in wretched prison pens under cruel officers, where tens of thousands died of hunger and disease. Many Cubans were naturalized in the United States, where they established centers for agitation for Cuban liberty and dispatched arms, munition, and filibustering expeditions to aid their brother Cubans in throwing off the Spanish yoke.

551. Our Interest in Cuba. Cuba, on account of its close proximity to our shores, had always been an object of interest and sometimes an object of desire [**364**]. Now both economic interests and sympathies for the sufferings of the natives made it impossible for us to be indifferent to Cuba's fate. We had $50,000,000 invested in the sugar and tobacco plantations of the island, which were being ruined by the guerrilla warfare. Our trade with Cuba had reached nearly $100,000,000 the year before the insurrection of 1895 broke out. American citizens in the island were being insulted and thrown into prison. The platforms of both the great parties in 1896 expressed sympathy for the Cuban insurgents, and both Houses of Congress passed resolutions for the recognition of Cuban independence. President McKinley labored hard to get Spain to grant the islands some degree of self-government and spoke in a hopeful tone in his message to Congress of December, 1897. But in the early weeks of 1898 events occurred which roused public indignation to a pitch where it drowned the voices of diplomacy. On February 9 a New York paper published a facsimile of a private letter written by the Spanish minister at Washington, Señor de Lome. The letter characterized President McKinley as a "cheap politician who truckled to the masses." The country was still nursing its indignation over this insult to its chief executive when it was horrified by the news that on the evening of



THE ISLAND OF CUBA

February 15 the battleship *Maine*, on a friendly visit in the harbor of Havana, had been sunk by a terrific explosion, carrying two officers and 258 men to the bottom. The Spanish government immediately accepted the resignation of Señor de Lome and expressed its sorrow over the "accident" to the American warship. But the conviction that the *Maine* had been blown up by the Spaniards seized our people with uncontrollable force. Flags, pins, and buttons, with the motto "Remember the *Maine*!" appeared all over the land. The spirit of revenge was nurtured by the "yellow journals." Congress was waiting eagerly to declare war.

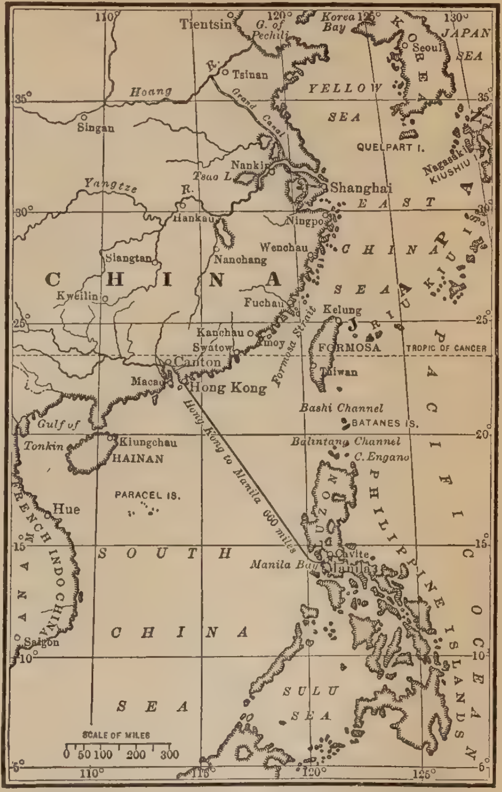
552. War with Spain. After a last appeal to the Spanish government had been met with the evasive reply that the Cubans would be granted "all the liberty they could expect," McKinley transferred the responsibility of the Cuban situation to Congress in his message of April 11. Eight days later, on the anniversary of the battle of Lexington and of the first bloodshed of the Civil War, Congress adopted a resolution recognizing the independence of Cuba, demanding the immediate withdrawal of Spain from the island, and authorizing the President to use the military and naval forces of the United States, if necessary, to carry out the resolution. Congress further pledged the United States, by the Teller Resolution, "to leave the government and control of the island of Cuba to its own people" when its pacification should be accomplished. The resolutions of April 19, 1898, were a virtual declaration of war against Spain. McKinley has been seriously criticized for not preventing the "unnecessary war with Spain," especially for not taking sufficient notice in his message to Congress of an eleventh-hour offer of concession by the Spanish Queen Regent, urged by the Pope in Holy Week. But it is doubtful whether in the excited condition of the country he could have restrained Congress. That body has the power to declare war by a simple majority vote, and the vote on the resolutions of April 19 was 324 to 19 in the House and 67 to 21 in the Senate.

553. Dewey's Victory at Manila. Our Navy Department, under the vigorous administration of Secretary Long and Assistant Secretary Roosevelt, was thoroughly prepared for the crisis.

The Far Eastern fleet had been gathered, under Commodore George Dewey, at the British station of Hongkong on the Chinese coast. Scarcely a week after the war resolutions had been passed, Dewey's ships in their drab war paint were on their way across the six hundred and sixty miles of the China Sea that separate Hongkong from the Spanish colonial group of the Philippine Islands. The last night of April, with a bravery like that of his old commander, Farragut, at New Orleans [**407**], Dewey ran his fleet of armored cruisers and gunboats, under fire, through the fortified passage of Boca Grande into Manila Bay; and early on May-day morning he opened fire on the Spanish fleet anchored off Cavite. Five times Dewey led his squadron up and down the line of Spanish ships, pouring into them an accurate and deadly fire, then drew out of range to give his grimed and hungry gunners their breakfast. He returned a few hours later to complete the work of destruction. By noon the entire Spanish fleet of ten ships was sunk or in flames, the land batteries of Cavite were silenced, and the city of Manila lay at the mercy of Dewey's guns. The Spanish had lost 634 men and officers. On the American side not a ship was hurt or a life lost. ✓

DEWEY ON THE FLAGSHIP *OLYMPIA* AT THE BATTLE OF MANILA BAY

554. Cervera's Fleet. While the victorious fleet lay in the harbor of Manila, waiting for troops from the United States to complete the conquest of the Philippines, the Atlantic squadron, acting under Rear Admiral William T. Sampson, was blockading the coast of Cuba. A Spanish fleet of four armored cruisers and three torpedo destroyers, commanded by Admiral Cervera, had sailed westward from the Cape Verde Islands on April 29. There were wild stories that Cervera's fleet would shell the unfortified cities along our coast, and some timorous families even abandoned their usual summer outing at the seashore for fear of the Spanish guns. But experts knew that the fleet would put in at some Spanish West Indian port for coal and provisions after its journey across the Atlantic. In spite of Admiral Sampson's diligent patrol, Cervera's fleet slipped by him and came to anchor in Santiago harbor, where it was "bottled up" by Sampson's blockading squadron, — the cruisers *New York* and *Baltimore* and the battleships *Massachusetts, Texas, Iowa, Indiana*, and *Oregon*.[1]



EASTERN ASIA AND THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

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[1] The *Oregon* had just completed a marvelous voyage of 14,000 miles in 66 days, from San Francisco to Florida, around Cape Horn. She arrived and joined the blockading squadron as fresh as if she were just from the docks, "not a bolt nor a rivet out of place."

555. Our Army in Cuba. Meanwhile about 16,000 troops had been sent from the American camps in Florida to invade Cuba, under the command of Major General Shafter. The most picturesque division of this army was the volunteer cavalry regiment, popularly known as the "Rough Riders," commanded by Colonel Leonard Wood, made up of Western cowboys, ranchmen, hunters, and Indians, with a sprinkling of Harvard and Yale graduates. Theodore Roosevelt resigned his position as Assistant Secretary of the Navy to become the lieutenant colonel of the Rough Riders. In a spirited attack, through tangled jungles and over rough fields strung with wire fences, the American troops charged up the heights of San Juan and El Caney in the face of a galling fire from the Spanish Mauser rifles and intrenched themselves on the hills to the east of Santiago (July 1, 2). But General Shafter found the defenses of the city too strong and notified Washington that he should need reënforcements to drive General Toral from Santiago. It was a critical position in which the little American army found itself Sunday morning, July 3, on the hills above Santiago. Reënforcements would be weeks in reaching them. Their supplies were inadequate and bad.[1] The dreaded fever had already broken out among them. And Cervera's fleet in the harbor below could easily drive them from the heights by a well-directed fire.

THE BLOCKHOUSE AT EL CANEY, RIDDLED WITH BULLETS

556. The Battle of Santiago. But fortune favored our cause. That same Sunday morning the Spanish ships steamed out of the harbor and started to run westward along the southern shore of Cuba, the flagship *Maria Theresa* leading and the *Vizcaya*, the *Colón*, the *Oquendo*, and the destroyers following. Admiral Sampson, with his flagship, the *New York*, was absent for the moment, conferring with General Shafter on the critical situation of the American army. Commodore Schley, on the *Brooklyn*, was left as ranking officer. Following Sampson's orders, the American ships closed in on the Spaniards and followed them in a wild chase along the coast, pouring a deadly fire into them all the while. The Spaniards replied, as at Manila, with a rapid but ineffectual discharge. One by one the Spanish cruisers, disabled or in flames, turned and headed for the breakers, until the last of them, the *Cristóbal Colón*, bearing the proud name of the man who four centuries earlier had discovered for Spain the western world whose last remnants were now slipping from her grasp, was beached by the relentless fire of the *Brooklyn* and the *Oregon*, forty-five miles west of the harbor of Santiago. Only one man was killed and one seriously wounded in the American fleet, while less than $10,000 repaired all the damage done by the Spanish guns. But the enemy's fleet was completely destroyed, over 500 officers and men were killed, wounded, or drowned, and 1700 taken prisoners. The Spanish loss would have been far greater had not the American sailors rescued hundreds of their foemen, including the brave Admiral Cervera himself, from the burning decks and the wreck-strewn waters. A few days later General Toral surrendered the city of Santiago, now at the mercy of Sampson's guns, and turned over his army as prisoners of war to General Shafter (July 17).

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[1] The inadequacy of the War Department, under Secretary Alger, was a striking contrast to the efficiency of the Navy Department. The soldiers were supplied with heavy clothing for the hot Cuban campaign and with inferior canned meats, which General Miles called "embalmed beef."

557. The Capture of Manila. The total loss of two fleets and an army brought Spain to sue for terms. The preliminaries for the treaty of peace were signed in Washington, and hostilities were suspended August 12. News of the peace reached Porto Rico just in time to stop General Miles's advance against the Spanish forces, and the governor of Porto Rico immediately surrendered the island to the American army. But before the news of peace reached the distant Philippines an event of great importance had occurred there. Three "relief expeditions," comprising over 10,000 troops, had reached the Philippines from San Francisco by the end of July, and on August 13 these troops, supported by Dewey's squadron,[1] took the city of Manila and raised the American flag over the governor's palace.

558. Peace with Spain. Terms of peace between Spain and the United States were signed at Paris, December 10, 1898. Spain agreed to withdraw from Cuba and to cede Porto Rico, Guam, and the Philippine Islands to the United States. As the war had been begun for the liberation of Cuba, and as the city of Manila had not been taken until the day after the peace preliminaries were signed and hostilities suspended, the Spanish commissioners at Paris protested against having the Philippines included in the peace negotiations at all. But President McKinley and his advisers were unwilling to leave the Islands a prey to internal wars or European domination, and Spain consented finally to give them up for an indemnity of $20,000,000.

559. The Philippine Insurrection. Meantime an ugly situation had developed in the Philippines. The natives had been in revolt against Spain at the same time as the Cubans. In 1897 the Spaniards had bought off the leaders of the revolt, including one Emilio Aguinaldo, with a promise of $1,000,000. Aguinaldo had retired to Singapore. While at Hongkong, Dewey made an agreement to convey Aguinaldo back to the Philippines on an American ship and furnished his insurgents with arms. The Filipino troops had entered Manila with the Americans on August 13. Aguinaldo now claimed that Dewey had promised to turn the Philippines over to him when the power of Spain was crushed, but there is no evidence that Dewey ever made such a promise. Forced to withdraw from the city of Manila (September 15), Aguinaldo organized a Filipino republic, had himself proclaimed dictator, and prepared to maintain his position by force of arms. President McKinley ordered General Otis, commanding at Manila, to extend the authority of the United States over all the island of Luzón, and the Filipino Congress replied by authorizing Aguinaldo to make war on the American troops. It came to a battle before Manila on February 4, 1899. The superior quality and training of the American army made victory over the Filipinos in the open field of battle very easy; but when the Filipinos took to a guerrilla warfare among their native swamps and jungles, the wearying task of subjugating them dragged on for more than two years. Even the seizure of Aguinaldo himself in his mountain retreat by a party of American scouts disguised as insurgents (February, 1901), and his proclamation two months later acknowledging American sovereignty in the Islands, did not end the insurrection. It was not until April, 1902, that the last insurgent leader surrendered and the Philippines were officially declared "pacified."

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[1] The friendly spirit of England was especially shown in the conduct of the fleets in Manila Bay. The German admiral, Von Diedrichs, threatened Dewey by unfriendly demonstrations and would have effected a combination of the European warships to attempt to drive Dewey from the bay or to frustrate his bombardment of Manila had not the British admiral openly declared his sympathy for the American cause. When the news of Dewey's victory reached London, American flags were hung in the streets and "The Star-Spangled Banner" was played in the theaters and music halls.

THE GOVERNMENT OF OUR DEPENDENCIES

560. "Untried Paths." President McKinley seemed opposed at first to annexing foreign territory to the United States as a result of the Spanish War and instructed our delegates at the peace conference in Paris not to "dim the luster and the moral strength of our cause" by demands that might tempt us into "an adventurous departure on untried paths." But, persuaded by the business interests, the reports of officers returning from the Islands, and a widespread popular demand for annexation, he finally sent the fateful orders to our commissioners at Paris to demand of Spain the cession of the whole Philippine archipelago. The treaty met with violent opposition from both Republicans and Democrats in the Senate, and was ratified after a month's discussion (February 6, 1899) only by the bare two-thirds majority of 57 to 27. Many prominent men of the intellectual class — educators, clergymen, lawyers, and statesmen — protested against annexation. Thomas B. Reed broke with McKinley and retired from the Speakership, sarcastically condemning the policy of buying ten million Malays "at $2.00 a head." But, for better or worse, the United States had taken up "the White Man's burden" and entered upon the "untried paths." We had undertaken the responsibility of providing an orderly government for the island of Cuba. We had acquired nearly a million subjects of Spanish and negro blood in Porto Rico. We had become the masters and protectors of eight million people in the Philippines, ranging from the cultured Tagalogs of Manila to the naked Negrito dwarfs and the savage head-hunting Igorrotes and the brutish Moros of the Sulu peninsula.

561. The Anti-Imperialists. The United States had pursued a steady policy of expansion from the earliest days. But that expansion had been westward into the virgin lands (sparsely occupied by the Indians) which beckoned to the pioneer. Louisiana and Oregon, Texas and California, were acquired as frontier regions to be filled with American settlers and to round out the domain of the United States. But the new islands in the Pacific could by no stretch of the imagination be thought of as completing our boundaries or affording an outlet for our population. They were already inhabited by millions of people differing from us in language, race, and custom. The Filipinos were a remote and alien population brought into subjection and held in obedience by the army and fleet of the United States. This, said the opponents of annexation, was nothing less than "imperialism" — the system by which the Roman Empire had dominated the nations of the ancient world. How could such a policy be reconciled with our Declaration of Independence, which insisted upon the doctrine of government "by consent of the governed"? How could it be made to square with the Monroe Doctrine, which pledged the United States to confine its political interests to the Western Hemisphere? Above all, how could our Constitution, devised for a self-governing democracy, be adapted to the rule of millions of distant aliens? Could it, or should it, or any part of it cross the seas to our new possessions where the flag had gone at the head of the conquering armies? These were the embarrassing questions which the anti-imperialists asked.

562. The Reorganization of Cuba. Our problem in Cuba was comparatively simple. We had pledged ourselves by the Teller Resolution [**552**] to turn the government of the island over to the natives after order was restored; and to the amazement of Europe we kept our promise. Under the efficient management of General Leonard Wood from 1899 to 1902, municipal and provincial governments were organized in Cuba, a system of public education was established, the yellow fever, which had made Havana a pesthole, was stamped out, delegates were assembled to frame a constitution for the island, and elections for various local and national offices were held. Tomás Estrada Palma was chosen first president of the Cuban republic in February, 1902, and on May 20 General Wood handed over the government to him. In his instructions to General Wood, Secretary of War Elihu Root had insisted that the Cubans should put into their constitution the following provisions: (1) that Cuba should make no treaties impairing its independence or granting any concessions to foreign powers without the consent of the United States; (2) that it should not contract any debts whose interest could not be met out of the current revenues; (3) that it should allow the United States to intervene whenever necessary to preserve the independence and stability of the government; (4) that it should grant the United States the right to establish two naval stations on the Cuban coast. These clauses are known as the Platt Amendment because they were introduced into Congress by Senator O. H. Platt of Connecticut, chairman of the Committee on Cuban Relations. Under the Platt Amendment the United States has intervened occasionally (1906, 1912, 1917) to restore order or to prevent revolution in Cuba. We have also granted Cuba commercial favors in the reduction of our tariff rates on her sugar, tobacco, and other products. Her exports to the United States grew from $15,000,000 in 1905 to $722,000,000 in 1920, and our exports to Cuba in the same period grew from $9,500,000 to $515,000,000.

563. Porto Rico. The island of Porto Rico, fourth in size in the West Indies, with a population of 953,000 (589,000 whites), came willingly under the control of the United States. But it was impossible to give statehood or even territorial rights to a people containing but 17 per cent of literates, alien in blood and speech and without any experience in self-government. By the Foraker Act of 1900 Porto Rico was organized as a sort of compromise between a colony and a territory. A governor and a council of eleven (including five Porto Ricans) were appointed by the President, and a legislature of thirty-five members was elected by the natives. The island was put under the protection of our laws, and works of sanitation, education, road-building, and agricultural development were undertaken. Since 1901 Porto Rico has enjoyed free trade with the United States. Her exports to us rose from $5,600,000 to over $150,000,000 in the next twenty years and her imports from $7,000,000 to $120,000,000. On March 2, 1917, President Wilson signed a bill granting United States citizenship to the Porto Ricans and replacing the appointed council by a Senate elected by the people of the island.

564. The Philippines. It is in the Philippines that the real test of the efficiency of our colonial administration has been and is still being made. Nearly eight million people, inhabiting a group of islands seven thousand miles from our nearest shores, had been turned over to the American Republic without their consent. An armed rebellion against our authority was being waged in the Islands [**559**], which, according to General McArthur's report of July 4, 1901, had cost up to that date a loss of seven hundred and thirty-five Americans killed and wounded. In the absence of any legislation by Congress, President McKinley, as commander in chief of the army and navy, exercised full power over the Islands. This power he delegated to a commission of five members headed by Judge William H. Taft of Ohio, who were instructed by Secretary Root (April, 1900) "to make rules and orders having the effect of law" for raising revenue by taxation, making appropriations of money, establishing an educational system and an official civil service, organizing courts, and instituting municipal and departmental governments. The natives of the Islands, wherever they could be found "competent and willing to perform the duties" and of "absolute and unconditional loyalty to the United

States," were to be given preference over Americans in the selection for provincial and municipal offices. The Islands were to be turned over to the Filipinos as soon as they should prove themselves capable of self-government; but the American commissioners believed that it would be "certainly a generation, perhaps two," before the time for redeeming this promise would arrive.

565. Growth of Self-Government in the Philippines. In March, 1901, Congress adopted the Spooner Amendment, which vested "all military, civil and judicial power necessary to governing the Philippine Islands" in such persons as the President of the United States should direct. The President used this extraordinary grant of power with admirable moderation and wisdom. As soon as the force of the insurrection was broken, he appointed Judge Taft as civil governor (June, 1901), with the four other members of the commission, to administer the departments of commerce, justice, finance, and education. Three Filipino members were soon added to the commission. A census of the Islands was completed in 1905, on the basis of which an election was held two years later for a Philippine National Assembly to share in the government as a lower House. The Assembly convened in October, 1907. Ex-Governor Taft (then Secretary of War) went to Manila to assist at the inaugural ceremonies. The Democrats criticized the Republicans for holding the Philippines in subjection and announced in their own platforms the intention of recognizing the independence of the Islands as soon as a "stable government" was established. Therefore, when the Democratic party came into power under Woodrow Wilson in 1913, the hopes of the Filipino Nationalists were high. By the Jones Act of 1916 the American commission was replaced by an elected Filipino Senate, and the suffrage was greatly extended, but Congress rejected the amendment of Senator Clarke granting full independence to the Islands in two, or at most four, years. With the return of the Republicans to power in 1921, Governor Wood had to apply rather strenuous methods to repress the Nationalists, who got control of both Houses of the Philippine government in 1923 and demanded immediate independence.

A Filipino delegation came to Washington in 1924 to complain to President Coolidge of the arbitrary government of the Americans in the Philippines, but the President supported Governor Wood and made it clear to the petitioners that there would be no immediate relaxation of American authority in the Islands. In the summer of 1926 Colonel Carmi A. Thompson of Ohio was sent as special commissioner to investigate political conditions in the Philippines. His report in December confirmed our government's position in holding the Islands for an indefinite period.[1] In August, 1927, Governor-General Wood died, and was succeeded by Colonel Henry L. Stimson.

566. Development of the Philippines. In spite of continued political agitation, the social and economic progress of the Philippines under the American rule has been remarkable. Roads and bridges have been built, harbors and rivers improved, modern methods of agriculture introduced, commerce and industry stimulated. The American government purchased of the friars some four hundred thousand acres of church land for $7,200,000, which it sold to the natives on easy terms. The value of the agriculture of the Islands increased from $87,750,000 in 1910 to nearly $200,000,000 in 1920, and in the latter year there were over ten thousand factories and nearly eight hundred miles of railroad in the archipelago, while three million tons of shipping were loaded or unloaded at the piers of Manila and other ports. Complete free trade between the United States and the Philippines was established in 1913. The exports of the Islands to the United States grew from $3,800,000 in 1898 to $113,000,000 in 1920, and their imports increased in the same period from $128,000 to $99,000,000. Thousands of teachers have gone from America to the Philippines. The Department of Education in the Islands reported 7641 public schools in May, 1923, with over a million children in attendance. The University of the Philippines, with thirty-one permanent buildings, had an enrollment of 3427 students, and there were between nine and ten thousand Filipino students enrolled in the schools and colleges of the United States.

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[1] At a luncheon of the Foreign Policies Association in New York, on December 11, 1926, W. Morgan Shuster, a man of large experience in colonial affairs, proposed a plan for the gradual relinquishment of American rule in the Philippines, until, in 1948, the Islands should be completely self-governing, but under a "protectorate" of the United States somewhat similar to that which we exercise over Cuba.

567. The Insular Cases. Our flag was raised in the West Indies and in the distant islands of the Pacific, but the question remained as to whether the inhabitants of our new territories enjoyed the rights and privileges of American citizens. In other words, did the "Constitution follow the flag"? This question was discussed by the Supreme Court in the so-called Insular Cases, which dealt with the right of merchants in Porto Rico and the Philippines to send goods here without paying tariff duties. If these Islands were a part of the United States, the language of the Constitution (Art. I, sect. 9, par. 6) seemed to exempt them from the duties. But the President had already denied certain rights guaranteed with the Constitution (trial by jury and the right to bear arms) in his instructions to the commission in the Philippines, and Congress had already, by the Foraker Act, levied a tariff on goods coming from Porto Rico. Neither the business

THE RESIDENCE OF A WELL-TO-DO FAMILY IN A PHILIPPINE TOWN interests nor the general sentiment of the country favored the recognition of the Islands as integral parts of the United States, and the Court, acquiescing in public opinion, decided by a vote of five to four that the new possessions were "not a part of the United States within the Revenue clauses of the Constitution," and hence Congress might levy tariff duties upon their products coming into our ports.

Entering the Twentieth Century

568. A Wave of Prosperity. The McKinley administration ushered in a period of remarkable prosperity. The causes of discontent that had led to the bitter struggle between the East and West were largely removed. Gold was discovered in 1897–1898 on the Klondike River near the border of Alaska and British Columbia and at Cape Nome, Alaska; and within five years $100,000,000 of the precious metal was mined. At the same time there was a greatly increased output by the South African mines. The amount of gold coined in the United States in the five-year period 1897–1902 was $437,000,000, as compared with an average five-year coinage of $258,000,000 since 1873. Our circulating medium rose from $23.85 per capita in 1893 to over $30 in 1900. The consequent fall in the value of gold enabled the farmers to sell their abundant crops of corn and wheat at higher prices. They began to paint their barns, pay off their mortgages, and put money in the bank. The rapid and complete victory over Spain stimulated a common patriotism which absorbed the sectional rivalry between East and West; and the last traces of ill feeling between North and South were wiped out when the men from Dixie and the men from Yankeeland fought shoulder to shoulder under Colonel Roosevelt of New York or "Little Joe" Wheeler of Alabama.

569. Big Business Triumphant. The most conspicuous sign of the new prosperity was the growth of industrial consolidation. Though the Wilson-Gorman tariff [**533**] was providing an ample revenue for the expenses of the government, the big-business interests, which had contributed their millions to the Republican campaign of 1896, demanded in return higher rates of protection. In July, 1897, therefore, the Dingley Tariff Bill was passed, restoring the high schedules of the McKinley Act of 1890 [**510**], and it remained unchanged for a dozen years of almost uninterrupted prosperity. There had been a great curtailment of industrial output during the hard times of the early nineties. Now the "boom" period followed. Wages and prices rose. Our exports of manufactured goods increased from 17.8 per cent of the total exports in 1890 to 32 per cent in 1900. According to the Commercial Year Book, one hundred and fifty-seven new trusts were organized in the last few years of the nineteenth century, with a capitalization of $3,150,000,000, exceeding the total capitalization of the industries established during the preceding thirty years. There was no disposition on the part of President McKinley to interfere with what his Secretary of State, John Hay, called "the insolent prosperity of the United States." The President agreed with Mark Hanna that the success of big business was the best index of the country's welfare. He instituted no suits against the trusts under the Sherman Act; he made no recommendations to Congress for legislation regulating the railroads.

570. The Steel Trust. The outstanding example of the business consolidation which was taking place in railroads, meat-packing, coal, leather, lumber, sugar, and various other industries was the United States Steel Corporation, organized by J. P. Morgan and Company in 1901. Eleven companies were merged to form this trust, and the capitalization reached the unprecedented figure of $1,404,000,000. Over $400,000,000 of the preferred and common stock issued represented "water"; that is, a capitalization beyond the actual value of the properties merged. The corporation owned not only the mills for the production of steel, but the mines which furnished the iron ore, the lake steamers which brought the ore from the mines, and the railroad lines which carried it to the mills. The steel trust was launched at the time when capital for investment was abundant, and the new securities were eagerly purchased by the public.

571. New Markets. It was no accident that the interest in new colonies across the sea coincided with the development of big business. So long as we had been chiefly an agricultural people, such surplus of crops as remained after feeding our own rapidly increasing population had gone to the old manufacturing countries of Europe. But the growth of the industrial system in America brought a change. Our people could not begin to absorb the goods turned out of the mills and factories by large-scale standardized production. Neither could we sell these products to the manufacturing countries of Europe as we did our wheat and corn. We also needed sources of supply of raw materials which we could not raise at home. The tropical countries would furnish us rubber, raw silk, dyewoods, fibers, coffee, and drugs, while their millions of "backward" people could be educated to take our cotton and woolen goods, our shoes and hats, our agricultural and industrial machinery, our steel rails and locomotives. Whether or not the Constitution followed the flag into our new possessions, it was certain that the business promoter did.

572. The Hague Conference. The years immediately following the Spanish War saw a heightening of our prestige in Europe as well as in the Far East. In 1899 the Czar of Russia invited the powers to meet to discuss measures for relieving the European nations of the burden put upon them by the maintenance of their huge armies and fleets. A generation earlier we should have considered that the Monroe Doctrine prevented us from participating in any such meeting; but now President McKinley accepted the invitation cordially. He sent a strong delegation to The Hague, headed by Andrew D. White, our ambassador to Berlin, and including Seth Low, the president of Columbia University, and the eminent naval authority, Captain A. T. Mahan. The conference adopted a number of rules for the mitigation of the cruelties of war on land and sea, but its most important work was the direct outcome of the labors of the American delegation. Mr. White and his colleagues had come to The Hague with a carefully prepared plan for the establishment of an international court of arbitration. The representative of the German emperor opposed the plan, believing that it would impair the advantage which Germany had over her neighbors in the strength and preparedness of her army. But White, by personal appeal to Chancellor von Bülow and even to the Kaiser himself, secured the German indorsement of the court. The United States was the first of the great nations to submit a case for arbitration to the Hague Tribunal (1902), and within five years after the establishment of the court the European nations had made thirty-three treaties providing for the voluntary submission to arbitration of such disputes as did not affect "the vital interests, the independence, or the honor of the two contracting states."

INDUSTRIAL CLEVELAND

Showing steel mills in the background and an ore ship on the river. Photograph by Ewing Galloway

573. The "Open Door" in China. A few weeks after the Hague convention adjourned, John Hay, one of our greatest Secretaries of State,[1] won another diplomatic victory for the

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[1] In order to make a vacancy in the Senate for Mr. Hanna, McKinley had promoted Senator John Sherman of Ohio to the Secretaryship of State in 1897. Assistant Secretary Judge William R. Day succeeded Sherman in 1898, and when Day went to Paris as chairman of the Peace Commission, John Hay was summoned from his post as ambassador to England to become Secretary of State. Hay remained in office under McKinley and Roosevelt until his death in 1905.

United States. Just at the time of the Spanish War the great powers of Europe (Germany, Russia, France, and England) were securing leases of vast territory in China and threatening to divide up that helpless empire. Our interest in the markets of the Far East was greatly stimulated by our possession of the Philippines and by the new demands of our industrial surplus. Besides, we had a genuine desire to see China fairly dealt with. Therefore, Secretary Hay wrote an identical note to the powers in September, 1899, asking them not to interfere with the privileges of any of the twenty-two treaty ports in China, nor to disturb the regular collection of Chinese duties, nor to close their "spheres of influence" against other nations by increased railroad rates or harbor dues. Each of the powers replied that it would agree to the terms of the note, provided the others did so. Whereupon Secretary Hay announced to each of the powers that all had accepted his proposal, and the "open door" in China was assured.

574. The Boxer Rebellion. However, the exploitation of China by the Europeans roused the resentment of the natives, who clung to their Oriental civilization and had no desire to see the railroads, telegraphs, and factories of the Western world introduced into their country. A patriotic association known as the "Boxers" rose in arms. Supported secretly by the troops of the Dowager Empress, they determined to drive the "foreign devils" out of China. Peking was surrounded by a fanatical army and cut off from communication with the coast. The foreign diplomatic corps, with their families and a number of native Christians, took refuge within the walls of the British legation, where they withstood for two months an incessant artillery and rifle fire from the Boxers. Sixty-five of the besieged party were killed and one hundred and thirty-five wounded before the relief army, composed of American, British, French, German, Russian, and Japanese troops, fought its way up from the coast and captured the city of Peking. We were in a position, through our occupation of the Philippines, to take a leading part in the rescue of the legations. The European powers would have taken vengeance by overthrowing the government of China and dividing her territory among themselves; but again Secretary Hay intervened, insisting that the integrity of China should be preserved and the government be obliged only to punish the ringleaders of the rebellion and pay a money indemnity for the destruction of lives and property. The sum was fixed at $334,000,000, of which the United States asked but $24,000,000. Nearly half of this modest sum Congress remitted to China in 1908, on the recommendation of President Roosevelt. The Chinese government, "profoundly impressed with the justice and great friendliness" of America, used the money to send hundreds of her young men to be educated in our colleges and universities.

575. McKinley and Roosevelt. With the record of a successful war and of diplomatic victories in Europe and the Far East, with commerce and industry booming, the Republicans faced the election of 1900 confident of an enthusiastic indorsement by the country. Harmony prevailed in the party ranks. There was no thought of substituting any other candidate for the popular, tactful McKinley, who was nominated with unanimity at the Philadelphia convention in June. The only exciting feature of the convention was the selection of the vice-presidential candidate. Theodore Roosevelt's spectacular career in the Spanish War had won him the governorship of New York in the election of 1898. He was just completing his term of office when the Philadelphia convention met, and he was eager to be reëlected governor to continue his fight at Albany against the politicians who were supporting the corrupt traction interests, the canal ring, the insurance grafters, and the law evaders generally. Thomas C. Platt, the Republican boss of New York, was equally eager to have Roosevelt removed to other fields of activity. The Western delegates to a man were shouting for a place for "Teddy" on the national ticket. His devoted friend, Senator Lodge of Massachusetts, was writing him letter after letter to persuade him that the vice presidency would not be his "political grave," but a step on the way to higher honors. Roosevelt insisted up to the very eve of the convention that he would not accept the vice-presidential nomination "under any circumstances — and that is all there is about it." But the pressure from his friends and his foes alike was too great and he was nominated on the first ballot by every vote in the convention except his own.

576. Imperialism the Issue. The Democratic party was still under the domination of Bryan, who was nominated by acclamation in the convention of July 4, 1900, at Kansas City. Though the large addition of gold to the currency [**568**] and the passage of the Gold Standard Act of March 14, 1900, putting the country frankly on a gold basis, had really removed the silver question from politics, Bryan secured the insertion of the free-silver plank into the platform. "The paramount issue of the campaign," however, according to the platform, was the "imperialism growing out of the Spanish War, which threatened the very existence of the Republic and the destruction of our free institutions." Placards and banners were displayed in the convention hall with the inscriptions "Lincoln abolished slavery; McKinley restored it" and "The war for the liberation of Cuba ended with the enslavement of the Philippines." A huge American flag was floated from the roof girders, edged with the motto "The flag of a Republic forever, of an Empire never." Anti-imperialistic leagues were organized and a flood of pamphlets, written by distinguished opponents of our Philippine policy (Charles Francis Adams, Senator Hoar, Carl Schurz, Moorfield Storey, Professors William James, William G. Sumner, and Felix Adler), dwelt on the political and moral evils of the attempt to govern distant alien peoples against their will. Point was given to their arguments by the Philippine insurrection [**559**], which was at its height during the summer of 1900.

577. The Election. The Republicans indignantly denied any intention of imperialistic purpose. We were the liberators, not the oppressors, of the Filipinos. We had planted our flag in the Islands as an emblem of democracy and enlightenment and it must not come down. There must be no policy of "scuttle," leaving the Philippines to the mercy of Japan or Germany or any other foreign exploiter. The country indorsed the doctrine of our "manifest destiny" in the Islands. McKinley's vote fell off in New England, where the anti-imperialists were strongest; but in return he carried most of the West, including Bryan's own state, city, and electoral district. The electoral vote was 292 to 155, and McKinley's popular plurality reached 860,000. For better or worse, we had begun a new policy of expansion and entered into the race for colonial supremacy and world trade. After warning the nations of Europe away from the Western Hemisphere for nearly a century, we had now ourselves seized on possessions in the Eastern Hemisphere. We had inaugurated governments strange to the letter and the spirit of our Constitution. We had voted down by large majorities the counsel of the men who urged us to return to the old order and had accepted the call of our "manifest destiny." We had no longer the choice whether or not we should play a great part in the events of the world. The only question was, in the words of Theodore Roosevelt, "whether we should play that part well or ill."

578. The Assassination of McKinley. In the summer of 1901 a Pan-American Exposition was held at Buffalo to celebrate the growth of political and commercial cordiality between the United States and her sister republics of Central and South America. President McKinley attended and in a noble speech, on the fifth of September, outlined the policy of friendly trade and reciprocal good will which we should cultivate with the nations of the world. "We must not," he said, "repose in fancied security that we can forever sell everything and buy little or nothing . . . the period of exclusion is past . . . reciprocity treaties are in harmony with the spirit of the times . . . measures of retaliation are not." It was his last public utterance. The next day, as he was holding a reception in the Temple of Music, he was shot by a young Polish anarchist named Czolgosz, whose brain had been inflamed by reading the tirades of the yellow press against "Czar McKinley." After a week of patient suffering the President died, — the third victim of an assassin's bullet since the Civil War.

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Topics for Special Reports

1. **Our Intervention in Cuba:** Theodore Roosevelt, *An Autobiography*, pp. 223–277; Latané, pp. 3–28; Rhodes, pp. 44–67; J. B. Bishop, *Theodore Roosevelt and his Time*, Vol. I, pp. 80–91; P. L. Haworth, *The United States in our Own Times*, pp. 232–256; MacDonald, Nos. 184, 185; Hart, *Contemporaries*, Vol. IV, Nos. 180, 192.

2. **The Anti-Imperialists:** G. F. Hoar, *Autobiography of Seventy Years*, Vol. II, pp. 304–320; Coolidge, pp. 148–171; Edward Atkinson, *The Cost of War and Warfare from 1899 to 1902*; Moorfield Storey, *What shall we do with our Dependencies?* (*Harvard Law Review*, Vols. XII, XIII); Albert Shaw, *Political Problems of American Development*, chap. ix; Latané, pp. 120–132; H. U. Faulkner, *American Economic History*, pp. 618–627; Hart, *Contemporaries*, Vol. IV, Nos. 186, 190, 191; Muzzey, *Readings*, pp. 546–555.

3. **American Rule in the Philippines:** H. P. Willis, *Our Philippine Problem*; F. W. Atkinson, pp. 337–372; A. H. Snow, *The Administration of Dependencies*, chaps. xxvi, xxvii; Latané, pp. 153–174; M. M. Kalaw, *The Case of the Filipinos*, chaps. iv, vi, and Appendix G; J. S. Reyes, *The Legislative History of America's Economic Policy toward the Philippines* (Columbia University Studies, Vol. CVI, No. 2).

4. **The United States Steel Corporation:** Rhodes, pp. 144–157; B. J. Hendrick, *The Age of Big Business* (Chronicles of America, Vol. XXXIX), pp. 58–85; Carl Hovey, *The Life Story of J. P. Morgan*, pp. 194–223; J. H. Bridge, *Inside History of the Carnegie Steel Company*; W. Z. Ripley (ed.), *Trusts, Pools, and Corporations*, pp. 97–268.

5. **The First Hague Conference:** White, Vol. II, pp. 250–354; F. W. Holls, *The Peace Conference at The Hague*, pp. 1–35, 365–372; Latané, pp. 242–254; J. W. Foster, *Arbitration and the Hague Court*.

Questions for Review

1. Give the reasons for our intervention in Cuba in 1898. **2.** Compare the Teller Resolution with the Ostend Manifesto [**365**]. **3.** Was McKinley to blame for not preventing the war with Spain? **4.** What would Dewey have had to do with his warships at Hongkong if he had not sailed to attack the

Spanish fleet at Manila? **5.** What part did Roosevelt play in the Spanish War? **6.** Contrast the attitude of the British and the German naval forces in Manila Bay toward the American fleet. **7.** What persuaded McKinley to demand the cession of the Philippines by Spain? **8.** How did the case differ from that of Porto Rico? **9.** What were the chief arguments of the anti-imperialists? **10.** Why did we not treat the Philippines as we did Cuba? **11.** What extraordinary powers did the Spooner Amendment confer on President McKinley? **12.** Are the Filipinos citizens of the United States? Do they want to be? **13.** What has the United States done for the Philippines? **14.** What did Mr. Dooley mean by saying that whether or not our Constitution follows the flag, the Supreme Court follows the election returns? **15.** What put an end to the agitation for free silver? **16.** What resemblances can you point out between England's control of the American colonies and our control of the Philippines? What differences? **17.** What connection is there between big business and imperialism? **18.** Did our participation in the Hague Conference of 1899 have any relation to the Monroe Doctrine? Did Hay's policy of the "open door" in China? **19.** What caused the Boxer Rebellion? **20.** Why has China regarded the United States as a very good friend? **21.** Why did Roosevelt not want to be nominated as vice president in 1900? Why did Thomas C. Platt want him to be nominated? **22.** Distinguish between the two Platts mentioned in this chapter. **23.** How was our foreign policy at the close of the nineteenth century a departure from our usual course? **24.** Explain the phrase "manifest destiny." **25.** Explain the difference between arbitration and a treaty.

CHAPTER XVI

THE ROOSEVELT ERA

Liberty within the Law

579. Theodore Roosevelt. McKinley's death brought into the presidency a man who was to fill the stage of our political life in the first decade of the twentieth century and to become probably the best-known man of the civilized world. Theodore Roosevelt was born in New York City, October 27, 1858, of Dutch stock. After graduating at Harvard in the class of 1880 he served for three years in the legislature of his state. Then he spent two years on a ranch in North Dakota, strengthening his rather feeble health and at the same time gaining that appreciation of the value of our great Western domain which so conspicuously influenced his public administration. In 1889 he was appointed by President Harrison to the Civil Service Commission, where he served diligently for six years, earning the congratulations of President Cleveland for the "extent and permanence of the reforms" which he accomplished. He resigned the assistant secretaryship of the navy in 1898 to enter the Spanish War and was elected governor of New York in the autumn of the same year. Except for his brief service in the Assembly at Albany, Roosevelt's political career had been wholly in the executive field. He loved power and wielded it with aggressive confidence. The range of his curiosities, activities, and accomplishments was enormous. His published works on history, politics, ethics, travel, and sport fill thirty volumes. Though born to comparative wealth, he was a man of the most democratic instincts. Rank, money, occupation, or social status meant little to him. Cowboys, ambassadors, labor leaders, senators, prize fighters, and clergymen were likely to meet each other in the reception room of the White House or sit down to his table

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THEODORE ROOSEVELT

together. The grimy engineer of the presidential train always got a cheery word and a cordial handshake as he leaned out of his cab at the end of the run.

580. His Conception of the Presidency. The "elder statesmen" of the Republican party and the bankers of Wall Street were not enthusiastic over Roosevelt's accession to the presidency. In spite of the fact that he announced his intention to carry out the policy of his predecessor, that he invited the members of McKinley's cabinet to retain their portfolios, and that he made advances to Hanna for his friendship and confidence, the seasoned politicians were apprehensive. This "young man" of forty-two, with his self-assurance, his courage and idealism, his record for independence of the bosses and zeal for the enforcement of the law, might disturb the well-oiled machinery of the business man's government as it had been stabilized under the "safe" administration of McKinley. Roosevelt had been watching with sympathetic interest the work of the radical governor of Wisconsin, Robert M. La Follette, in his fight to bring the railroads and other corporations into obedience to the laws of the state. Did he perchance think of introducing the "Wisconsin idea" into national politics? The country was soon to learn that Roosevelt regarded the presidency as the directing force in the government. It was for him as the first officer of the land to initiate policies. He did not search the Constitution for a specific grant of authority to act in any matter that appealed to him as necessary and proper for the public welfare. "I caused to be done," he said in his "Autobiography," "many things not previously done by the President and the heads of the executive departments. I did not usurp power, but I did greatly broaden the use of the executive power. In other words, I acted for the common well-being of all our people, whenever and in whatever manner was necessary, unless prevented by direct constitutional or legislative prohibition."

581. Roosevelt's Attitude toward the Trusts. The President's first message to Congress in December, 1901, — a very long and able state paper, — contained the whole program of his administration. It embodied his recommendations on the increase of the army and navy, the extension of the civil service, the irrigation of the arid lands of the West, the encouragement of the merchant marine, the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine, the restriction of immigration, the government of our new possessions, and many other matters. "None of his later messages," says Professor Beard, "added anything new by way of economic doctrine or moral principles." He assured Congress and the country that no "crude or ill-considered legislation" should interfere with the "delicate mechanism of modern business," and yet it is significant that the first subject that he discussed in his message was "the great industrial combinations which are popularly . . . known as trusts." He was not opposed to big business as such. He realized that concentration in industry was a natural and inevitable form of development of our great resources. He had too much energy and initiative himself to condemn those qualities in the great captains of industry who had thrown the railroads across the country and raised America to the first rank among the industrial nations of the world. The great corporations, especially those which practically monopolized such necessities of life as coal, oil, beef, and sugar, should be "supervised and within reasonable limits controlled." They had received privileges and protection from the government and they incurred in return the obligation to the people of a strictly legal and honest conduct of their business. They should not be allowed to reap fabulous profits by charging exorbitant prices or by securing illegal privileges from the legislatures. The government had the constitutional right to regulate interstate commerce. In order that it might do so with wisdom and justice the Interstate Commerce Act [**498**] should be made more clear and specific and a new Department of Commerce and Industry should be created to deal with those interests of the government which concerned the corporations, labor, and the merchant marine.

582. The Northern Securities Case. Roosevelt soon showed that his recommendations for the enforcement of the anti-trust laws were no idle words. In February, 1902, to the surprise and dismay of Wall Street, he ordered his Attorney-General, P. C. Knox of Pennsylvania, to institute a suit against the Northern

Securities Company. James J. Hill had come as a poor lad, in 1856, from a little Canadian village to the town of St. Paul, Minnesota, where he had built up a great fortune in mining, shipping, and railroads. His culminating achievement was the building, in 1889, of the Great Northern Railway from Lake Superior to the Pacific through the new states of the Northwest [**511**]. Hill's road was a magnificent property, honestly built and soundly financed. It had been prosperous even during the panic of 1893–1894, when nearly two hundred railroads, with a capitalization of $2,500,000,000, were in the hands of the receivers. To protect his railroad against the raids of rival operators and of speculators in Wall Street and to secure connections with the great metropolis of Chicago, Hill had formed a merger between the Great Northern, J. P. Morgan's Northern Pacific, and the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy. The shippers of the northwestern states complained of this monopoly of transportation as an infraction of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act [**509**], and President Roosevelt agreed with them. The circuit court of St. Paul rendered a decision in favor of the dissolution of the Northern Securities Company in 1903, and the next year the Supreme Court, by a vote of five to four, upheld the decision and ordered the company to restore to their original holders the stocks and bonds of the three merged lines.

583. Enforcement of the Anti-Trust Act. The prosecution and dissolution of the Northern Securities Company marked a new policy in the government. For more than ten years the Sherman Act had stood on the statute books, but the government had not pushed a single case under it to victory against a corporation. Now there was great anxiety among the promoters of big business as to where the President might strike next. Mr. Morgan had hurried to Washington on the news of the prosecution of the Morgan-Hill merger to see if the matter could not be "fixed up" between his lawyers and the Attorney-General without a lawsuit; and, failing this, he had asked the President whether he intended to attack his other business interests, like the United States Steel Corporation. He had to get such comfort as he could from the assurance that no business, big or small, had anything to fear so long as it observed the law, and that it was to the advantage of the great corporations themselves to obey the law, which guaranteed their own protection against violence and disorder. A series of acts followed in 1903 looking toward the better definition and enforcement of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. Suits dealing with the trusts were given precedence on the federal court calendars by the Expedition Act of February 11. Three days later the new cabinet Department of Commerce and Labor was created. The Elkins act of February 19 punished the receiver as well as the giver of railroad rebates. And in May the government successfully prosecuted the beef trusts for violation of the law.

584. The Anthracite Coal Strike. In May, 1902, nearly 150,000 anthracite coal miners in Pennsylvania went out on a strike, after John Mitchell, president of the United Mine Workers, had tried in vain to get the mine operators to consent to a hearing and arbitration of the grievances of the workers. As the summer progressed and the strikers showed no sign of yielding, in spite of the operators' assurance that the strike would be over in a few days, the price of coal rose to five or six times the normal figure of five dollars a ton. Especially in the East, where anthracite was practically the only fuel used, the public looked forward with dismay to a winter of suffering. Their sympathies were largely with the miners, who were certainly not getting a fair deal in the matter of wages, hours of labor, treatment by the foremen, and prices charged in the companies stores with which they were obliged to trade. Roosevelt had no authority as president to interfere in the strike, but as the first citizen of the land, interested in a square deal, he invited Mr. Mitchell and the mine operators to the White House for a conference. He asked that work at the mines be resumed at once to relieve the anxiety of the public, pending an investigation and arbitration of the dispute. Mitchell consented, but the operators, adopting a "belligerent and uncompromising attitude," flatly refused. Then Roosevelt took the matter into his own hands, selecting a commission to investigate the conditions in the anthracite field and even going so far as to make plans for working the mines under the protection of United States troops. He sent Secretary of War Root to New York for an interview with J. P. Morgan, and Root returned to Washington with a plan of arbitration to which all the operators had agreed. Work was resumed in the mines on October 23. After several months the arbitrators made their report, granting the miners a 10 per cent wage increase, recognizing the union, and providing for a board of conciliation composed of men representing the operators, the union, and the public to settle future disputes. The strike had lasted one hundred and sixty-three days and cost close to $100,000,000 in loss of freight and wages. Under the new policy of conciliation, peace reigned in the mining industry until after the great World War.

585. Roosevelt's Popularity. The President's intervention in the coal strike in behalf of the public was only one of the energetic measures of his first administration that won him immense popularity. For every enemy that he made among the representatives of big business by his prosecutions under the Sherman act, he made a thousand friends among the common people. They applauded his defense of the Monroe Doctrine in compelling Germany to desist from her purpose to collect by force the debt owed her citizens by the South American republic of Venezuela (1902). They approved of his refusal to be thwarted by the corrupt government of Colombia in the acquisition of a canal route across the Isthmus of Panama (1903). They commended him for his determination to see that men of all races and creeds received fair treatment and for his insistence that honesty and efficiency must be the first considerations in all public appointments. Roosevelt traveled from one end of the country to the other, expounding his policies in plain and vigorous language to enthusiastic audiences. He was for the "square deal." Neither the rich nor the poor should receive favors from the government. Neither capital nor labor should set itself above the law. He believed in the right of labor to organize in unions and recognized the justice of the strike when no other form of action was able to secure a fair deal for the worker. But violence or wanton destruction of property, or interference with the liberty of any man to work where and when he chose, he condemned as a violation of the law; and lawlessness he considered just as intolerable in the strikers who burned freight cars as in the directors who doctored freight rates.

586. The Election of 1904. The conservatives in Congress and the capitalists in Wall Street did not share the enthusiasm which the people at large had for Roosevelt. A movement was set on foot to replace him by Hanna in the campaign of 1904. But with the death of Hanna in February, 1904, the opposition collapsed, and Roosevelt was nominated by acclamation at the Chicago convention in June for what was practically a second term. The Democratic convention at St. Louis came again into the hands of the conservatives, who had been beaten at Chicago eight years before. It nominated Alton B. Parker, chief judge of the New York Court of Appeals, who immediately made it clear by a telegram to St. Louis that he was unalterably pledged to the gold standard. His views were accepted by the convention in spite of Bryan's protest. The country saw the strange spectacle of a somewhat radical Republican running against an avowedly conservative Democrat. Judge Parker proved a veritable man of straw against Theodore Roosevelt. The Republicans won by a popular plurality of 2,540,000, the largest that had ever been given to a presidential candidate in our history. Parker's vote fell off by more than a million from the vote given to Bryan in 1900. The radical Democrats repudiated him and either remained away from the polls or supported the Socialist candidate, Eugene V. Debs, whose vote increased from 95,000 in 1900 to 403,000 in 1904. Roosevelt carried every state north of Mason and Dixon's line and even invaded the "solid South" by winning Missouri and Maryland. The electoral vote was 336 to 140. Roosevelt announced on the evening of his victory that he would not be a candidate for another term.

587. The Hepburn Act. After the popular indorsement of 1904, which made him "president in his own right," Roosevelt intensified rather than relaxed his program for the enforcement of the law. "We do not intend," he said in his speech at Philadelphia in January, 1905, "that this Republic shall ever fail as those republics of ancient times failed in which there came to be a government by classes, which resulted either in the poor plundering the rich or in the rich exploiting and in some form or other enslaving the poor. For either event means the destruction of free institutions and of individual liberty." He earned the title of "trust buster" by bringing twenty-five suits against the trusts during his administration. He secured the passage, in June, 1906 (after it had been held up for more than a year by the Senate), of the Hepburn Bill, which increased the membership of the Interstate Commerce Commission from five to seven, and extended its authority over express companies, sleeping-car companies, pipe lines, and terminals. It forbade rebates and free passes. It required advance notice of all changes in schedule rates. It prescribed certain methods of bookkeeping and opened the books of the railroad companies to inspection by the commission. And, most important of all, it gave the commission the power of reducing an unreasonable or discriminating rate upon complaint of a shipper, until the court should pronounce on its fairness. The Hepburn Act, in short, made the Interstate Commerce Commission an effective agency for the first time in its history of nineteen years.

588. The "Muckrakers." It was due in large part to Roosevelt's enthusiasm for reform that a revolt against corruption in politics and business found widespread literary expression in the first decade of the twentieth century. Popular magazines like *McClure's*, *Collier's*, the *Cosmopolitan*, and the *American* described the high-handed methods of the trusts. Miss Ida Tarbell's "History of the Standard Oil Company," Lincoln Steffens's "The Shame of the Cities," Thomas Lawson's "Frenzied Finance," Frank Norris's "The Octopus," Winston Churchill's "Coniston," revealed ugly secrets of misgovernment and fraud. "Muckraking" was the word borrowed from Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress" to characterize this "literature of exposure." A novel of Upton Sinclair's, called "The Jungle," showed the revolting conditions which prevailed in the Chicago stockyards and led to the passage, on Roosevelt's recommendation, of a Meat Inspection Act for guaranteeing that the meat shipped in interstate commerce had come from healthy animals and had been packed under sanitary conditions. A Pure Food and Drugs Act followed immediately, forbidding the manufacture and sale of adulterated and poisonous food, drugs, and liquors, and requiring a label on the containers of patent foods and medicines, showing what the contents actually were. President Roosevelt considered these measures to safeguard health as important as the enforcement of the law against offending corporations. "The public welfare," he said, "outweighs the right to private gain, and no man may poison the public for private profit."

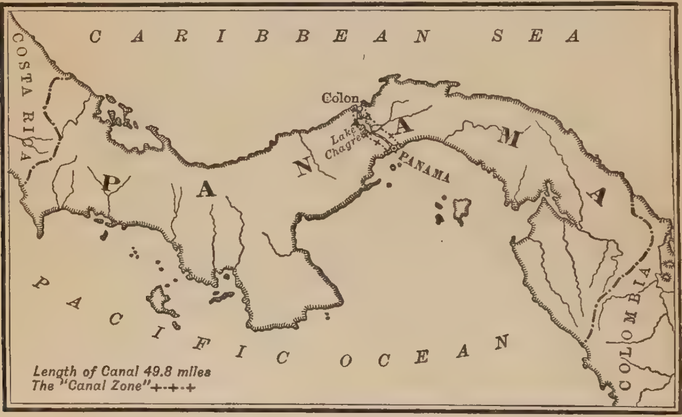
589. Summary of Roosevelt's Economic Policy. When a temporary halt in prosperity came in the summer of 1907, due to a ten-year period of overcapitalization, and prices of gilt-edged securities dropped sharply on Wall Street, Roosevelt was blamed for this "rich man's panic" by the capitalist papers. They spoke of "Theodore the Meddler" and charged that his measures to bring the railroads and the industrial corporations to a strict observance of the law had unsettled business. Many even of his supporters urged him to "go slowly" for a time. But the President refused to "deviate a hand's breadth" from his course. The panic was caused, he insisted, not by the government's enforcement of the law, but by the corporations' infraction of it. He was accused by the "interests" of being a Socialist; but he really had no sympathy with the Socialist doctrine of the public ownership of the means of production and distribution. He believed in the individual initiative and management of big business, but he believed no less strongly that the government, as guardian of the liberties of the people, should hold all groups and associations within its borders to a strict regard for law and justice. The proper way to deal with big-business combinations was neither to destroy nor to absorb them, but to supervise and regulate them, in order that initiative, energy, and talent might have a free field for exercise within the law.

PANAMA AND PORTSMOUTH

590. Our Interest in an Isthmian Canal. Under the Roosevelt administration work was begun on the greatest piece of engineering ever undertaken in America, — the Panama Canal. The desirability of a canal across the Isthmus under American control had been realized by our government for many years. When a French company under the lead of De Lesseps, who had built the Suez Canal, secured the right from Colombia to dig a canal across the Isthmus of Panama in 1878, President Hayes advised Congress that we ought to have control of the thoroughfare between our Atlantic and Pacific shores, as virtually "a part of the coast line of the United States." The French Panama Company was scandalously mismanaged and collapsed in 1889, opening the way for American initiative. But it was not until the 14,000-mile voyage of the *Oregon* around Cape Horn [**554**, note] furnished the lesson of the naval isolation of the Pacific coast from the Atlantic, and the war with Spain made us a Pacific power, that the need of the short cut through the Isthmus was brought home to the American people. In March, 1899, Congress created the Walker commission, with an appropriation of $1,000,000, to investigate the relative merits of the Panama and Nicaraguan routes for a canal.

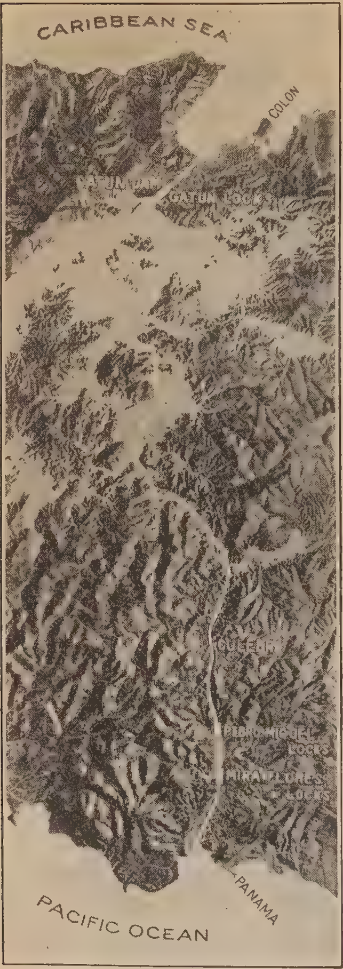
591. Negotiations for the Canal. The first step necessary to secure an American canal was the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850 [**363**] with Great Britain, which had pledged that power and the United States to a joint guarantee of any Isthmian canal route. By the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of November, 1901, Great Britain agreed to abrogate the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty and allow the United States to build a canal and have "the exclusive management and policing" of it. The next necessary step was to buy out the rights of the French Panama Company. At first the company charged the exorbitant price of $109,000,000 for its rights and property, which our commissioners thought worth only $40,000,000. Since the cost of a canal through Panama was estimated at $144,000,000, as against $180,000,000 by the Nicaraguan route, the French demand of over $100,000,000 seemed to make the price of a Panama canal prohibitive. The House had already voted for the Nicaragua route by the overwhelming majority of 308 to 2, when the French Company suddenly agreed to our figure of $40,000,000. Then Congress reconsidered the matter and, in June, 1902, voted in favor of the Panama route if the President could secure the concession from Colombia (of which Panama was a province) "within a reasonable time." If he failed, the canal should go through Nicaragua. There remained, then, only the negotiations with Colombia, which nobody dreamed would be difficult. Secretary Hay concluded the Hay-Herran Treaty with the Colombian representative at Washington, by which we agreed to pay Colombia $10,000,000 in gold and an annual subsidy of $250,000 beginning nine years after the ratification of the treaty, for the control of a strip of land six miles wide across the Isthmus. To the surprise and disgust of President Roosevelt, the Colombian Senate, which was under the control of a corrupt usurper, rejected the Hay-Herran Treaty in the summer of 1903. It demanded that Colombia should receive $10,000,000 of the $40,000,000 which we were to pay to France, with an additional $5,000,000 from the United States. It was a "hold-up" pure and simple. Roosevelt refused to add a dollar to our generous offer in the Hay-Herran Treaty, and the Colombian Senate adjourned in October without budging from its position. It looked as if the President would not be able to get Colombia's consent to the Panama route "within a reasonable time" or, indeed, within any time at all.

592. The Panama Revolution. Panama was as eager as the United States to have the canal built; and when the Hay-Herran Treaty was rejected revolutionists in Panama began to plot the revolt of that province from Colombia. Philippe Bunau-Varilla, the chief engineer of the old French Panama Company, in an article in a Paris paper of September 2, 1903, predicted a revolution in Panama and sailed for America to help set it on foot. A certain Dr. Guerrero came from Panama to Washington to try to get aid from our government in launching the revolution. He failed in this; but he met Bunau-Varilla in New York, who assured him that the United States would support Panama in a revolt against Colombia. On the evening of November 3, 1903, an uprising took place in the city of Panama. The Colombian authorities were seized. Two of the three Colombian gunboats in the harbor joined the revolutionists, and the other one, after firing a few shells into the town, causing the death of one Chinese inhabitant, sailed away. Four hundred Colombian troops had already been landed on the Atlantic side of the Isthmus at Colon; but our gunboat *Nashville* was also at Colon, and under orders from Washington her commander prevented the Colombian troops from crossing the Isthmus to attempt to put down the revolution. They reëmbarked on November 5 and returned to Cartagena on the Colombian coast. The next day our government recognized the independence of the republic of Panama. Bunau-Varilla came to Washington as the minister of the new republic and, on November 18, concluded with Secretary of State Hay a treaty which was a duplicate of the Hay-Herran Treaty, except that by the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty we bought outright from Panama a canal strip ten miles wide and secured the right to intervene at any time in the republic of Panama to preserve order. ✓



THE REPUBLIC OF PANAMA

593. Were we Responsible for the Revolution? Roosevelt's critics have accused him of "fomenting" the revolution in Panama and have called it "an ineffaceable blot of dishonor" upon his administration. But to the end of his life he was emphatic in his insistence that "no one connected with this government had any part in preparing, inciting, or encouraging the late revolution on the Isthmus of Panama"; and in this he was supported by the leading men in his cabinet, John Hay and Elihu Root. Roosevelt was determined that the canal should be built. He wanted the Panama route. He was disgusted with the politicians of Colombia, who held up the negotiations in order to extort more money from the United States. He sympathized with the revolution, which he, like "any person of ordinary intelligence who read the newspapers," knew was brewing. "I should be delighted," he wrote privately to Albert Shaw, editor of the *Review of Reviews*, "if Panama were an independent state . . . but for me to say so publicly would amount to an instigation of a revolt and therefore I cannot say it." Roosevelt did not instigate the revolution in Panama; but when it was started he refused to allow Colombia to try to put it down. We had a treaty with Colombia, dating from 1846, which gave us the right to intervene in Panama to prevent disorders which might interfere with free transit across the Isthmus. And this right of intervention had been exercised many times in the half century previous to the Panama revolution. The commander of the warship *Nashville* acted according to the letter of this treaty when he refused to allow Colombian troops to cross the Isthmus and begin a civil war. But formerly we had intervened in Panama at the request of Colombia to *preserve* her authority there, whereas in 1903 we intervened to prevent her from trying to *restore* her authority. Our action, therefore, was virtually an alliance with the insurgents of Panama, and this was Colombia's grievance. When a Democratic administration came into power after the canal was dug, Secretary of State Bryan negotiated a treaty (April, 1914) providing for the payment of $25,000,000 to Colombia and expressing "sincere regret that anything should have occurred to mar the relations of cordial friendship" between the two nations. Roosevelt denounced this treaty as "a crime against the United States and an attack on its honor." For seven years the treaty hung fire; but at last with the apologetic expression of "sincere regret" stricken out, it was ratified by a Republican Senate (April, 1921) and our payments to Colombia began.



ROUTE OF THE PANAMA CANAL

594. The Construction of the Canal. The "dirt began to fly" at Panama in May, 1904; but there were many difficult problems to meet, such as the sanitation of the Isthmus, the importation of laborers who could work in the tropical climate, dissensions in the Canal Commission, the decision between a lock or a sea-level canal, and the question of letting out the work by private contract or intrusting it to government engineers. In June, 1906, Congress decided on the high-level lock canal, and the next spring, after securing bids from several contractors, the President decided for government construction. George W. Goethals, a graduate of West Point, with the rank of colonel, was made chief engineer and was given virtually sole power in the direction of the work, which he completed after seven years of unremitting labor. The name of Dr. William C. Gorgas, an army surgeon, deserves to stand beside that of Colonel Goethals. Dr. Gorgas, after eliminating yellow fever from Havana, was made chief sanitary officer in Panama in 1904, and within a few years conquered the fever and malaria which had made residence on the Isthmus almost impossible for white men, and rendered the Canal Zone almost as healthful a region as any part of the United States.

595. Our Relations with Latin America. Our acquisition of Porto Rico, our virtual protectorate over Cuba, and our construction of the Panama Canal brought a great change in our attitude toward the countries of Latin America. We became interested in the stability and order of their governments for the protection of our interests in the Caribbean region. At the same time, having become a great exporter of manufactures, we wanted their markets for our agricultural implements, our electrical machinery, our steel rails and locomotives, our cotton, woolen, and leather goods. Before the twentieth century the European countries had practically monopolized the trade of the Latin-American republics. Secretary of State Root, returning from a conference at Rio de Janeiro in 1906, reported that the previous year there were seen in the harbor of that great Brazilian seaport 1785 ships flying the flag of Great Britain, 657 with the German flag, 349 with the French, 142 with the Norwegian, and 7 vessels (two of which were in distress) flying the Stars and Stripes. Of the $500,000,000 worth of goods that the South American republics imported in 1900, the United States, their nearest and richest neighbor, sold them only $41,000,000 worth. We now revived Blaine's fertile idea of Pan-American congresses [**511**, note 1], and a series of such conferences, beginning in 1901 at Mexico City, have been held in various Latin-American centers to discuss trade relations, currency, copyright and publishing laws, standards of weights and measures, sanitation, and many other topics. A Bureau of American Republics has been organized at Washington to further our cordial relations with the Latin American countries.

596. The Roosevelt Corollary of the Monroe Doctrine. Coincident with this revival of interest in Latin-American republics came a very significant extension of the Monroe Doctrine by President Roosevelt. The republic of Santo Domingo had become bankrupt by successive revolutions and its revenues were less than one third of the interest on its debt of $32,000,000. Several European creditors (France, Italy, Belgium) threatened to collect their debts by force unless the United States would guarantee the honest and efficient management of the finances of the republic. Roosevelt announced in his message of December, 1904, to Congress, that in case of "chronic wrongdoing or impotence" on the part of a Latin-American republic, which prevented its fulfilling its obligations to other nations, the United States was bound by the Monroe Doctrine to intervene, "however reluctantly," and to "exercise an international police power." "Speak softly and carry a big stick" was his picturesque description of this application of the Monroe Doctrine. With the consent of the president of Santo Domingo, he negotiated a treaty making the United States the receiver for the bankrupt republic and authorized Secretary of War Taft to nominate officials to collect the revenues. The Senate refused to ratify the treaty, but Roosevelt went on with the policy under an "executive agreement" until the Senate finally gave in (1907). Under our management of her finances the solvency of Santo Domingo was restored and her creditors were satisfied. Heretofore we had only forbidden Europe to step into the republics of the New World; now at the request of Europe we stepped in ourselves. Since 1905 we have extended our financial and political control to other Latin-American republics. This "Roosevelt corollary" of the Monroe Doctrine, if followed to a logical conclusion, would result in a virtual protectorate of the United States over all the weaker republics to the south.

597. The Treaty of Portsmouth. A terrible war was raging in 1904–1905 between Japan and Russia over the latter's refusal to evacuate Manchuria and respect the territorial integrity of China. Japan won decisive victories on land and sea, but was "bled white" in her struggle against the enormous resources in men and wealth of the "Colossus of the North." The Russian Czar, Nicholas II, was fearful lest the defeats of his armies and fleets should encourage the anarchists at home to rise and overturn his autocratic rule. Both Russia and Japan wanted peace, but neither would humble its pride to make overtures to the other. The European nations, for reasons political and commercial, were anxious for the conflict to end. The United States, in the name of humanity and of their new interests in the Far East, were just as eager for peace. A clause in the Hague Convention of 1899 declared that the move of a neutral power "to offer its good offices for mediation" in war should never be considered by the belligerents as an unfriendly act. Therefore, President Roosevelt, after an extraordinary amount of diplomatic correspondence, which he had to conduct himself in the fatal illness of Secretary Hay, finally prevailed on the representatives of the two powers to meet at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in a peace conference. "I have led the horses to water," was President Roosevelt's humorous summary of his long effort, "but whether they will drink or start kicking each other beside the trough, heaven alone knows." They kicked a good deal before they drank, but at last the President, who was in constant touch with the proceedings at Portsmouth, persuaded the commissioners to sign a treaty (September 5, 1905) ending the war.

598. The Nobel Prize. Roosevelt's efforts in behalf of international peace were not limited to mediating between Russia and Japan. In January, 1905, he negotiated arbitration treaties with Great Britain, France, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, and Portugal, which the Senate refused to ratify because it thought that they infringed upon its own constitutional power by giving the President the right to make "agreements" with foreign countries without reference to the Senate. Again, during the busy year 1905, President Roosevelt rendered the cause of international peace a service which Mr. Root later declared was "of far greater importance to the world than the Portsmouth settlement." France and Germany were on the point of coming to blows over the control of the North African state of Morocco. Roosevelt persuaded the French to agree to a conference at Algeciras, Spain, in the spring of 1906, at which the United States were represented by two delegates. The leading part that Roosevelt took in securing a peaceful settlement of the Moroccan dispute between France and Germany was not known to the public until after his death, when his long and secret letter of April 28, 1906, to Whitelaw Reid in London was published. For these services to the cause of international peace, Roosevelt was awarded the Nobel prize — one of a group of prizes for contribution to physics, chemistry, medicine, letters, and international peace, established in 1896 by the will of the Swedish scientist, Alfred Nobel, who had made an enormous fortune in the invention of nitroglycerine and dynamite. Roosevelt kept the medal and diploma, but turned the money (nearly $40,000) over to a trust foundation for the promotion of industrial peace in this country. The money was finally distributed among various charitable and relief agencies when the United States entered the World War in 1917.

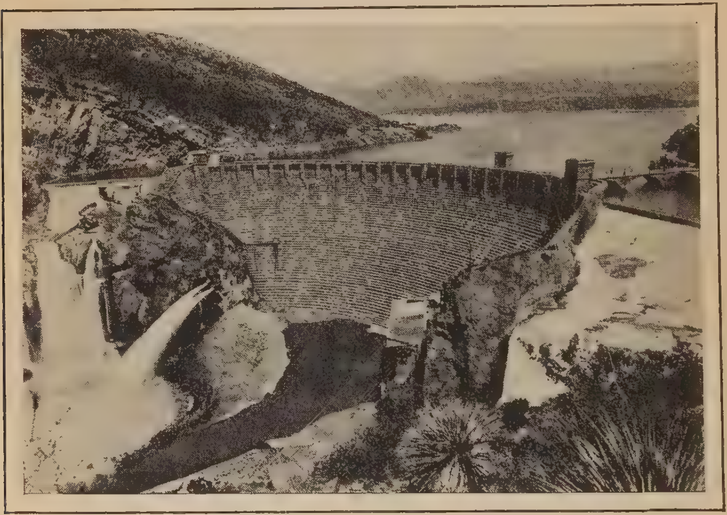
CONSERVATION

599. Roosevelt's Greatest Service. Critics have differed as to the wisdom of Roosevelt's extension of the Monroe Doctrine, the sincerity of his crusade against the trusts, and the justice of his acquisition of the Panama Canal Zone; but there is only one opinion on the value of his conservation policy. "When the historian of the future shall speak of Theodore Roosevelt," wrote Senator La Follette at the close of the administration, "he is likely to say that he did many notable things . . . but that his greatest work was inspiring and actually beginning a world movement for staying territorial waste and saving for the human race the things on which alone a peaceful, progressive, and happy life can be founded." In his first message to Congress, Roosevelt spoke of the conservation of our natural resources in forests, minerals, and water power as "the most vital internal question of the United States"; and during his entire administration he labored with a corps of enthusiastic helpers to solve that question. Our government had lavishly disposed of its unoccupied lands in the days when they were believed to be inexhaustible, and our people had wasted the natural resources of the country by careless mining of the coal, reckless cutting of the forest, neglecting to fertilize the fields, letting the oil flow from wells to film the rivers of western Pennsylvania, and lighting the natural gas as it burst from the ground. The state geologist of West Virginia declared that his state had for years been losing its "unrivaled fuel" from burning wells and leaking pipe-lines at the rate of not less than 250,000,000 cubic feet a day, an equivalent of the waste in heating value of a 45-ton car of coal every minute. "What an appalling record," he cried, "to transmit to posterity!"

600. The Reclamation Act of 1902. Congress had passed the Carey Act in 1894, allowing states in the arid region to take a million acres of the public lands and turn them over to private companies to be improved by irrigation. But so much capital was required for dams, reservoirs, and canals that the work lagged. Then the government stepped in. Roosevelt secured the passage of a Reclamation Act in June, 1902, by which the proceeds of the sale of public land in sixteen mining and grazing states and territories of the West (the so-called "cowboy states") should go into a special irrigation fund instead of into the public Treasury. The irrigated lands were to be sold to settlers at moderate prices, on a ten-year installment plan, the proceeds going constantly to renew the fund. Under the beneficial operation of this law large tracts of land, formerly worth only a cent or two an acre for cattle grazing, have already become worth several hundred dollars an acre for agriculture; and one may see in the Eastern markets apples, four or five inches in diameter, grown on Arizona farms which, twenty years ago, were sandy wastes

ORCHARD IRRIGATION

covered with coarse, scrubby grass or "sagebrush." Up to 1920 some $120,000,000 was spent on reclaiming the arid regions, and the acreage of irrigated lands, which was less than one million in 1880, increased twentyfold by 1920. Among the irrigation "projects" now in operation (the Elephant Butte Dam in New Mexico, the Shoshone Dam in Wyoming, the Lake Truckee Reservoir of Nevada, the Gunnison Tunnel in Colorado, etc.) the most notable is the great Roosevelt Dam 280 feet high, completed in 1911, on the Salt River in Arizona, which makes a storage reservoir with a capacity of 56,000,000,000 gallons, covering an area of 16,320 acres. Canals from this reservoir irrigate over 700,000 acres for the production of alfalfa, sugar beets, and semitropical fruits.



THE ROOSEVELT DAM

601. The Forest and Mineral Lands. In 1891 Congress had authorized the President, at his discretion, to withdraw from sale and set apart as forest reservations in any state or territory "public lands wholly or in part covered with timber." President Cleveland had shown his interest in the matter by making the

San Joaquin forest of 25,000,000 acres in southern California a national domain; but when Roosevelt came into office the total area of forest lands reserved by his three predecessors was only 46,800,000 acres. His addition of more than 140,000,000 acres brought the number of national forests up to 149 and the total acreage to nearly 200,000,000 — a tract equal to the area of Great Britain and France combined. Roosevelt also, in spite of the protest of the exploiting interests, withdrew from sale millions of acres of public land containing mineral wealth in the form of coal, oil, and phosphates. In 1905 he had the forests, which had been in charge of the Public Land Office in the Department of the Interior, transferred to the care of a special United States Forest Service under the man who had been his most valuable supporter in the conservation policy, Chief Forester Gifford Pinchot. Scientific reforestation and fire prevention were taken in hand seriously. Timber began to be cut in a manner to preserve and perpetuate the forests instead of "mining" them. Had our government adopted this wise policy a generation earlier, it would have been able in Roosevelt's day to draw from its sales of timber and water power, its leases of coal and oil land, a revenue sufficient to run the federal government.

602. The Internal Waterways. Another feature of the conservation policy was the improvement of inland transportation over the 26,500 miles of navigable rivers in the United States. The rapid growth of the railroads had reduced the importance of the rivers as carriers of commerce and had condemned to decay most of the 4500 miles of canals. The tonnage on the Great Lakes grew steadily, increasing from 468,000 tons in 1860 to 2,600,000 in 1920, but the river traffic declined. New Orleans once the proud "queen city of the South," through which two fifths of the commerce of the United States passed, had become a "picturesque reminiscence." The cotton shipped from her wharves had sunk from over 1,000,000 bales in 1880 to 230,000 in 1906. Yet the great railroad builder, James J. Hill, declared that the roads were not equal to handling the freight of the country, especially such bulky commodities as coal, iron ore, lumber, and grain. In March, 1907, Roosevelt appointed an

Internal Waterways Commission, with a view to making the rivers and canals a great arterial system in the commercial and agricultural life of the country, as they are, for example, in Germany and France. The President himself was a guest of the commission on a trip down the Mississippi in October, 1907, and shortly afterwards he responded to the request of the commission to call a conference of the governors of the states and territories to discuss the conservation of our natural resources.

603. The Conference of the Governors. On May 13, 1908, there took place in the East Room of the White House a meeting unique in our history and "of the first importance for the future of the nation." The governors of thirty-four states and five territories, the members of the Supreme Court and the cabinet, several members of Congress, delegates from sixty-eight national societies interested in conservation, and a number of special guests gathered at Roosevelt's invitation to discuss coöperation between the national government and the states in preserving the forests, the mineral land, and the waterways of the country. As a result of the three days' conference the President appointed a National Conservation Committee with Gifford Pinchot as chairman, and forty state conservation commissions were appointed by the governors. Opposition in Congress hampered the work of the national commission, by refusing to make appropriations for its expenses; but Roosevelt went on with the work, persuading the staffs of various departments to volunteer their services. When an amendment to the Civil Service bill forbade the staff of any regular bureau to do any outside work for boards or commissions appointed by the President, Roosevelt disregarded the amendment. "It is for the people," he said, "to decide whether they believe in the conservation movement." His conduct won popular approval, and the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of his conservation policy in every case that came before it.

604. The Second Hague Conference. In 1904 Roosevelt had suggested a second peace conference at The Hague, but the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War caused a postponement of the meeting until 1907, when it was called by the Czar. Delegates from forty-four nations met on June 15 in the magnificent Peace Palace built by Andrew Carnegie. The conference adopted the "Drago Doctrine" (proposed in 1902 by Luis Drago, the Argentine Minister of Foreign Affairs, and indorsed by the United States and several of the Latin-American republics), to the effect that the nations should not use force to collect debts due to their citizens, "unless the debtor nation refused arbitration, or, having accepted arbitration, failed to submit to the award."

CARNEGIE PEACE PALACE AT THE HAGUE

Resolutions were also adopted, subject to ratification by the nations represented, looking toward the more humane conduct of war: the protection of the rights of neutrals, the use of the submarine, and the bombing of ports. The American delegation, under the leadership of Joseph H. Choate, tried to persuade the conference to adopt a plan for the limitation of naval armaments and to create a permanent international court of justice to supplement the arbitration court established by the first Hague Conference [572]. Neither of these suggestions found favor with the nations in 1907. But after the World War they were both realized: the former in the Washington Conference of 1921–1922 for the limitation of naval armaments, and the latter in the World Court established by the League of Nations in 1921.[1]

605. The Controversy with Japan. Up to the beginning of the twentieth century not more than 25,000 Japanese immigrants had come to the states of the Pacific coast. But the crowded condition of the island of Japan and the economic hardships caused by the war with Russia sent the immigration up to 75,000 by the year 1907. Most of these Japanese were in California. They gave offense to the labor class of the state by their willingness to accept low wages to fit a cheap standard of living, and to the people generally because they were an unassimilable class in our population. An anti-Japanese movement developed in California like the anti-Chinese agitation of a generation before [**487**, note]. Trouble was started in the autumn of 1906, when the Board of Education of San Francisco ordered Japanese, Chinese, and Korean students to attend special public schools provided for them. The Japanese protested that this order violated their rights under the treaty of 1894, which gave Japanese residents here the status of citizens of "the most favored nation." Certain newspapers of California and Japan whipped up the quarrel by mutual insults and appeals to race prejudice. President Roosevelt had a difficult situation to handle in convincing Japan of our good faith in carrying out the treaty and at the same time in satisfying the Californians. He summoned the mayor of San Francisco and several of the anti-Japanese leaders to Washington, both to warn them that they must leave the settlement of an international question in the hands of the federal government, and to assure them that he would at once "take action that would meet the needs of California." The result was the "Gentleman's Agreement" of 1907 by which Japanese children under sixteen years of age were admitted to the regular public schools and the Japanese government promised to prohibit the immigration of Japanese labor to our country. The next year a further agreement between Secretary Root and the Japanese ambassador, Takahira, pledged both nations to respect each other's territorial possessions in the Pacific and to support the open-door policy in China. Again, in 1909, Roosevelt had to intervene with a threat of federal action to prevent the California legislature from passing bills to exclude the Japanese from holding land and to segregate the Japanese children in special schools. It was a truce rather than a peace; for the controversy broke out again in the Wilson administration, when the California legislature passed a law directed especially against the Japanese, forbidding aliens to hold land in the state (1913).

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[1] The Permanent Court of Arbitration and the Permanent Court of International Justice, both established at The Hague, are often confused with each other. The former consists of a "panel," or list of jurors, from which a special jury is selected to decide each case as it is voluntarily submitted for arbitration. The latter (the World Court), on the other hand, consists of a bench of eleven judges elected by the League of Nations. It holds regular sessions like the Supreme Court of the United States and has jurisdiction over cases of international law as specified in the act creating the court.

606. The Voyage of the Fleet around the World. As a demonstration to the world of the naval strength of the United States, as a test of the morale of the officers and men of our fleet, and perhaps especially as a warning to Japan that his action in California had not been prompted by any fear of the threats of the jingo Japanese press, Roosevelt decided to send a fleet of battleships around the world. Many people protested against leaving our shores unprotected. It was predicted that Japan would look on the maneuver as a hostile act and would attack our Pacific coast as soon as the fleet had put to sea. Congress was reluctant to make any appropriation for the voyage. But the President, as commander in chief of the navy, had a right to order the fleet wherever he pleased. He had money enough to send the ships as far as San Francisco, he said, and they would stay there if Congress refused to make provision for the rest of the voyage. The fleet of twenty-eight vessels left Hampton Roads, Virginia, on December 16, 1907, and encircled the world by way of the Strait of Magellan, San Francisco, Hawaii, Australia, the Philippines, China, Japan, the Suez Canal, and the Mediterranean. At every port of call the men and officers were received with enthusiasm, and nowhere with greater cordiality and courtesy than at Yokohama and Tokyo. When they returned to Hampton Roads, on February 22, 1909, without the slightest accident in their long voyage, President Roosevelt was there to meet them and congratulate them on the achievement. "You have touched the coast of every country," he said; "you have shown yourselves the best of all possible ambassadors and heralds of peace. Wherever you have landed you have borne yourselves so as to make us at home feel proud of being your countrymen."

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WILLIAM H. TAFT

607. Taft elected President. Meanwhile the presidential election of 1908 had taken place. Roosevelt had declared immediately after his election in 1904 that he would not be a candidate for another term. His recommendation of his Secretary of War, William H. Taft, as his successor was equivalent to a nomination. Taft was easily chosen on the first ballot in the Republican convention at Chicago, June 18, 1908. The Democrats, mindful of the Waterloo of their conservative candidate, Judge Parker, in 1904 [**586**], returned to Bryan, who was almost unanimously nominated at Denver. The campaign was a tame one. The issues of free silver and imperialism being dead, the Democrats made trusts and monopolies the chief subject of their attack, advocating in their platform legislation "to make it impossible for a privileged monopoly to exist in the United States." They denounced the Republicans as the party of privilege and the beneficiaries of government favoritism. The Republicans "stood pat" on their record, pointing to Roosevelt's prosecution of the trusts and his constructive conservation policy. Since the Democratic platform condemned government by injunction, Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, departing from the custom of the Federation not to mix in politics, came out openly for Bryan, pledging the Labor vote of 2,000,000 to his support. The Socialists for the third time nominated Eugene V. Debs, and the waning Populists, the Prohibitionists, and the Socialist Labor party put tickets in the field. Taft's popular plurality on election day was 1,270,000, less than half of Roosevelt's in 1904. He carried all the states outside the "solid South," except Colorado, Oklahoma, Nevada, and Nebraska, giving him an electoral vote of 321 to 169 for Bryan. Nevertheless, the Republicans did not show much strength in the local elections. Democratic governors were chosen in several states (Ohio, Indiana, Minnesota, North Dakota, Montana) which gave Taft substantial majority. The people again rejected Bryan for president, but they also registered a protest which, as we shall see, grew rapidly into a political revolt against the influence of the big-business interests upon the government.

608. Ex-President Roosevelt. As soon as his successor was installed in office, Colonel Roosevelt, now a private citizen for the first time since his appointment to the Civil Service Commission by President Harrison, twenty years before, sailed for a long hunting trip in East Africa ~~to collect specimens of rare game for~~ the Smithsonian Institution at Washington. A further reason for his departure from the country was to avoid any appearance of controlling the Taft administration. "In leaving," he wrote, "I have the profound satisfaction of knowing that Taft will do all in his power to further every one of the great causes for which I have fought." When Roosevelt "emerged from the jungle" in the spring of 1910, he at once became the center of observation of the whole Western world. His trip from Egypt through Italy, Austria, France, Germany, Holland, and England was a continuous ovation, such as no private citizen had ever received. Emperors, kings, princes, presidents, and ministers all received him with the highest marks of honor. He delivered addresses at the University of Cairo, at the Sorbonne, at the University of

Berlin, and at Oxford University. He represented the United States at the funeral of King Edward VII in London. When he landed at New York, on June 18, 1910, he was welcomed with an enthusiastic demonstration. In reply to the Mayor's greetings, before an enormous crowd at the Battery, he said . "I am glad to be back among the people I love. And I am ready and eager to do my part, so far as I am able, in helping solve problems which must be solved if we of this, the greatest democratic republic on which the sun has ever shone, are to see its destinies rise to the high level of our hopes and its opportunities."

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Questions for Review

1. Outline the political career of Roosevelt up to the time he became president. **2.** Why did Wall Street prefer Hanna to Roosevelt in 1904? **3.** What clause in the Constitution gives Congress the power to regulate railroads? **4.** Why was the Northern Securities case important? **5.** Why did the public sympathize largely with the miners in the coal strike of 1902? **6.** What measures made Roosevelt popular in his first administration? **7.** What measures were passed in Roosevelt's administration to strengthen the Sherman Anti-Trust Act? **8.** Compare J. J. Hill and E. H. Harriman. **9.** Who were the "muckrakers"? **10.** Why was Roosevelt called a socialist by some critics? How did he differ from the socialists? **11.** Why was an Isthmian Canal more important for us in 1900 than in 1850? **12.** Outline Secretary Hay's negotiations with Pauncefote, Herran, and Bunau-Varilla. **13.** Does the Bryan treaty of 1914 prove that we were unjust to Colombia? **14.** What important problems were involved in the construction of the canal? **15.** Explain the "Roosevelt corollary" of the Monroe Doctrine. **16.** What did Roosevelt do to merit the Nobel prize? **17.** What is the Drago Doctrine? **18.** Explain the difference between the two international courts which have headquarters at The Hague. **19.** What part did the American delegation play in the Second Hague Conference? **20.** Why did river traffic decline in the second half of the nineteenth century? **21.** Why is the preservation of the forests important? **22.** Why were there objections to Roosevelt's sending the fleet around the world? **23.** Contrast the Japanese immigration of the early twentieth century with the Chinese immigration of a generation earlier [**487**, note]. **24.** What was the "gentleman's agreement" of 1907? **25.** What shows that the Republicans were not so strong in the election of 1908 as in that of 1904?

CHAPTER XVII

THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT

Social Politics

609. Political and Social Ferment. Roosevelt's reference to the "problems which must be solved" was no empty rhetoric. The country to which he returned in the summer of 1910 was in the midst of a political and social agitation such as it had not known since the Populist rising of the early nineties. A wave of reform and "uplift" movement characterized the first decade of the twentieth century. Pride in the extraordinary victories of the Spanish War, preoccupation with the government of our new possessions, and our heightened prestige in Europe and the Far East had for a brief period drowned the protests of the radicals of 1896. But the very success and magnitude of the operations of big business following the Spanish War brought a renewal of the agitation for a more popular control of the government. No one had done more to encourage this movement than President Roosevelt himself in his campaign to bring the trusts to the book of the law and his insistence that "government agencies are justified largely in the way in which they are used for the practical betterment of living and working conditions among the mass of the people." A group of men in Congress, especially from the states of the Middle West, advocated a larger share by the public in determining the policies of government. Governors like J. W. Folk of Missouri, Charles E. Hughes of New York, Hiram Johnson of California, and John Johnson of Minnesota were elected on reform platforms. These "Progressives" appeared in the ranks of the Republicans and the Democrats alike, and party allegiance tended to give way before their common devotion to a program to "restore the government to the people."

610. Popular Rule. Democracy means "the rule of the people." In a small community, like a New England town, all the adult citizens have an opportunity to participate in the government by speaking and voting in town meetings. But, of course, tens or hundreds of thousands of people cannot meet in an assembly to frame policies or pass laws. They elect representatives to do this for them. In a democracy these representatives—the legislators who make the laws, and the officials who execute them—are servants of the people. How shall they be held to their stewardship? If they are continually pestered by instructions from the communities that elect them, there is danger that they will lose their independence and initiative and that the best minds will refuse to serve in public office as mere clerks or office boys of their constituents. On the other hand, if they are left without more direct control than that furnished by the criticism of the press or the opposition of a rival candidate in the campaign for reëlection, there is danger that they may lose their sense of responsibility to the public and serve special business interests. The latter danger loomed larger in the eyes of the Progressives than the former. In 1907 a series of articles appeared in the *Cosmopolitan Magazine* under the title "The Treason of the Senate," in which the author undertook to prove that seventy-five of the ninety members of the United States Senate were really representing the railroads, the meat packers, the sugar, oil, and steel industries. The Progressives, therefore, as they got control of the government of several of the Western states, began to put into operation various measures for making their officials and legislators more responsive to the popular will.

611. Direct Primaries. It had been a long-established custom for the Democratic and Republican machines in cut-and-dried party conventions to "prepare the slate"; that is, to select the candidate for public office. Thus the voters on election day found themselves confronted by a choice between men in whose nomination they had had no part and in whose election they often had little interest. The direct primary was a device to give the people a share in the *selection* as well as the *election* of candidates. After a long battle, Governor La Follette succeeded in getting the direct-primary system adopted by the legislature of Wisconsin in 1903, and since that date all the states of the Union except five have made provision for the nomination of all or part of their candidates for office by popular vote. However, the system has not proved as successful as its advocates hoped that it would in securing better nominations, partly because the professional politics of the party machines control the primaries as they did the old conventions, partly because the public will not spare the time or make the effort to find the better man to run for office, and partly because a candidate who makes a fight against a machine in the primaries has the expenses of two campaigns to meet — one for nomination and another for election. The direct-primary idea was extended into national politics when Oregon, in 1910, adopted a scheme of presidential preferential primaries. The people of the state expressed their choice by ballot for the presidential nominee and thus instructed the state delegation to the national convention whom to vote for. A dozen states had adopted this system by 1912, and the next year President Wilson asked Congress to pass a law extending the system to all the states. If this were done, the national conventions would have no more to do with nominating a presidential candidate than the electoral college has with electing him [**173**, note]. They would simply canvass the votes of the instructed state delegations and announce the results.

612. The Popular Election of Senators. The United States Senate, by its right of unlimited debate, the long terms of its members, its equal participation with the House in legislation, and its control over the executive through its consent or refusal to ratify appointments and treaties, is the most powerful organ of government in the world. The framers of the Constitution intended that the Senate should be a small and rather aristocratic body, elected by the legislatures of the states, to act as a check on hasty or too "democratic" measures passed by the popularly elected House of Representatives. Almost from the beginning of our national history there had been attempts made to change the method of the election of senators, but to effect such a change the Constitution had to be amended, and for such an amendment a two-thirds vote of both Houses of Congress was necessary. The lower House passed the amendment several times by majorities far in excess of the required two thirds (185 to 11 in 1898, 240 to 15 in 1900). But the Senate refused to yield until the states compelled it to. Beginning with Oregon in 1904, state after state adopted the plan of allowing the people to indicate their choice for United States senator on the ballots which they cast for the members of the state legislature who were to elect the senator. More than enough of the states to ratify a constitutional amendment had thus bound their legislatures to elect the "people's choice" for senator, when the Senate gave way and consented (January, 1911) to an amendment which, being duly ratified by three fourths of the states, was proclaimed a part of the Constitution on May 31, 1913. The Seventeenth Amendment provided that United States senators should be elected (like members of the lower House) by voters who had the "qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature."

613. Woman Suffrage. At the same time the movement was being urged for doubling the electorate by a constitutional amendment giving the vote to women. Wyoming had come into the Union in 1890 with woman suffrage, and Colorado (1893), Utah and Idaho (1896), had adopted the reform. The number of women engaged in gainful occupations was growing at a rapid rate, and this new economic status of women gave them an equal interest with men in laws dealing with conditions in factories and mills, hours of labor, sanitation, employers' liability, and the like. Large numbers of women were also employed in the fields of welfare work, like children's courts and various institutions of correction and charity, which were becoming more numerous as the state extended its activities in the regulation of the economic and social conditions of the people. The women believed that their social services merited political recognition and that their voice in matters of social legislation was as necessary and valuable as that of the men. They resented being classed politically with children, idiots, and criminals in the denial of the vote. The more "militant" suffragists, in mild imitation of their sisters in

England, who smashed windows, hacked monuments, horsewhipped ministers, and went on hunger strikes to compel Parliament to grant them the vote, adopted spectacular tactics like parading the streets with banners, picketing the White House, and annoying public men who were opposed to "votes for women." But the thing that assured the victory of nation-wide woman suffrage was the steady campaign of the first two decades of the twentieth century, which won state after state to the cause. By 1916 a dozen states (all, except Illinois, lying west of the Mississippi) had granted women equal voting rights with men, and as these states chose about one sixth of the presidential electors, the politicians realized that the women's vote was a factor to be reckoned with like the labor vote, the Irish vote, or the farmer vote. The candidates of both the great parties came out in favor of woman suffrage in 1916. The large Eastern states, which had resisted the movement, began to fall into line. In 1919 both Houses of Congress passed the Nineteenth Amendment, forbidding the United States or any state to deny the right to vote to any citizen on account of sex. Tennessee, the thirty-sixth state, ratified the amendment on August 28, 1920, in time to allow the women of the country to vote in the Harding-Cox election ten weeks later.[1]

614. Initiative, Referendum, and Recall. In the early days of our country, legislatures were looked upon as the defenders of the people's rights against the possible tyranny of governors.

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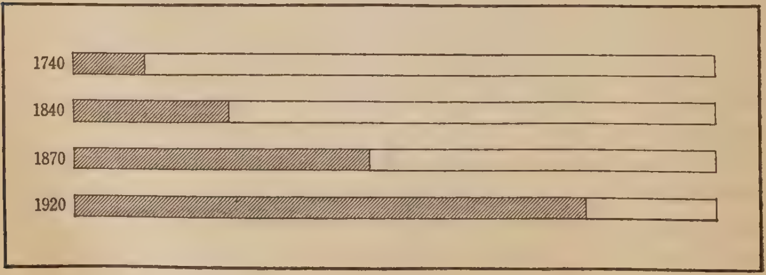
[1] The following diagram shows the extension of the suffrage since Washington's day. The shaded portions represent the proportion of the voting population to the total population of twenty-one years of age or over.



Now, however, there was a widespread complaint that legislatures were not faithful to their trust, but were under the influence of the special interests. Measures were passed in many of the states to secure to the people at large a voice in the making and the approval of the laws. The "initiative" enables the people to propose legislation. If a certain percentage of the voters (usually 5 to 8 per cent) sign a petition to have a certain law adopted, their proposition must be voted upon either by the legislature or by the people directly. By a similar petition, any law passed by the legislature may be submitted to the voters of the state for rejection or indorsement. Thus the "referendum" is a popular exercise of the veto power. Since South Dakota put the initiative and referendum into operation in 1898, half the states of the Union (all but six of them west of the Mississippi) have adopted the device in one form or another — some for the amendment of their constitution only, others for making ordinary laws. Oregon has made the most complete test of the initiative and referendum, having submitted three times as many measures to popular vote since its adoption of the device in 1902 as any other state. In 1910 it asked the people to pronounce on thirty-two measures, including such a variety of subjects as woman suffrage, judicial reform, liquor laws, salmon fisheries, employers' liability, railroad legislation, and tax reform. Neither in Oregon nor elsewhere, however, have the predictions of the critics of "direct government," that it would tempt the people to pass ill-considered and radical laws, been fulfilled. Another device of popular government is the "recall," by which, on petition of a certain percentage (seldom less than 25 per cent) of the people, an elected or appointed official may be removed from office. Just as the referendum is a popular veto power, so the recall is a popular impeachment. It was first adopted by Los Angeles, California, in 1903, and it has been used almost wholly by city governments. The most serious objection to the recall has been its application to judges, who, it is felt, should not be controlled by the shifting currents of politics. When Arizona put the recall of judges into its constitution in 1912, President Taft refused to approve the admission of the state to the Union until the clause was taken out. But when Arizona became a state she restored the recall of judges to her constitution.

615. Municipal Reform. A few decades ago the government of our cities was called by James Bryce "the one conspicuous failure" of American democracy. Many other foreign visitors, as well as our native critics, have agreed with Mr. Bryce in this judgment. The industrial revolution was rapidly converting America into a nation of city dwellers. By 1910 more than a third of our population lived in cities of over 25,000. Immigrants crowded the slum districts of the great urban centers. The foreign-born formed 7.5 per cent of the population of the country districts in 1910, but in the cities of over 500,000 they comprised 33.6 per cent of the population. They were sometimes naturalized at the rate of one a minute. The tens of thousands of ignorant voters in the large cities were easily won for the political support of bosses and rings, who got control of the officers. At the same time, the concentration of wealth in the cities afforded the corrupt governments golden opportunities of plunder in connection with contracts for street paving, municipal buildings, and other public works. The budget of New York City, for example, is now approximately $500,000,000 a year — a sum equal to the entire expense of the government of the United States in 1890. It was an accident that started reform in the machinery of city government. In 1900 the city of Galveston, Texas, was almost destroyed by a tidal wave from the Gulf of Mexico. Like a bankrupt corporation, it was put into the hands of receivers. Mayor, council, board of aldermen, all the old political machinery, disappeared and a commission of five able citizens managed the city as a business proposition. The experiment of commission government was so successful that other cities took it up. The form adopted by Des Moines, Iowa, in 1908, has been most widely copied. The commissioners (usually five) are selected by the whole people of the city, and each one is the responsible head of an administrative department like finance, public works, or law. The initiative, referendum, and recall hold the commissioners responsible to the will of the electorate. No franchise can be granted or contract let without the popular approval. The small number of officials to be elected under the commission plan allows the voters a much better chance for acquaintance with the merits of the candidates. The commission form of government has been extended to over four hundred cities. Many cities, including Cleveland and Cincinnati, have adopted a still more concentrated form of government in which a city manager is hired as an expert, nonpartisan administrator, having general supervision over the commissioners and charged with the appointment and dismissal of subordinates like the manager of a big-business concern. The object of the new plans is to take the government of the cities out of the hands of the politicians and put it into the hands of administrative experts.

616. Socialism. All these devices for the reform of national, state, and city government were looked on by the Socialists as useless tinkering with a bad political system. The only remedy for the evils of society, they claimed, lay in a new social and economic order in which the wealth of the country should be more justly distributed. The capitalists, by their control of land, money, credit, and the tools of production, had monopolized wealth and reduced the great mass of workers who produced the wealth to mere "wage slaves," living from hand to mouth without any margin of money or time to insure their physical comfort or their mental and moral improvement. There was wealth enough for all under the proper method of production and distribution. The public, and not the capitalists, should own the land, the railroads, the telegraph and telephone lines, the mills and factories, the banks and power plants. The production of goods should be regulated by the state to fit the needs of the people instead of being determined by the capitalists, whose only thought was the accumulation of profits. Though the demand for the public ownership of the means of production and distribution of wealth had appeared on the program of labor organizations like the Knights of Labor (1869) and the New York Workingmen's party (1874), it was not till the year 1900 that the present Socialist party entered the field of national politics, with Eugene V. Debs of Indiana as candidate for the presidency. Debs, it will be remembered, had been president of the American Railway Union at the time of the Pullman strike in 1894, and had been imprisoned for six months for disobeying the injunction of the Federal Court [**535**]. In prison he became converted to socialism. He headed the Socialist ticket in four successive campaigns from 1900 to 1912, his vote increasing from 88,000 to 900,000 in a dozen years. However, many of the Socialist votes were cast as a protest against the behavior of the Republican and Democratic parties rather than as an indorsement of Socialist doctrines.[1]

617. The I.W.W. Just as the Socialists condemned the "bourgeois" attempts to remedy the evils of class legislation by tinkering with the political machinery of government, the more extreme revolutionists regarded the Socialist program of reform by the peaceful method of the ballot as futile. They had no faith either in the labor unions as organized by the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of getting better wages, shorter hours, and recognition of collective bargaining by the capitalist employees. They organized a radical association in 1905 at Chicago, called the Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.), and declared in their manifesto that "the working class and the employing class have nothing in common" and that a bitter struggle must go on between labor and capital until the workers "take possession of the earth and the machinery of production and abolish the wage system." They advocated "one great industrial union" in place of the federation of unions, which, they said, fostered "the idea of harmony of interests between the employing exploiter and the employed slave." As their name implies, their allegiance was to an international and not to an American program, and their ranks were recruited largely from the unskilled, foreign-born laborers who imported the revolutionary ideas of the European class strife. They approved "direct action"; that is, measures of violence and terrorism such as mass strikes with the destruction of property, sabotage (the crippling of machines), incitement of the workers to revolution, and even the explosion of murderous bombs. The I.W.W. revolutionists never had a membership of over seventy-five thousand, and they should not be confused with the Socialist party or the labor unions, by whom their methods were condemned as severely as by the capitalists.

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[1] The Socialist party suffered a decline with our entrance into the war in 1917. First, the majority of the party, by a referendum vote of 21,639 to 2752, condemned our participation in the war, and several important leaders, including John Spargo, Upton Sinclair, Charles Edward Russell, J. G. Phelps Stokes, and Allan Benson (the Socialist candidate for president in 1916), withdrew from the party. Then Debs was convicted for resisting the draft and imprisoned at Atlanta, Georgia, where he remained for three years until pardoned by President Harding on December 23, 1921. Finally, the extreme radicals, or "reds" of the left wing brought the party into further disrepute by sympathy with the Communist Bolshevists of Russia in 1919.

618. Social Legislation. The object of all the advocates of a change in government, whether by reform or by revolution, was to secure a fuller participation of the people in shaping the laws and especially in bettering conditions for the working classes. During the first dozen years or so of the twentieth century an immense amount of social legislation was passed. By 1912 three fourths of the states had child labor laws, forbidding the employment of children under a minimum age or in dangerous industries or for an excessive number of hours a day. Workingmen's compensation acts recognized the responsibility of employers for injury to workers due to defective machinery or hazardous jobs. Stricter laws for factory inspection were passed. In several states compulsory-insurance systems were established, by which employers and workers both contributed to a fund for the relief of the sick or the pensioning of the aged or disabled. The eight-hour day in industry became almost universal. Commissions were appointed in various states to make a careful study of wages and the cost of living, and the first minimum wage law in our history was passed by the Massachusetts legislature in 1912. State after state in the West and the South prohibited the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors, until by the close of the first decade of the twentieth century about two thirds of the area of the United States was "dry" by either state law or local option, and the movement was well under way for nationwide prohibition. A better distribution of the burden of government was sought through laws imposing taxes on the profits of corporations, the inheritance of fortunes, and on incomes above a certain figure. ✓

619. Labor and the Courts. The courts were more conservative than the legislatures and regarded themselves as the protectors of property. They were hostile to much of the earlier social legislation. For example, they annulled laws fixing minimum wages or maximum hours of work on the ground that such laws impaired the "obligations of contracts." The Fourteenth Amendment had provided that no state should "deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law." The "person" whom it was intended to protect was the negro of the South; but since a corporation is a "person" in the eyes of the law, the courts were appealed to for the protection of corporations under the Fourteenth Amendment, and clever lawyers contended that legislation requiring the corporation to assume employers' liability or provide insurance funds was depriving them of their property without "due process of the law" (that is, by suits in the courts). Labor was hostile to the conservatism of the courts. The Supreme Court had nullified the income tax of 1894 and had upheld the injunction which had sent Debs to jail for encouraging the Pullman strike [**542**]. In the early years of the twentieth century the American Federation of Labor waged some bitter battles with the court over injunctions, and in one case (the Buck Stove and Range Company, in 1907) the powerful president of the Federation was sentenced, with two other prominent labor leaders, to prison. The sentence was not carried out. The pressure of public opinion gradually caused the courts to modify their attitude considerably. They began to recognize the right of the states to protect the life, health, and general well-being of the people and to uphold laws for this purpose even when they trespassed on the hitherto "sacred rights" of property.

620. A Critical Decade. The country had advanced far on the road of experimentation in social politics when Theodore Roosevelt handed over the reins of government to his Secretary of War on the fourth of March, 1909 [**607**]. In more than half the states of the Union new schemes were being tested to secure the expression of the popular will and to render the government more responsible thereto. "The over-shadowing issue in all the questions now under discussion," said the Democratic platform of 1908, is, "Shall the people rule?" The social conscience of America was stirring and the people were finding their voice. The air was filled with projects of reform. Women were demanding the vote. Socialists were beginning to elect mayors and state legislatures. Labor was firmly intrenched, confident, and aggressive. The membership of the American Federation of Labor had grown from something over 500,000 in 1910 to 1,750,000 by the close of the decade. More than three fourths of the strikes were now originated by the unions, and half of the strikes were conducted to force the employers to recognize the unions. A growing number of congressmen, state legislators, city officials, political writers, and thoughtful men and women in all walks of life were asking whether our democratic form of government was accomplishing democratic results — whether it was truly a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, or a government of the people, by the bosses, for the interests.

President Taft and the Insurgents

621. President Taft. The new President was not hostile to reform. He approved of the major policies of Roosevelt. He added tens of thousands of postal officials to the classified civil-service lists. During his administration forty-five indictments were brought against the trusts as against twenty-five during Roosevelt's term of office. The conservation policy was extended by the addition of over a million acres of forest reserves in the Appalachian Mountains and by the reservation of mineral wealth in coal, oil, asphalt, and phosphates, beneath the surface of the public lands entered for sale. Treaties of arbitration and reciprocity were negotiated by Secretary of State P. C. Knox. Laws were passed establishing postal-savings banks and the parcel post, taxing the profits of corporations, and creating a new cabinet Department of Labor. The President himself recommended an amendment to the Constitution providing for an income tax. Yet, in spite of all these forward-looking policies, Taft was regarded by many as a reactionary. This was because of his way of doing things rather than because of the things he did. By temperament and training he was deliberate and cautious. He walked sedately, whereas Roosevelt had charged ahead with confidence and dash. His mental attitude was that of a judge accustomed to weigh arguments pro and con and less disturbed by postponing a decision than by making a wrong or hasty one. He surrounded himself with a cabinet of lawyers well on in years. The schemes of "direct government" that were being pushed by the more radical reformers seemed to him to contain many dangers. Wise legislation should be preceded by careful investigation, by boards and commissions. The courts, with their slow and dignified examination of cases, should determine ultimate policies of government rather than legislatures which might easily be led by overenthusiastic orators to adopt measures which pleased a shifting and unstable will of the people. Roosevelt was a dynamo; Taft was a balance wheel.

622. The Payne-Aldrich Tariff. The administration had come into power pledged to a "substantial downward revision" of the tariff. For a dozen years the high Dingley tariff [**569**] had remained unchanged. The bulletins of the Bureau of Labor showed that the cost of necessary articles of consumption had risen some 40 per cent under its operation, while wages had advanced less than 20 per cent. There was widespread conviction that the effect of the high tariff was to insure enormous profits for the manufacturer rather than to secure any benefit to the consumer and the laborer. On March 15, 1909, President Taft called Congress in extra session according to his preëlection promise to revise the tariff. The bill brought in by Sereno E. Payne of New York, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, partially redeemed the party pledge by enlarging the free list and cutting the duties on steel, iron, lumber, refined sugar, and chemicals. It was passed by the House (April 9), but when it reached the Senate, under the charge of Nelson W. Aldrich of Rhode Island, it underwent 847 alterations, of which more than 600 were increases in rates. Cummins and Dolliver of Iowa, Bristow of Kansas, Beveridge of Indiana, Clapp of Minnesota, and La Follette of Wisconsin worked like Trojans to defeat the bill, but it went through the Senate (July 8) by a vote of 45 to 34. The House, as usual, gave way, adopting the mutilated bill (195 to 183), and on August 5 President Taft affixed his signature. The Payne-Aldrich bill was a plain betrayal of the party pledge of "downward revision." And when President Taft, the next month, in a speech in Minnesota, praised Mr. Aldrich and described the bill as "the best tariff ever passed by the Republican party," he lost the support of all the Progressives.

623. The Insurgents. When the first regular session of Congress met in December, 1909, Taft was ready to press measures for railroad and trust regulation, currency reform, and conservation. But he soon discovered with what a determined opposition in Congress he had to deal. It was not alone the signing of the Payne-Aldrich bill that had made him trouble. During the summer of 1909 a controversy had developed between Gifford Pinchot, chief of the Forestry Service, and Taft's Secretary of the Interior, Richard A. Ballinger. Pinchot, who had been Roosevelt's right-hand man in the fight for conservation, accused Ballinger of serving certain parties who were seeking to plunder the public domain because he reopened for sale valuable water-power sites and coal lands which Roosevelt had withdrawn. A congressional committee of investigation later exonerated Ballinger, but public sentiment was on the side of Pinchot, especially when he was dismissed from the service by President Taft, who stood by his Secretary with Grant-like fidelity. The Ballinger-Pinchot incident confirmed the belief of the Progressives that Taft was the tool of the "special interests." A movement was started in Congress to prevent further legislation like the Payne-Aldrich act. Thirty Republican members of the House (enough in combination with the Democrats to defeat any measures of the administration) signed a pledge to work to "restore the principle of representative government." These "Insurgents" began with a fight to free the House from the control of the Speaker, whose great power consisted in the fact that he appointed all the committees and was himself chairman of the small Committee on Rules, which, by its regulation of the calendar of bills and the time allowed for debate, determined all the business of the House. On March 19, 1910, Representative George W. Norris of Nebraska moved that the Committee on Rules be composed of six members of the majority and four members of the minority party, elected by the House, and that the Speaker should not be eligible to membership on it. Speaker Joseph G. Cannon of Illinois, a confirmed "stand-patter," declared the motion out of order, but the insurgent Republicans, combining with the Democrats, overruled his decision and after a bitter all-night battle passed the Norris resolution. Cannon then defiantly invited the House to depose him from the Speakership, but the insurgents were content to let him remain in office, shorn of all his power, except that of presiding officer.

624. "The New Nationalism." The cause of the insurgents in Congress and of Progressives throughout the country was strengthened by the return of Roosevelt in the midsummer of 1910. Pinchot had crossed the ocean after his dismissal to report to the Colonel his version of the controversy with Ballinger and probably to confirm in him the opinion of Taft's unfitness to carry out progressive policies. "It took eighteen months," said Roosevelt, "to convince me that Taft was a first-class lieutenant, but no leader, with no real convictions or appreciations of the really vital problems before the country." Colonel Roosevelt could no more keep out of politics than a fish can live out of water. He immediately threw himself into the campaign in New York State, and as chairman of the Republican convention at Syracuse secured the defeat of William Barnes, the machine candidate for the nomination for governor. In a famous speech on "The New Nationalism" at Osawatomie, Kansas, on August 31, 1910, he put himself squarely on the side of the Progressives, advocating strict regulation of the trusts, publicity of campaign funds, genuine tariff revision, laws for the protection of child and woman labor, income and inheritance taxes, direct primaries, and the recall of elected officials. The power of the national government, he declared, extended to the protection of the whole people against the special interests. We must equalize opportunity, destroy privilege, and give the highest value to the individual. He quoted Lincoln to the effect that "labor is the superior of capital and deserves much higher consideration." He would wipe out the "twilight zone" between national and state power, in which the law-breaking corporations had found a refuge. "The new nationalism," he said, "puts the national need before sectional or personal advantages." "I am a progressive," he wrote a few months later, "I could not be anything else. . . . We must work and we must fight for the restoration of popular rule."

625. The Election of 1910. The revolt against the administration culminated in the election of November. The President's unpopularity was increasing. The commission appointed to study the tariff for a "scientific" revision was not ready to report. The trust prosecutions dragged. The Mann-Elkins act (drawn up by Attorney-General Wickersham), for the enlargement of the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission over the railroads, disappointed the promise of the Republican platform by failing to provide for a valuation of the property of the railroads, upon which alone a fair judgment of the justice of their rates and a proper limitation of their issues of stocks and bonds could be based. Secretary of State Knox was accused of "dollar diplomacy"; that is, of using our diplomatic influence in the Latin-American countries and in the Near and Far East for the advancement of our commercial and financial prestige at the expense of disinterested friendship and sympathy with liberal movements. The Democrats won an overwhelming victory at the polls. They got control of the House of Representatives for the first time in sixteen years. The Senate was left with a majority of ten Republicans (51 to 41); but as there were about a dozen insurgents among the Republican senators, the administration was without support in either House of Congress. Democratic governors replaced Republicans in the states of Maine, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey (Woodrow Wilson), Ohio, North Dakota, and Oregon. The election marks a sharp division between the two halves of the

Taft administration. In the years 1909 and 1910 the President had had the chance to put himself at the head of the Progressive forces. He missed that opportunity when he signed and defended the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill. The second half of his administration was marked by some excellent measures, such as the enlargement of the civil service, the negotiation of arbitration treaties with Great Britain and France, an eight-hour law for all workers under contract with the government, the Appalachian Forest Reserve Act, and the support of the income-tax amendment. But these did not avail to win for the President the confidence of the Progressive element of the party.

626. Canadian Reciprocity. The new Democratic House would not regularly meet until December, 1911. But President Taft invited trouble for himself when he summoned Congress in extra session on April 4 for the passage of a measure on which he had set his heart. In January, 1911, he had made a reciprocity agreement with Canada by which many food products of our northern neighbor were to be admitted to the United States free of duty, while the rates on manufactured goods imported by the Canadians were to be lowered. But the Western farmers, among whom the insurgents had their chief support, saw only the lowering of the prices of their own products by the free admission of Canadian grain, vegetables, eggs, and cattle, while the high protectionists of the East opposed reciprocity, as they had in Blaine's day, as a dangerous breach in the walls of protection. The bill was passed by Democratic votes, which served only to widen the split in the Republican party. The whole scheme came to naught when a new conservative Canadian parliament decisively rejected reciprocity for fear it would bring their country too much under the political and economic influence of the United States.[1] Instead of supporting the President on the Canadian tariff bill the insurgents took advantage of the extra session to join the Democrats in a series of attacks on the Payne-Aldrich tariff. Bills were passed by the House, lowering the rates on woolen and cotton goods, iron and chemicals, and removing the duties on agricultural implements, wire fencing, and cotton bagging. President Taft vetoed all "these pop-gun bills" successfully, but the House came within fourteen votes of passing the Underwood Woolen Reduction Bill over his veto.

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[1] Speaker Clark had remarked in the House that he favored reciprocity because he "hoped to see the day when the American flag would float over every square foot of the British North American possessions clear to the North Pole." In a letter to Roosevelt in January, 1911, President Taft spoke of reciprocity as "producing a current of business between the two countries that would make Canada only an adjunct of the United States."

627. The Progressives Organize. The insurgent Republicans did not delay long after the disastrous defeat of 1910 to organize for the reform and capture of the party. In January, 1911, they met at Senator La Follette's house in Washington and formed the National Republican Progressive League, choosing Senator Jonathan Bourne of Oregon as president. They adopted La Follette's Declaration of Principles to the effect that "popular government in America" had been "thwarted by the special interests" and agreed upon a platform advocating direct primaries, strict laws for the punishment of corrupt practices in election, and the adoption of the initiative, referendum, and recall by the states. At a second meeting a few weeks later the league decided to support a Progressive nominee for the presidential race in 1912. "There is but one man," said Senator Cummins, "who should be considered as the candidate, and that man is Senator La Follette." A National Progressive Conference at Chicago, October, 1911, approved the program of the league and indorsed La Follette as "the logical candidate for the presidency of the United States." The steady growth of the La Follette boom through the summer and autumn of 1911 belied the statement of the league in January that it was not formed in opposition to President Taft or to "promote the political fortunes of any man or men." The Progressives claimed that they did not intend to secede from the Republican party; but they had already repudiated the party leader and condemned the party machine to which they declared he was bound.

628. Roosevelt and La Follette. It was not the President, however, who was causing worry for the Progressives, but rather the popular Colonel, who since his return from Europe had shown his disapproval of Taft's administration, but at the same time had carefully refrained from appearing as a rival for the nomination in 1912. Roosevelt supported Progressive measures in his speeches [**624**], yet he would not join the Progressive League. Was it because he was unwilling to split the Republican party or because he had no intention of playing second fiddle to La Follette? His devoted followers in the league, like the Pinchot brothers and ex-Secretary of the Interior, James R. Garfield, wanted him to come out as a candidate for the nomination. But he would say neither Yes nor No to their urging. His attitude exasperated La Follette, who realized how seriously his own candidacy was threatened by Roosevelt's popularity, and who complained with considerable logic that he could see no reason why Roosevelt should not definitely say that he would not be a candidate except that he really intended to be a candidate. As late as August, 1911, Roosevelt wrote to a Pittsburgh paper that he should "esteem it a genuine calamity" if his friends pushed his candidacy. But this might mean that he intended to avoid La Follette's mistake of starting his campaign for the nomination too early. At any rate, Roosevelt's statement neither deterred the efforts of his backers nor brought any comfort to La Follette. The latter bitterly accused Roosevelt of insincerity and shiftiness, claiming that he had supported the Payne-Aldrich Act, and that he balanced every rebuke to the trusts with a rebuke to the labor unions. As for him, he preferred Taft's honest conservatism to Roosevelt's "rhetorical radicalism" and "mock heroics."

629. Roosevelt's "Hat in the Ring." The long period of suspense came to an end early in 1912. On February 2 La Follette, who had been working under great mental strain, made an incoherent, rambling speech at Philadelphia, which the Roosevelt men seized upon as an excuse for deserting the Wisconsin senator on the ground that he was mentally unfit to conduct a presidential campaign. A few days later the Progressive governors of seven states[1] signed a letter to Roosevelt, urging him to run as a "plain patriotic duty." "A large majority of the Republicans of the country," said the letter, "favor your nomination, and a large majority of the people favor your election as the next president of the United States." If the Colonel needed any spur to accept the appeal, it was furnished by President Taft, who made a speech attacking the Progressive policies and characterizing the Progressive leaders as "emotionalists" and "neurotics." On February 24 Roosevelt replied to the governors, "I will accept the nomination for the presidency if it is tendered to me." His "hat was in the ring."

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[1] These men were Bass of New Hampshire, Hadley of Missouri, Osborn of Michigan, Carey of Wyoming, Glasscock of West Virginia, Stubbs of Kansas, and Aldrich of Nebraska. The letter originated not with the seven governors but with the staff of the *Outlook*, on which Roosevelt was serving at the time.

630. The Tide of Progressivism. President Taft fully realized the strength of the tide of popular disapproval that was running against his administration. Yet he had no apology to make for his policies. He believed in "going along the middle of the road between the reactionaries on the one hand and the extreme radicals on the other." He put La Follette's followers in the latter class, describing them as "extremists who would hurry us into a condition which would find no parallel except in the French Revolution." Taft had little hope of being reëlected. In a speech during his Western trip of 1911 he replied to a chairman who introduced him as "our next president," "That young man is a better Republican than prophet." Still, the Republicans were determined not to let the Progressives capture the party organization as the Populists had captured the Democratic party in 1896 [**546**]. Twelve of the forty-six states had already adopted the system of instructing their delegates to the nominating conventions to vote for the candidate of the people's choice. More than a third of the delegates to the Republican convention at Chicago in 1912 were chosen by these states, and of the 382 delegates thus chosen, 278 were instructed for Roosevelt, 68 for Taft, and 36 for La Follette. So far, then, as the people had a chance to express their wish, Roosevelt was the popular choice for the nomination. But the machinery of the convention was in the hands of the administration. The national committee, more than two thirds of whom were Taft supporters, assigned 235 out of the 254 contested seats in the convention to Taft delegates, thus enabling the administration to elect its chairman, Elihu Root, by the narrow margin of 558 votes to 502. When Root rose to make his "keynote speech" he was greeted by cries of "Theft!" from the Roosevelt men. The latter either left the hall or refrained from voting, and Taft was nominated on the first ballot with 561 votes (or 21 more than a majority) to 107 for Roosevelt and 41 for La Follette. Three hundred and forty-four delegates answered the roll call — "Present but not voting." Had only twenty-two of the contesting Roosevelt delegates been seated (and even Roosevelt's rival, La Follette, acknowledged the claim of forty-nine of them) Taft would have failed to get the nomination.

631. The Republican Split. Roosevelt had hastened to Chicago from his home in Oyster Bay, Long Island, to try to protect his interests when delegation after delegation of his supporters were being denied seats in the convention. Not being a delegate himself, he had no privilege on the floor and could not prevent the "steam roller" of the administration from running over the convention as it had done four years earlier when his own hand had been on the throttle. As soon as Taft had been nominated, the Roosevelt delegates called a meeting of protest and invited the Colonel to put himself at the head of an independent Progressive party. He advised the delegates to return to their homes for the indorsement of their constituents and to reassemble later in the summer to nominate a Progressive candidate for the presidency, who would appeal to "every part of the country and to Democrats and Republicans alike in the name of our common American citizenship." Thus the National Republican Progressive League, failing to introduce its leaven of reform into the party, had repudiated the administration. The insurgents had become seceders. For a third time since the Civil War the nomination of a Republican candidate unacceptable to the reform element of the party had provoked a revolt. In 1872 the Liberal Republicans had secured the acceptance of Greeley by the Democrats in the vain attempt to defeat Grant. In 1884 the Mugwumps had deserted Blaine to vote for Cleveland. In 1912 the Progressives were to trust the popularity of their candidate to carry a third party to victory.

THE RETURN OF THE DEMOCRATS

632. The Bull-Moose Convention. On August 5, 1912, in response to the call of the Progressive committee, representing forty states, some two thousand delegates assembled in Chicago to launch the new party. The meeting has been described as "more like a religious revival than a political convention." It was permeated by a spirit of crusading zeal. "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" and "Onward, Christian Soldiers" were sung over and over again. Miss Jane Addams of the Hull House Settlement led the large contingent of women delegates and made one of the keynote speeches. When Colonel Roosevelt appeared in the hall he was received by a burst of cheering and song which lasted for nearly an hour. He was nominated for the presidency by acclamation, with Hiram Johnson of California as his running mate; and the convention adjourned after singing "Praise God, from whom all blessings flow." The party platform declared that "the first task of the statesmanship of the day" was to destroy the "invisible government" of special privilege. It advocated the measures of direct government which we have described in the opening section of this chapter. It approved a strong central power for the control of the trusts, a reduction of the tariff without abandoning the principle of adequate protection to American labor. The most important feature of the platform, however, was its departure from the usual vote-catching platitudes of the Republican and Democratic manifestoes and its emphasis upon specific measures of social reform. It demanded laws for the protection of the factory workers against industrial accidents, for the prohibition of child labor and of overwork and night work for women, for minimum-wage scales and fair and open rules in the hiring and discharge of employees, for the establishment of a separate Department of Labor in the cabinet, and for the liberal extension of credit to the farmers. The party adopted the Bull Moose[1] as its emblem, and entered with zeal upon its campaign to make a clean sweep of the old abuses and "build a new and nobler commonwealth."

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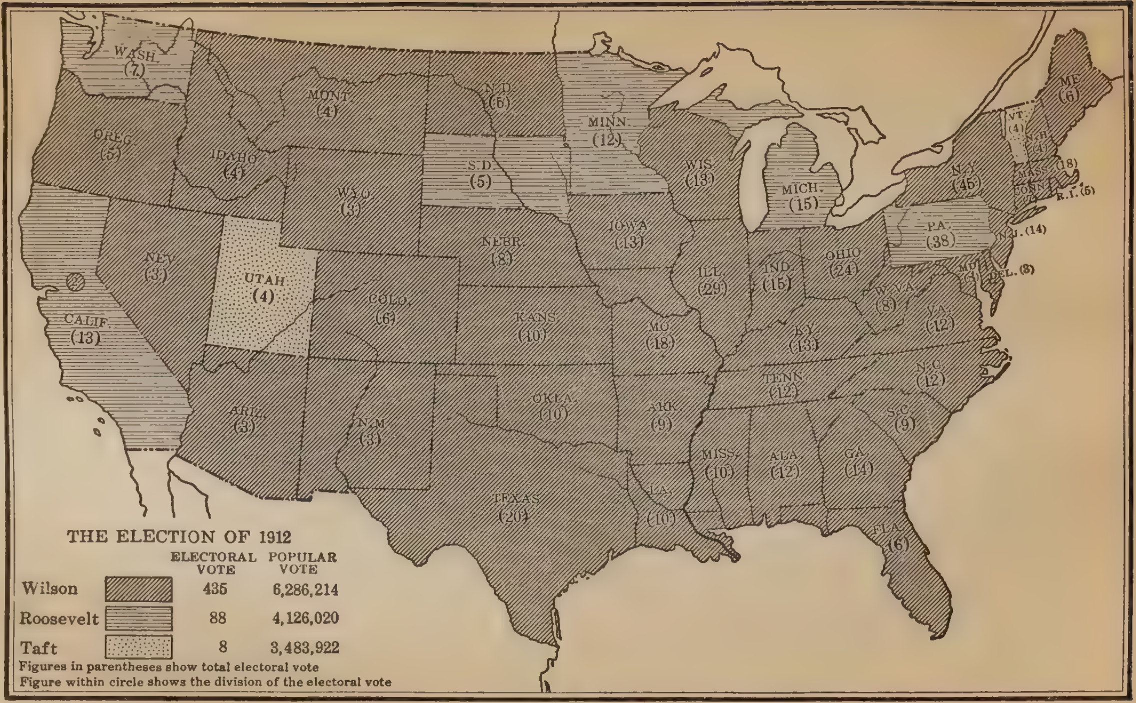
[1] The name was not first coined in 1912, as many persons think. When Roosevelt was the vice-presidential nominee in 1900 he told the Republican manager, Mark Hanna, that he was ready to be used to the limit in the campaign. "I'm as strong as a Bull Moose," he said, employing one of his favorite similes.

633. The Democrats' Opportunity. The Progressive movement was not represented by the Bull Moose party alone. It was a leaven which had permeated the thinking of the country. Democratic governors like Folk of Missouri and Wilson of New Jersey were as sincerely devoted to progressive principles as were the Republican insurgents. Even among Taft's supporters there were thousands who pointed to his trust and conservation program, his tariff and railroad commissions, his advocacy of a federal income tax, his arbitration treaties, as a justification of Senator Warren G. Harding's description of him in the nominating speech at Chicago as "the greatest Progressive of the age." It was evident as soon as the split in the Republican convention occurred that the Democrats had only to nominate a candidate who would satisfy the progressive element in their party in order to win the election, whether Roosevelt headed an independent ticket or not. For, in the former case, he would draw practically all his strength from the Republicans dissatisfied with the Taft administration, and, in the latter case, many of those dissatisfied Republicans might be counted on to vote for the genuine reform candidate nominated by the Democrats, as the Mugwumps had voted for Cleveland in 1884. There were a large number of aspirants for the nomination in the Democratic convention, which met at Baltimore on June 25, chief of whom were Governor Judson Harmon of Ohio, Oscar Underwood of Alabama (chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the House), Speaker "Champ" (J. Beauchamp) Clark of Missouri, and Governor Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey. As Governor Harmon was a pronounced conservative identified with the corporation interests and Underwood was a mild conservative handicapped by being a representative from a state of the lower South, the real contest was between Clark and Wilson, each of whom had more votes on the first ballot (440½ and 324 respectively) than all the other aspirants combined.

634. The Nomination of Woodrow Wilson. Though Mr. Bryan was not a candidate for the nomination, he was the most powerful figure in the convention. He dictated the platform as he had done at Kansas City in 1900 and at Denver in 1908. He secured, by a large majority, the passage of a resolution that no candidate identified with "the privilege-hunting and favor-seeking class" should be nominated. He threatened to have certain delegates who represented big-business interests removed from the convention. And finally he decided who should be the party's nominee. Champ Clark had beaten Wilson in the primary elections by over 200,000 votes. He led Wilson by a large margin when the balloting began in the convention, and on the tenth ballot, when the New York delegation, headed by Charles F. Murphy of Tammany Hall, transferred its 90 votes from Harmon to Clark, the latter had a clear majority of the delegates (556 out of 1088). At this point, Governor Wilson, with only 360 votes, conceded the nomination of his rival and prepared a telegram of congratulation to him. But at this point, also, Mr. Bryan intervened. Though the Nebraska delegation was pledged by the primaries to support Clark, he swung it to Wilson, declaring that no candidate who received the vote of Tammany Hall should receive the vote of Nebraska. Other states fell in behind Nebraska, until Wilson passed Clark on the twenty-eighth ballot, and on the forty-sixth ballot received 990 votes, far more than the two thirds necessary for a choice. In only one other Democratic convention in our history has a candidate (Van Buren in 1844) had a majority of the votes in a convention without eventually securing the nomination. Clark could claim, like Roosevelt, to have been the popular choice, but, unlike Roosevelt, he did not bolt the party. On the day following he gave a statement to the press, thanking his friends for their support, and declaring: "I lost the nomination solely through the vile and malicious slanders of Colonel William J. Bryan of Nebraska." Governor Thomas R. Marshall of Indiana was nominated for the vice presidency. The platform branded the tariff as a robbery of the people and the trusts as "indefensible and intolerable private monopolies." It indorsed the Progressive measures of direct government; farm credits, a Department of Labor in the cabinet, a single presidential term, and a recognition of the independence of the Philippines as soon as a stable government should be established in the Islands.

635. The Campaign of 1912. A deplorable feature of the campaign was the bitter exchange of personal vituperation between the erstwhile bosom friends, Taft and Roosevelt. The latter accused the President not only of having failed to redeem his pledge to carry out the Progressive policies, but of having broken his promise to retain certain men of Roosevelt's choice in the cabinet and of having "stolen" the nomination at Chicago. Taft indignantly denied the accusation and countered with the charges of "hysteria" and "dangerous emotional radicalism" against his former chief. La Follette sulked in his tent like Achilles. Wilson conducted a dignified campaign, criticizing both Taft and Roosevelt for their support of a tariff which encouraged the trusts by stifling free competition in industry, and for their association with men who lacked faith in the people to work out their own political and economic salvation. The Socialists, with Debs as their candidate for the fourth successive time, regarded Republican, Democratic, and Progressive candidates, all of whom claimed to be liberals, merely as the representatives of "superficial rivalries between competing capitalistic groups." The Socialist remedies for the ills of society were the collective ownership as a means of production and distribution, the abolition of the United States Senate and the federal district courts, the adoption of old-age pensions and state insurance for the workers, the substitution of free coöperation in industry for the wage system forced upon the laborer by the capitalists. Wilson carried forty of the forty-eight states, giving him the large total of 435 votes out of 531 in the electoral college; but his popular vote fell 2,000,000 short of the combined vote for his opponents. He was the choice of only 42 per cent of the people of the country. In no state outside the "solid South" did he receive a majority of the popular vote. The most remarkable feature of the election was the tribute to the popularity of Theodore Roosevelt. Without the backing of a party machine he polled two thirds as many votes as Wilson and four times as many as any third-party can-



THE ELECTION OF 1912

didate had received since the Civil War.[1] The Democrats won both branches of Congress, the House by a majority of 291 to 144, and the Senate by the slim margin of 51 to 45. Only once before (1893–1895) since the election of James Buchanan in 1856 had the Democratic party controlled both the executive and the legislative departments of the government. The results of the election are shown on the map on page 585.

636. Woodrow Wilson. Wilson was born at Staunton, Virginia, December 28, 1856, of Scotch-Irish ancestry, with a liberal sprinkling of Presbyterian ministers on both sides. He was undecided in the choice of a career, studying law at the University of Virginia after his graduation from Princeton in 1879 and practicing for a brief period in Atlanta, Georgia. But he never liked the law or lawyers. He hesitated between literature and political science and in 1883 entered Johns Hopkins for the study of history. Here he won the doctor's degree with a remarkable thesis on "Congressional Government." He taught at Bryn Mawr and Wesleyan before he was called in 1890 to a professorship in political science at Princeton. He was elected president of the university in 1902, and entered upon a determined campaign to raise the standard of scholarship and make the college life more democratic. He was in constant conflict with certain of the trustees, alumni, and professors of the university over his educational and social policies, until he was virtually forced to resign in 1910. Meantime, Colonel George Harvey, editor of *Harper's Weekly* and the *North American Review*, an anti-Bryan Democrat who was "tired of having to vote the Republican ticket," had begun to groom Wilson for the presidency. He persuaded the Democratic machine in New Jersey to give Wilson the nomination for the governorship in 1910. Wilson was elected by a majority of 49,000, whereas the state had given Taft a majority of 82,000 two years earlier. He immediately entered upon a program of reform in the face of bitter opposition from the

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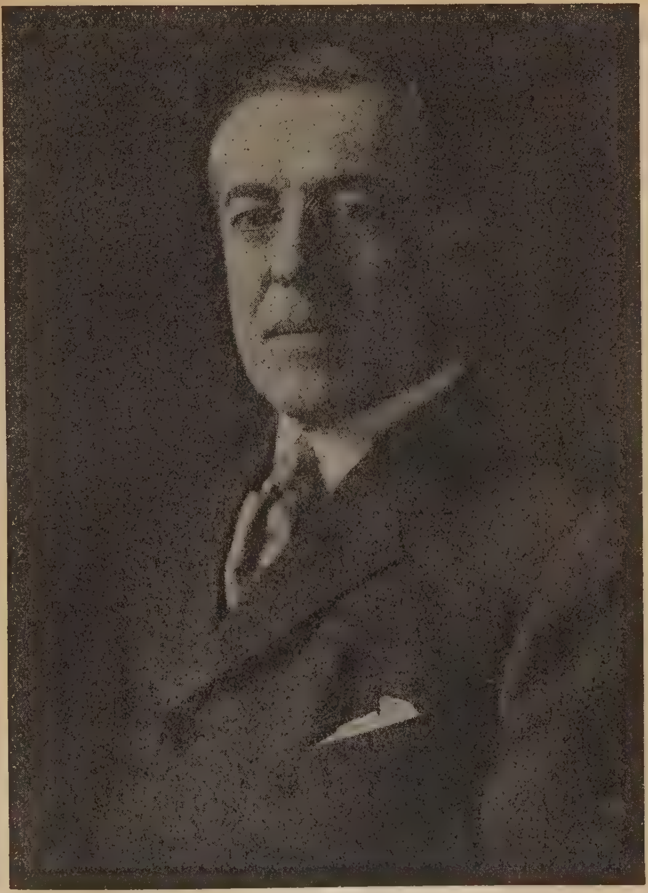
[1] The Socialist vote increased over 100 per cent (from 420,793 in 1908 to 897,011) in spite of the fact that there were two "progressive" parties in the field. It was the high-water mark for the Socialists. In the next campaign their vote went down to 590,570 and the party was split by the war [**616**, note].



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WOODROW WILSON

Democratic bosses, who thought that "the professor" would be an easy tool for the machine to handle. He put through legislation for direct primaries, employers' liability, the strict regulation of public utilities, and electoral reform, earning the reputation of being the most independent and progressive governor in the East. A tour of the Western states in the autumn of 1911 enabled him to present his progressive views to a wide audience in the finished and convincing oratory which was his supreme gift. When the campaign of 1912 opened he was a figure of national importance.

637. Wilson's Political Philosophy. The newly chosen President had as positive ideas as Jackson or Roosevelt on the dignity and responsibility of his office. The president, he believed, should be, like the British prime minister, the real head of the government, directing and controlling legislation by his constant pressure upon Congress to respond to the needs of the people at large. He was a disciple of Jefferson, with faith in "the average intelligence of the American people" and in their ability to shape their own political and economic destinies when their "generous energies" were released from the guardianship of a narrow group of privileged men. Prosperity must well up from the free activities of the people and not be allowed simply to trickle down upon them in thin streams from the reservoirs of privilege. "America stands for opportunity, America stands for a free field and no favor, America stands for a government responsive to the interests of all. And until America recovers these ideals in practice she will not have the right to hold her head high again amid the nations, as she used to hold it." In his inaugural address of March 4, 1913, to a huge throng gathered before the east front of the Capitol at Washington, he spoke of the abundant forces, material and moral, in American life, of the evil that had come in with the good, the inexcusable waste amid the unparalleled riches. He characterized the task of the new day as the elevation of all that concerns our national life to the high plane of the enlightened individual conscience. He abjured all spirit of partisanship, and in words recalling Abraham Lincoln's immortal speech at Gettysburg he declared, "This is not a day of triumph;

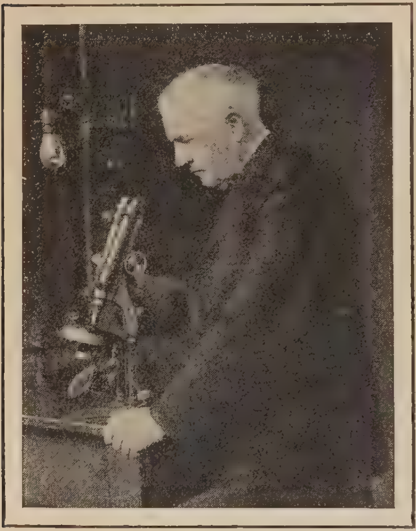
it is a day of dedication." He summoned "all patriotic forward-looking men" to his side, and promised not to fail them if they would but counsel and sustain him.

638. Difficulties confronting the President. In spite of his courageous words, President Wilson knew that he was facing a very difficult task. He ~~was the leader of the American people,~~ and yet three fifths of the votes cast at the polls had been cast for other candidates. He was the head of the Democratic party, and yet the Democrats had given him fewer votes in victory than they had three times given to Bryan in defeat. His election was not a triumph of Democracy but a rebuke to stand-pat conservatism. In order to maintain that popular prestige on which he depended for his authority over Congress, he would have to satisfy the Progressives in both the great parties. As an "academic" person with no experience in politics beyond his single term as governor of New Jersey, he was looked upon with rather scornful misgivings by the seasoned political war-horses in Congress. And as the first president of Southern birth since Andrew Johnson he was unpopular with a large number of men in the North, who resented his warm defense of the motives of the South in fighting its "war for independence." New England, especially, though he had carried all the states of that section except Vermont, showed a marked hostility to him because he was the only president in our history (except John Quincy Adams, who was himself a New Englander) to fail to choose a single member of his cabinet from a New England state. Indeed, the complexion of the administration was decidedly Southern. Five of the members of the cabinet were of Southern birth, as were the chairmen of the most important committees in both Houses of Congress. But though the South had given Wilson united support in the campaign, it by no means followed that Southern leaders would approve his policies. They had voted for him as a Democrat and not as a Progressive. They represented the conservative section of the country, which had least sympathy with such innovations as direct government and woman suffrage, or such social legislation as child labor and employers' liability laws.

639. The Cabinet. Precedent required Wilson to offer the Secretaryship of State to the man who was responsible for his nomination, although Mr. Bryan had very little experience or equipment to qualify him for the difficult task of handling our foreign relations. As a matter of fact, he was never allowed to do more than hold the ends of the reins, while President Wilson did the driving. The Secretaryship of the Treasury was given to William G. McAdoo, who had moved from Tennessee to New York in 1903 and had been engaged in a number of business enterprises, chief of which was the building of the "tubes" connecting New York and New Jersey under the Hudson River. Lindley M. Garrison, a New Jersey lawyer, was made Secretary of War. Josephus Daniels, editor of the Raleigh *News Observer*, who had been most influential in securing the North Carolina delegation for Wilson, was made Secretary of the Navy. The Attorney-Generalship went to James C. McReynolds of Tennessee; the portfolio of the Interior Department to Franklin K. Lane of California, who had been a valuable member of the Interstate Commerce Commission under Roosevelt and Taft; the Postmaster-Generalship to Albert S. Burleson of Texas. David F. Houston, chancellor of Washington University, St. Louis, was appointed Secretary of Agriculture; William C. Redfield of New York, Secretary of Commerce; William B. Wilson of Pennsylvania, a former official of the United Mine Workers, Secretary of the newly created Department of Labor. Colonel Edward M. House of Texas, who had been Wilson's chief backer since the latter's break with Harvey in December, 1911, refused the offer of a cabinet position but remained the most intimate personal adviser of the President until the friendship of the two men came to a sudden and mysterious ending at the Peace Conference in Paris after the World War. Attorney-General McReynolds was appointed to a vacancy on the Supreme Court Bench in August, 1914, and his place was taken by Thomas W. Gregory of Texas. In June, 1915, Secretary Bryan resigned because he disapproved the tone of President Wilson's correspondence with Germany over the sinking of the *Lusitania*, and was succeeded by Robert Lansing of New York. In February, 1916, Secretary of War

Garrison resigned on account of Wilson's opposition to a strong national army, and was replaced by Newton D. Baker of Ohio, a man of pacifistic leanings. With these three exceptions, the cabinet remained unchanged during Wilson's first term. Secretaries Daniels and Wilson and Postmaster-General Burleson retained their original portfolios through both terms. None of the members of the cabinet, with the exception of Bryan and possibly Lane, were widely known at the time of their appointment.

640. The Challenge of the Twentieth Century. The newly appointed Secretary of the Interior was a man of vision. In a letter written to Colonel Roosevelt in the spring of 1910 he had analyzed the discontent of the country with the administration of the "patriotic, conscientious, and lovable" Taft in a few illuminating sentences: "The people do not feel that they control the government or that their interests will be safely guarded by a relationship that is purely diplomatic between the White House and Congress. In short we have a new consciousness of democracy . . . the character of the government which satisfied the people twenty years ago is found lacking today. . . . Outside a few of the larger states, the entire country is insurgent and insurgency means the revolt against taking orders." It was leadership, open and sympathetic, that the people were calling for. There was danger that American idealism would be submerged in a flood of material prosperity. Our national wealth had already far surpassed that of Great Britain, France, or Germany. The tide of immigration to the United States rose from 450,000 in 1900 to 1,285,000 in 1907, dropping temporarily as a result of the panic of the latter year, but rising to a new peak of 1,218,000 in 1914, when nearly one third of our population of 95,000,000 were foreign-born themselves or the sons and daughters of one or both parents foreign-born. It was not enough to naturalize the horde of aliens by law. They must also be taught to speak the English language, to read American newspapers, and to understand something of the democratic ideals by which our history has been shaped. New inventions and discoveries were following each other with bewildering rapidity, changing the habits of the people and the intercourse of the nation. A third of the more than a million patents granted by our government have been issued since the beginning of the twentieth century. In 1900 there were less than a thousand automobiles, costing less on the average than $1000 apiece, in America. By the end of President Taft's administration the number had grown to 1,250,000, and was increasing at a rate to give one machine to every five inhabitants of the country today (1929). The effect of the automobile upon the transportation system of the land and the social habits of our people has been incalculable. The automobile has bound the country together in a mobile, restless population, eliminating isolated rural regions, replacing the suburban trolley car, tempting the people to mortgage their homes for the possession of a car, and affording the highway robber and the murderer an easier escape from the clutches of the law. The submarine and the airplane, both American inventions, opened to men whose travel from time immemorial had been confined to the surface of the earth a path through the waters below and the air above, revolutionizing the means of commerce and the methods of warfare. Signor Marconi's invention of wireless telegraphy brought the distant parts of the earth together in instant communication. The steamship in mid-ocean was no longer isolated from the world in solitary diversion or distress, but published the news of two continents in its daily bulletin and was within constant call of its invisible companions beyond the meeting line of sky and sea. In a few years Americans were to talk with friends in England by telephone, and pictures of a



THOMAS A. EDISON IN HIS LABORATORY

strike in London were to be telegraphed to the newspapers of New York. The world was growing small. Its hitherto remote and secret places were becoming familiar. Even the north and south poles were reached, the former by Commodore Robert E. Peary in 1909, and the latter by Captain Roald Amundsen in 1911. And the great commercial and manufacturing nations, in a rivalry for new markets and sources for raw materials like oil and rubber, were jostling against one another in this narrowing world. Even had the United States not committed themselves to a colonial policy by the acquisition of islands in the Pacific Ocean and the Caribbean, the expanding volume of their world trade and their attachment to the Monroe Doctrine must have forced them to define their attitude toward this "economic imperialism" as it expressed itself in the dealings of the nations with various countries, rich in resources but weak in government, like Manchuria, Mesopotamia, Morocco, and Mexico — the world's "arenas of friction."

641. The Task of the New Administration. That the United States should set their own house in order by legislative reform to free the "generous energies" of the people was the first duty of his administration as President Wilson saw it. Instead of devoting his inaugural address to a proud congratulation of our country on its material and moral achievements, he called upon his countrymen to devote themselves to the sober task of remedying the evils which had crept into our political and economic life. We must return to the standards of democracy which we had "so proudly set up in 1776" and which we had "always carried in our hearts." We must relieve the people of unnecessary and burdensome taxation, provide them with a currency and banking system favorable to free initiative in business, and give labor a sense of its dignity and worth in coöperating with capital on just terms in the development of the resources of the country. Then, having squared our public life with our traditions of freedom and opportunity for all, we should be in a position to make our influence for fair dealing felt among the nations of the world, not by fine words alone, or even by the fear of our battleships, but by the powerful plea of a good example.

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1. **Oregon's Experiments in Direct Government:** J. D. BARNETT, *Operation of the Initiative, Referendum, and Recall in Oregon*, pp. 189–218, and *The Presidential Primary in Oregon* (*Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 81–104); G. H. HAYNES, *The People's Rule in Oregon* (*Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 32–62); JONATHAN BOURNE, *The Recall in Oregon* (*The Outlook*, Vol. XCVI, pp. 329 ff.).

2. **How Women got the Vote:** A. M. SCHLESINGER, *New Viewpoints in American History*, pp. 137–158; IDA H. HARPER, *History of the Movement for Woman Suffrage in the United States*; OGG, pp. 151–156; J. B. MCMASTER, *History of the People of the United States*, Vol. VIII, pp. 116–121; K. PORTER, *History of Suffrage in the United States*, pp. 135–145, 228–254.

3. **Immigration Problems:** S. P. ORTH, *Our Foreigners* (Chronicles of America, Vol. XXXV); J. H. LATANÉ, *America as a World Power*, pp. 285–303; H. U. FAULKNER, *American Economic History*, pp. 611–615; OGG, pp. 120–130; F. J. WARNE, *The Tide of Immigration*, chaps. xxi–xxiv; A. M. SCHLESINGER, *New Viewpoints in American History*, pp. 13–21; H. P. FAIRCHILD, *Immigration*, chaps. ii–iv; WILLIAM MACDONALD, *Documentary Source Book*, Nos. 193, 195, 196.

4. **The Payne-Aldrich Tariff:** IDA TARBELL, *The Tariff in our Times*, chap. xiii; OGG, pp. 27–39; F. W. TAUSSIG, *The Tariff Debate of 1909 and the New Tariff Act* (*Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. XXV, pp. 1–38); G. M. FISK, *The Payne-Aldrich Tariff* (*Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. XXV, pp. 35 ff.).

5. **The Bull Moose Convention of 1912:** EDWARD STANWOOD, *History of the Presidency*, Vol. II, pp. 288–298 (for platform); OGG, pp. 187–196; W. R. THAYER, *Theodore Roosevelt, an Intimate Biography*, pp. 350–375; W. D. LEWIS, *The Life of Theodore Roosevelt*, pp. 370–380; BISHOP, Vol. II, pp. 334–346.

Questions for Review

1. How had President Roosevelt encouraged the movement for popular government? **2.** What was the purpose of direct primaries? **3.** Why were they not always successful? **4.** Explain how nation-wide presidential primaries would make the national nominating convention useless. **5.** Why was a constitutional amendment necessary to allow the direct election of United States senators? **6.** Could women vote for president before the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified? **7.** What arguments can you give for and against woman suffrage? **8.** Why was the recall of judges objected to more than the recall of executive officials? **9.** Why should the government of cities be independent of national politics? **10.** Name and describe two forms of city government introduced in the twentieth century. **11.** What are the principles of the socialists? **12.** What is meant by "direct action" in industrial disputes? **13.** Give some recent examples of social legislation. **14.** Why has labor been hostile to the courts? **15.** Why was Taft called reactionary? **16.** Why did not the Dingley tariff of 1897 [**569**] rouse the same hostility as the Payne-Aldrich tariff of 1909? **17.** What powers were taken away from the Speaker of the House in 1910? **18.** What is meant by "dollar diplomacy"? Give examples. **19.** Do you think Taft was fairly nominated in 1912? **20.** What was Bryan's influence in the Democratic convention of 1912? **21.** Compare Wilson's and Roosevelt's political careers before they were nominated for the presidency. **22.** Compare the action of the Progressives in 1912 with that of the Mugwumps in 1884 [**488**]. **23.** What do you understand by the phrase "the Americanization of aliens"? **24.** What has been the effect of the automobile on social life? **25.** Why was Wilson in a difficult position when he entered the presidency? **26.** What changes were made in his cabinet in the first three years? Why?

CHAPTER XVIII

WOODROW WILSON AND "THE NEW FREEDOM"

THE REFORM PROGRAM

642. Wilson's Appeal to the People. At the very outset of his administration Wilson showed that he considered the presidency as a great popular trust. Just before his inauguration he had published a little volume entitled "The New Freedom," made up of the most constructive passages of his campaign speeches, as a kind of advance program for his administration. "Free men need no guardians" was its text. The American people were equal in intelligence and energy to the task of self-government in politics and self-direction in industry. "A comparatively small number of men control the raw material, the water power, the railroads, the larger credit of the country," he said, "and by agreements handed around among themselves they control prices." "You are willing to act *for* the people," was his challenge to the old leaders, "but you are not willing to act *through* the people. Now we propose to act for ourselves." He did not even wait for the meeting of Congress to propose his program of reform, but announced it to the public in his inaugural address. Its main features were a thoroughgoing revision of the tariff, a new system of banking and currency, and industrial legislation which should both encourage the free investment of capital and protect the just interest of labor.

643. The Underwood Tariff. On April 7, 1913, President Wilson called the 63d Congress together in extra session and revived the custom, in abeyance since the days of John Adams, of appearing in person to read his message. In this first brief address he spoke of the revision of the tariff alone. He declared that we must abolish everything that had "even the semblance of privilege or artificial advantage" and make our business men and producers "better workers and masters than any in the world" by constantly sharpening American wits in competition with the wits of the rest of the world. He believed that the government should continue to rely chiefly on the customs duties for its revenue, but that our industries had grown beyond the need of "protection." It was not free trade that he advocated but free opportunity for American business. The Democrats had had control of the House since 1911, and a new tariff bill was all ready to be introduced by Oscar W. Underwood of Alabama, the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means. As it passed the House by a vote of 281 to 139 it contained 958 reductions, chiefly in articles of necessity and comfort such as food and clothing, while the rates on luxuries like gems, furs, silks, perfumes, wines, and automobiles were either increased or left unchanged. There were about three hundred articles on the free list and the average rate on the dutiable goods was reduced from 42 to 27 per cent. When the Senate, in behalf not only of the protected industries of the North, but of the sugar producers of Louisiana, the fruit growers of Florida, the iron masters of Alabama, and the cotton manufacturers of Georgia, threatened to repeat its tactics of 1894 and 1909 and "amend" the bill into a highly protective measure, President Wilson came out with a public statement condemning the "insidious lobby" at work in Washington. Due chiefly to the President's insistence on the popular demand for an honest revision of the tariff, the Senate, after a four months' fight, passed the Underwood bill with little change by a vote of 44 to 37. It was the first piece of genuine tariff reform since the Civil War. To make up for the anticipated loss in revenue, a progressive income tax was levied. Net incomes above $3000 for a single person, or $4000 for a married couple, were subject to a tax of 1 per cent up to $20,000, 2 per cent from $20,000 to $50,000, and so on by degrees until the additional tax reached 6 per cent on incomes above $500,000.[1]

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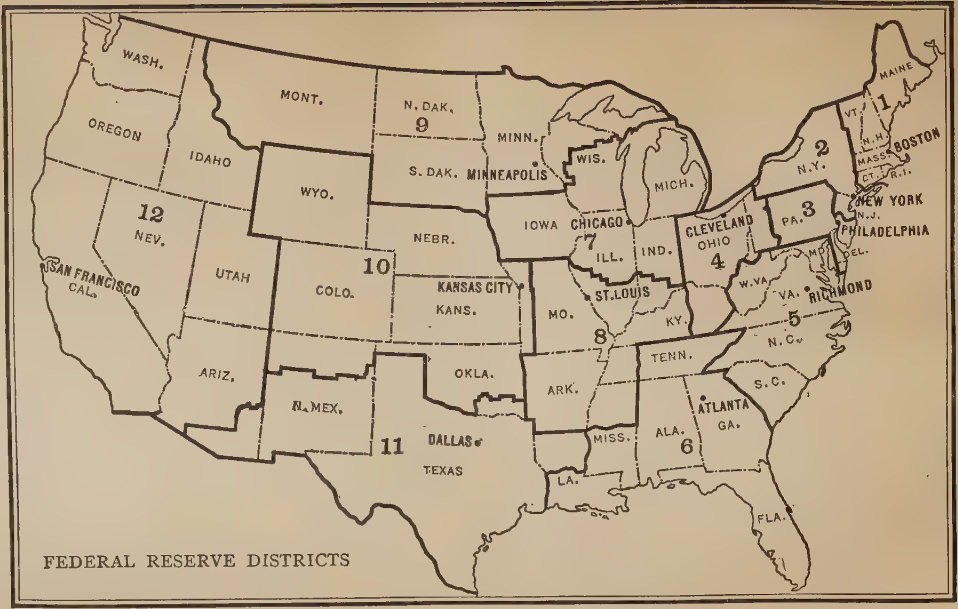
[1] How the Underwood tariff as a whole would have affected business and prices in America under normal conditions it is impossible to say. To meet the huge expenses occasioned by our preparation for and participation in the World War, which broke out a year after the bill was passed, the income taxes and excess profits taxes were so greatly increased that the tariff sank into comparative insignificance. It furnished only 5 per cent of the revenue of the country in 1918.

644. The Banking and Currency Problem. Every year of the rapid development of our agriculture and manufactures that followed the Spanish War revealed the inadequacy both of the volume and of the flexibility of our currency to meet the business needs of the country. Most of the business of the country is done on credit, and the extent to which the banks could furnish credit was limited by the fact that they could issue currency only on the basis of government bonds [**427**]. Periods of prosperity and business expansion, when the demand for credit at the banks was greatest, were naturally just the periods in which the government bonds stood highest and offered the least attractive investment for the banks. The difficulty, under these conditions, of securing credit for the legitimate business enterprises of the country led to the charge of a "money trust" or "credit trust," monopolizing the fluid capital of the country. A committee of the House (the Pujo Committee), appointed to investigate this charge, reported, just at the close of the Taft administration, finding evidence of such a trust; but the bankers replied by a circular, published by Mr. Morgan, attributing the evils to "a clumsy and outgrown banking system" rather than to "the schemes of men."

645. The Federal Reserve Act. Various remedies were proposed for this "outgrown system" dating from the Civil War. The Aldrich-Vreeland Act was passed, May 30, 1908, creating "national currency associations," which were allowed to issue emergency currency in times of need, based on other securities than national bonds, but the scheme did not work smoothly or satisfactorily. In the midsummer of 1913 Carter Glass of Virginia introduced a Currency and Banking Bill into the House, on which he had been working for a year and in which President Wilson and Secretaries McAdoo and Bryan had a part. Senator Owen of Oklahoma took charge of the measure in the Upper House. The Owen-Glass Bill, known as the Federal Reserve Act, was passed by substantial majorities in both Houses, and signed by President Wilson, December 23, 1913. It divided the United States into twelve federal districts, in each of which was a central city with a federal reserve bank. Every national bank of the district was obliged to enter the federal reserve system, subscribing


FEDERAL RESERVE DISTRICTS

On January 1, 1924, the Treasury reported the total stock of money in the country as $8,977,466,356, or a per capita amount of $82.10. Nearly half of the money ($4,005,062,279) was in the Treasury, mostly in the form of gold coin and bullion ($3,553,932,238). The amount of money in circulation (nearly $5,000,000,000, or $44.22 per capita of the population) was in the following forms: Federal Reserve notes, $2,230,000,000; national bank notes, $713,000,000; gold coin, $415,000,000; silver coin, $320,000,000; gold certificates, $582,000,000; silver certificates, $375,000,000; greenbacks, $307,000,000

6 per cent of its capital and surplus to form the capital of the Federal Reserve Bank. These subscribing banks are called "member banks." When the business interests of the country demand an expansion of the currency, the member banks may take approved "paper" (promissory notes, drafts, acceptances) to the Federal Reserve Bank of their district for "rediscount," receiving for this paper federal reserve notes, which they put into circulation. When the demand for further credit is checked, the currency is "contracted" by the return of the notes to the federal reserve banks. The management of the federal reserve banks is vested in a central committee, called the Federal Reserve Board, consisting of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Comptroller of the Currency, and six other members appointed by the President. The Federal Reserve Act has been called by some financial experts the most important piece of legislation since the Civil War. During the years of its operation there has not been a financial panic in the country, in spite of the strain occasioned by the World War and the difficult problems of economic adjustment following that war.

646. The Federal Trade Commission. The extra session of Congress called by Wilson in April, 1913, lasted through the summer and autumn and merged into the regular session of December, before the Owen-Glass bill was signed. Still the president kept Congress at work like a "schoolmaster" for another ten months without interruption. In the almost continuous session of 567 days, whose reported debates fill 18,000 pages of the *Congressional Record*, many important bills were put through besides the tariff and banking acts. A Federal Trade Commission was established by an act of September 20, 1914, consisting of five members appointed by the president to serve seven years and to have powers of investigating and regulating the behavior of big-business corporations, somewhat similar to the powers which the Interstate Commerce Commission had over the railroads and the Federal Reserve Board over the banks. Although the commission could demand reports from the corporations and even publish such information about their business methods as it believed the public should know; although it could order a corporation to refrain from illegal practices and in case of disobedience could apply to the federal district court for an injunction against the corporation, — nevertheless the purpose of the commission was rather to help big business to obey the law than to punish it for disobeying the law. The commission furnished a body of experts who, by warning and advice, could prevent the well-intentioned corporations from making mistakes which would bring them into the courts to fight against government prosecutions. On the whole, the establishment of the commission was approved by the chambers of commerce and welcomed by the business interests of the country.

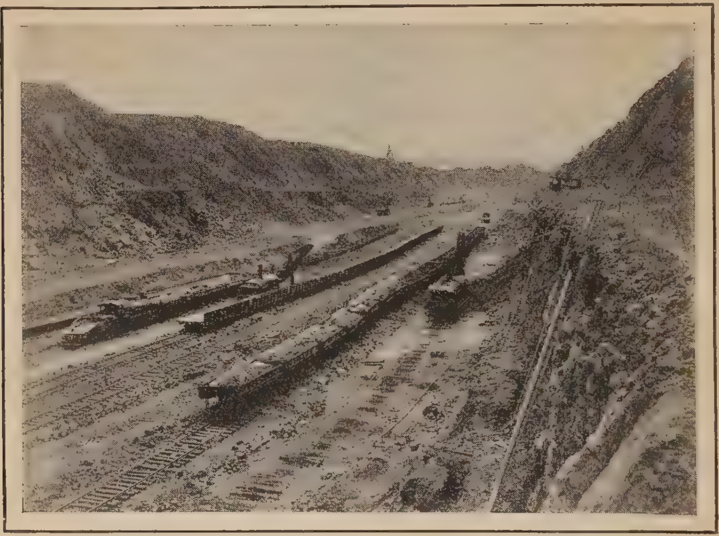
647. The Clayton Act. At the same time, an anti-trust act was passed (October 15, 1914) to make more clear and precise the confused language of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890 [**509**]. It defined a number of illegal and tyrannical practices in business, such as price cutting to freeze out competitors, the floating of bogus companies, bribing a rival company's employees, or forcing customers to trade exclusively with a certain company. It forbade "interlocking directorates," by which a small group of powerful capitalists, serving as directors of banks, steel companies, oil companies, and the like, controlled the credit and business of the country. No person should serve as director in two or more banks whose capital and surplus aggregated $5,000,000 or in two or more corporations with a capital and surplus of $1,000,000. Corporations with common trustees were forbidden to do business with each other. The Clayton Act contained provisions very favorable to organized labor and the farmers. One section declared that a peaceable strike or boycott should not be held as a violation of the law and forbade the courts to grant an injunction in any controversy between capital and labor "concerning terms or conditions of employment, unless necessary to prevent irreparable injury to property." Another stated that "the labor of human beings is not a commodity or article of commerce," and exempted labor unions and agricultural organizations "instituted for the purpose of mutual help and not conducted for profit" from the operation of the anti-trust laws against "conspiracies in restraint of trade."

648. Federal Aid to Education. In 1862 Congress, by the Morrill Act, had granted every state 30,000 acres of public land for each of its senators and representatives in Congress, the proceeds from the sale of this land to be used for the support of colleges, "to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes" especially in agricultural and the mechanical arts. There were more than sixty of these "land-grant colleges" teaching agriculture in 1914, and their curriculums had been supplemented by experiment stations and extended by correspondence and traveling schools to reach the adult population. Congress recognized the value of this work by the Smith-Lever Act of 1914, which appropriated nearly $500,000 to be divided equally among the states, with an additional grant of $500,000 increase annually until 1923, by which year the appropriations would have reached the large sum of $4,500,000. Provision was made for the close coöperation of the Department of Agriculture with the land-grant colleges and experiment stations. And in many states agricultural education was introduced into the high schools and the rural schools. In 1917 a Federal Board of Vocational Education was established, which contributed "dollar for dollar" to state appropriations for education in commerce, industry, and domestic science, as well as in agriculture. Furthermore, various bureaus of the Department of Agriculture have conducted an agricultural campaign among the farmers by the publication of bulletins on animal and plant industry, the extermination of insect pests, soil chemistry, fertilizers, crop estimates, irrigation, road building, marketing, and farm management. In no other field is there a more conspicuous example of the awakened interest of the federal government in the social welfare of the people.

649. Labor Legislation. The clauses of the Clayton Act relating to injunction and labor unions were not the only measures of Congress favorable to labor. The Newlands Act of July, 1913, set up a Board of Mediation and Conciliation to persuade the parties in labor disputes to resort to arbitration. The Board averted strikes on forty-two Eastern railroads and up to the autumn of 1916 had adjusted over sixty labor controversies. In

1914 a Seamen's bill was introduced into Congress (and passed in 1915 through Senator La Follette's efforts), which revolutionized the condition of the sailors in the merchant marine in respect to quarters, food, and wages. It freed the sailor from the tyranny of the master of the ship and allowed any seaman on entering an American port on a merchant vessel to leave the crew and claim half the wages due him. This Furuseth Act was naturally favored by the Seamen's Unions, and by labor in general, but it was condemned by the shipping interests as "the deathblow to our merchant marine." The expenses of the voyage under the new law would make it impossible for our ships to compete with the merchant marine of European countries and Japan, operated by ill-paid, ill-fed, and ill-housed crews.

650. The Panama Canal Tolls Repealed. The Panama Canal was nearing completion when Wilson took office. In the summer of 1912 Congress had passed a bill, supported and opposed by Republicans and Democrats alike, exempting from tolls American coastwise vessels which passed through the canal. The act was based on the fact that the canal was wholly American built and American owned and hence formed, as President Hayes had declared more than thirty years before that it should, "a part of the coast-line of the United States." The third clause of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1901 with Great Britain [**591**] reads: "The canal shall be free and open to the vessels of commerce and of war of all nations . . . on terms of entire equality, so that there shall be no discrimination against any such nation . . . in respect of the conditions or charges of traffic or otherwise." The British government protested that the act of August, 1912, was a violation of this clause; while the Taft administration maintained that the phrase "open to all nations on terms of entire equality" meant to all *foreign* nations. We had a treaty of arbitration with Great Britain, negotiated under Roosevelt in 1908, which pledged us to arbitrate the dispute. But in the first week of March, 1914, President Wilson came before Congress and, in a speech of less than three minutes' duration, urged, almost commanded, the repeal of the act. "I ask this of you," he said, "in support of the foreign policy of the administration. I shall not know how to deal with other matters of even greater delicacy and nearer consequence, if you do not grant it to me in ungrudging measure." Without asking what the "President's secret" was, Congress repealed the act after a bitter three months' debate, during the course of which Wilson was accused of sacrificing American shipping interests at the dictation of Great Britain.[1]



A LOCOMOTIVE, WITH TRAIN AND STEAM SHOVEL, WORKING ON THE BOTTOM OF THE CANAL IN NOVEMBER, 1912

651. The Panama Canal Opened. The canal was opened for world traffic in August, 1914, when the American steamer *Ancon* went through the locks with her decks thronged with officials

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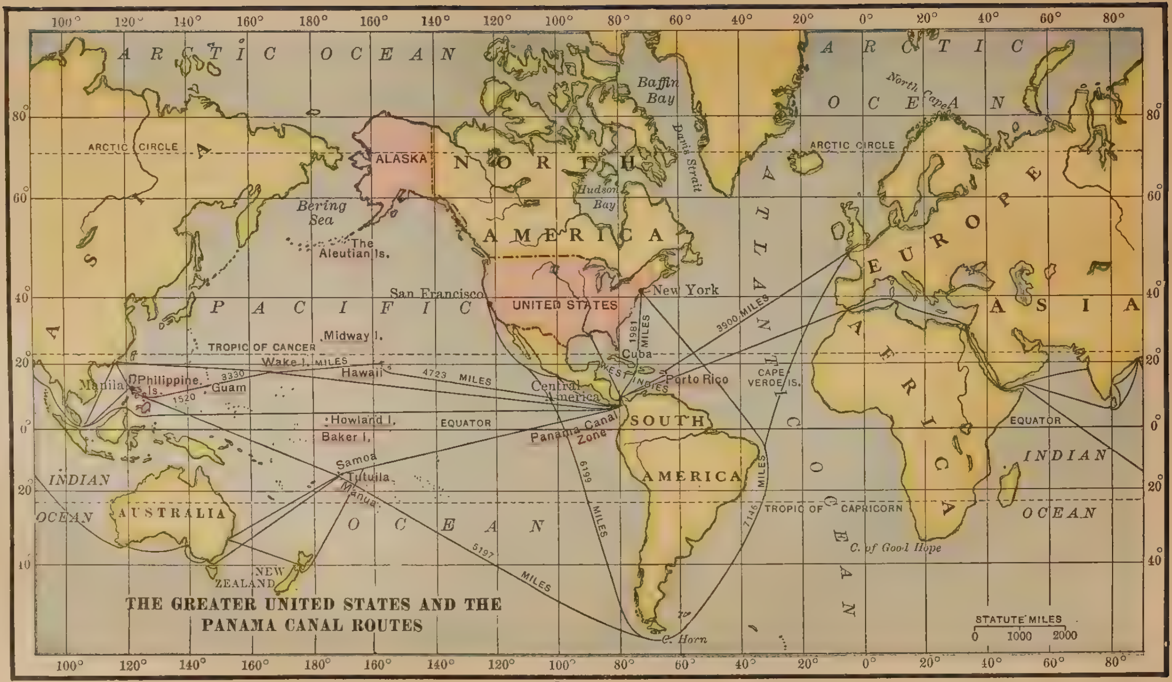
[1] Mr. Burton J. Hendrick, in his "Life and Letters of Walter H. Page," believes that "a satisfactory solution of the mystery" is disclosed in the Page papers. He says (Vol. I, p. 269): "They show that the President and Colonel House and Page were at this time engaged in a negotiation of the utmost importance. At the very time that the tolls bill was under discussion, Colonel House was making arrangements for a visit to England, France, and Germany, the purpose of which was to bring these nations to some kind of an understanding that would prevent a European war. This evidently was the great business that could not be disclosed at the time, and for which the repeal of the tolls legislation was the necessary preliminary."



THE GREATER UNITED STATES AND THE PANAMA CANAL ROUTES

and distinguished guests of the American and Panama governments. The tonnage passing through the canal in the first few years was rather small, owing both to the World War and to the need for closing the canal for months at a time in order to remove "slides." In 1916 there passed through the canal 4,931,911 tons of shipping, paying tolls of $3,673,233, while the cost of operation and repairs was almost $7,000,000. Four years later 2478 ships, with a tonnage of 8,546,044, yielded tolls to the amount of $8,493,182, and in 1926 the traffic had increased to 5197 ships, with a tonnage of 24,943,763, paying $22,391,055 in tolls. The net income of the canal in the latter year was $17,340,865. But with its heavy operating expenses and the interest charges on the total cost of $483,546,193 for construction and fortification, the canal is still far from being a "paying project" from a business point of view. In January, 1914, Colonel George W. Goethals, "the prophet engineer" who had completed this greatest work on the western continent, was appointed the first governor of the Panama Canal Zone. Percy MacKaye wrote the ode in honor of his inauguration:

A man went down to Panama
Where many a man had died,
To slit the sliding mountains
And lift the eternal tide.
A man stood up in Panama,
And the mountains stood aside.

652. The Mid-Term Reaction. The election of 1914, which occurred only ten days after the adjournment of the long session of Congress, resulted, as usual, in a reaction against the administration. The Republicans regained control of several of the state governments, and the Democratic majority in the House was reduced from 147 to 29. The 63d Congress, said President Wilson, had "served the American people as they never had been served before," and ex-President Eliot of Harvard, in a review of the accomplishments of the administration, published in *Harper's Weekly* of August 22, 1914, agreed with this opinion. But the very volume and variety of legislation offered many points for adverse criticism. The Underwood tariff was denounced by New England as unduly favorable to the South; the Federal Reserve Act was too radical for the bankers and too conservative for the farmers; the labor clauses of the Clayton Act displeased big business. Secretary Bryan's conduct of the State Department was criticized as amateurish. A strike in the coal region of southern Colorado had developed into a civil war between the miners and the militia, which had not been quelled by the dispatch of six troops of cavalry sent to Colorado by President Wilson at the request of Governor Ammons in the summer of 1914. The outbreak of the great European War three months before the election had brought as an immediate result the cessation of commerce, business depression, unemployment, a sharp rise in prices, and increased taxation. Finally, American lives had been sacrificed in Mexico as a result of a policy of President Wilson toward the revolutionary government of that republic, which was condemned by his opponents as despotic and vacillating, arbitrary and cowardly, all at once. In the face of these embarrassments and difficulties it was something of a triumph for the administration to retain its control, even by slim majorities, of both Houses of Congress.

Latin-American Relations

653. The Mexican Revolution. In 1910 the aged president-dictator, Porfirio Díaz, who had ruled Mexico with a rod of iron for over thirty years, was driven from power by a revolution of liberals headed by Francisco Madero. But Madero proved too weak to control the revolutionary spirit which he had aroused, and Mexico was torn with the war of rival factions, each seeking to get control of the capital and the treasury. President Madero's general in chief, Victoriano Huerta, an ignorant, dissipated, and cruel ruffian with Indian blood in his veins, proclaimed himself president in February, 1913. Madero was arrested and, while being conducted to jail by Huerta's officers, was murdered in the street, probably by Huerta's orders. President Taft had refrained from intervening in the Mexican revolution, forbidding the shipment of arms and munition from the United States to any of the factions, and had strengthened the guard on our Mexican border to keep the disorder confined to the further side of the Rio Grande. A few days after Madero's murder, President Wilson assumed office and found himself confronted with the problem of how to treat the Mexican usurper. Though several other revolutionists (Carranza, Villa, Zapata, Orozco) were in arms against Huerta, he managed to hold his own against them, claiming the allegiance of at least four fifths of the provinces of Mexico. Twenty-six European powers recognized him as *de facto* president. It had always been the policy of the United States to enter into relations with the government of a foreign country when that government seemed sufficiently well established to perform its national duties, without asking whether the government in question came into existence by a revolution or by the order or succession of a sovereign or a president. Our ambassador at Mexico City, Henry Lane Wilson, urged the President to recognize the Huerta government along with the European powers, declaring that the alternative was "chaos" in Mexico. American capitalists had invested about a billion dollars in Mexican mines, railroads, plantations, and oil fields. It was the safeguarding of this capital that appealed to the men who favored the recognition of the Huerta régime.

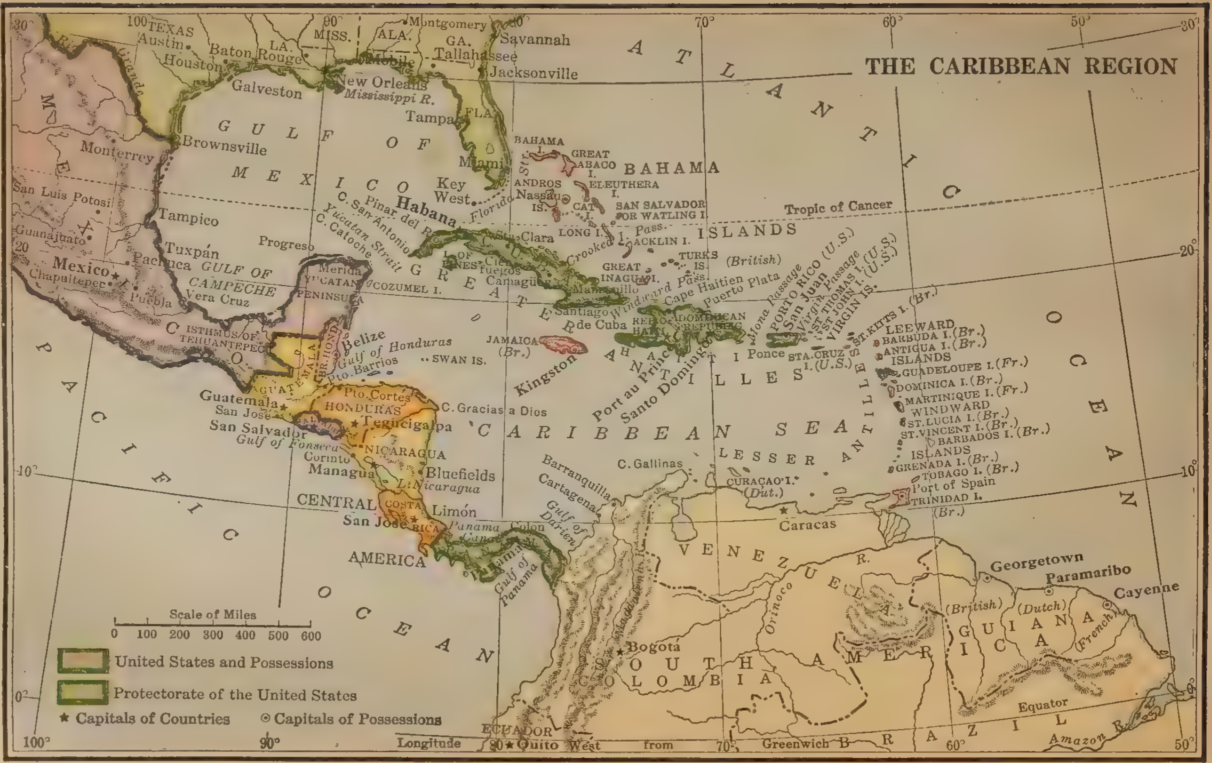
654. "Watchful Waiting." But President Wilson had other ideas on the obligations of the United States to the Latin-American countries under the Monroe Doctrine. In a speech at Mobile, Alabama, in October, 1913, he declared that, while we would "never again seek an additional foot of territory by conquest," it was one of the duties of our friendship for our sister republics to the south "to see that from no quarters are material interests made superior to human liberty." In other words, as he himself phrased it later, he would "refuse to extend the hand of welcome to anyone who obtains power in a sister republic by treachery and violence." Therefore, he sent John Lind of Minnesota as his private messenger to Mexico (in place of Ambassador Wilson, who had resigned) to make the following demands on Huerta: (1) the immediate cessation of hostilities; (2) a general amnesty; (3) a new election for the presidency in which Huerta must not be a candidate; and (4) the promise of all factions to abide by the results of the new election. When Huerta indignantly rejected these demands (the third of which alone he would have been able to guarantee even if he had been willing) President Wilson let him alone, trusting to the steady pressure of the disfavor of this government to embarrass him with the nations of Europe and South America. "We shall not be obliged, I believe," said Wilson in his message of December 2, 1913, to Congress, "to alter our policy of watchful waiting, and when the end comes we shall hope to see order restored in distressed Mexico by the concert and energy of such of her leaders as prefer the liberation of their people to their own ambitions." He had his way with Huerta, who was forced to abandon his usurped position in the summer of 1914, but it was a long while before his optimistic prediction of the new type of leader was realized. Meanwhile he intervened twice by armed force in Mexico.

655. Vera Cruz. In order to aid Carranza, governor of the state of Coahuila, who was fighting against Huerta, Wilson, on February 3, 1914, raised the embargo on arms which Taft had imposed. A little later the murder of an Englishman in Mexico, named Benton, increased the pressure brought to bear in the United States to restore order beyond the Rio Grande. There were repeated insults offered to Americans by the officers of Huerta, the most serious of which occurred in April, when a boatload of American sailors from the gunboat *Dolphin* of Admiral Mayo's fleet, landing at Tampico to purchase gasoline, were arrested by a Huertista commander and marched off to jail amid the hoots and jeers of the crowd. Admiral Mayo demanded the release of the sailors and an apology for the insult in the shape of a formal salute to our flag. Huerta apologized for the act of his officer and released the men, but refused to salute the flag. He maintained that no insult was intended and that it was an inconsistency for our government to ask him to fire a national salute to the flag when we did not recognize him as the president of Mexico. Wilson backed up Admiral Mayo and asked Congress, on April 20, for the permission to use armed force "to obtain from General Huerta the fullest recognition of the rights and dignity of the United States." He did not wait for the consent of Congress (which was given two days later by votes of 337 to 37 in the House and 72 to 13 in the Senate), because he received a wireless from Mayo shortly after midnight of the 21st, stating that a German steamer laden with arms and munition for Huerta was expected to land at Vera Cruz within a few hours. After consulting Secretaries Daniels and Bryan over the telephone, Wilson sent word to Mayo to "take Vera Cruz at once." A detachment of American marines was landed, while the battleships *Utah* and *Florida* shelled the customhouse and the arsenal. Eighteen of the marines and about sixty Mexicans were killed before the Americans got control of the city. Then General Frederick Funston was sent with several thousand troops to hold Vera Cruz.

656. Carranza and Villa. This was certainly very different from "watchful waiting." Most of the European nations believed that it was the prelude to the march of an American army on Mexico City, like the landing of General Scott at Vera Cruz sixty-seven years before [333]. To avert war between Mexico and the United States, the greater republics of South America now offered their mediation. Representatives from Argentina, Brazil, and Chile (the "A B C powers") met the delegates of Huerta and the United States at Niagara Falls, Canada, in May, and prevailed upon Huerta to leave Mexico. In September President Wilson withdrew our forces from Vera Cruz; but anarchy continued in Mexico while Carranza slowly fought his way to power against the bandit Villa. Carranza made himself master of the capital in July, 1915. On his promise to protect the lives and property of foreigners in Mexico, President Wilson recognized him as *de facto* president and revived the embargo on arms to cripple Villa. As Carranza's fortunes improved, Villa grew more desperate. Finally, on March 10, 1916, Villa's ruffians crossed our border with cries of "Death to Americans!" and raided the town of Columbus, New Mexico, killing seven soldiers and twelve civilians, and wounding a score of others. We sent a punitive force under Brigadier General John J. Pershing into

Mexico (with Carranza's permission) in pursuit of Villa. But the clever bandit eluded our soldiers, and before long Carranza, charging us with designs on his power, demanded our withdrawal and even attacked a small American force at Carrizal, one hundred and fifty miles south of the Mexican border. The troops came back from their wild-goose chase over the hot plains of northern Mexico without Villa and with little glory. Carranza's power grew slowly but steadily, until he was able to summon a constitutional convention and get himself elected the first president of the Mexican Republic under the new constitution for a term of four years (March, 1917).

657. Subsequent Relations with Mexico. We resumed diplomatic relations with Mexico early in 1917, but the faith that President Wilson placed in the Carranza régime was vain. There was neither reform nor security in Mexico. Trade languished, agriculture declined, and revolutionary bandits infested the country. Seventy Americans were killed during the years 1917 and 1918. Finally, in the spring of 1920, Carranza was overthrown and murdered in a new revolution staged by the triumvirs De la Huerta, Obregón, and Calles, who agreed to take the presidency in the order named. So Wilson was confronted at the close of his term, as he had been at its beginning, with the problem of recognizing a régime in Mexico founded on revolution and murder. And, like Taft, he passed the question on to his successor, President Harding. Harding refused to recognize the Obregón régime, not so much from moral scruples as because Article 27 of the Mexican constitution of 1917 threatened American property rights by declaring that "only Mexicans by birth or naturalization" had the right to acquire lands or obtain concessions to develop the coal and silver mines, the phosphate beds, and the petroleum fields of the republic, and that all the concessions granted under the Díaz régime (since 1876) were subject to revision. After three years of haggling, we secured sufficient assurances from Obregón that American property concessions in Mexico would be safeguarded to allow Secretary of State Hughes to announce that President Coolidge (who had succeeded to the presidency on the death of Harding in August,



THE CARIBBEAN REGION

1923) would resume diplomatic relations with Mexico as soon as the Mexican senate should ratify the agreement. In March, 1924, President Coolidge sent Charles B. Warren as ambassador to Mexico, but not until we had officially aided Obregón to put down another revolution by the sale of rifles, ammunition, and airplanes to his government. Since the accession of Calles to the presidency at the close of 1924, our relations with Mexico have somewhat improved, but there is always the danger of political and diplomatic complications with those countries in which our citizens have great amounts of wealth invested and in which recurrent revolutions and despotisms interrupt the orderly administration of government and the protection of life and property.[1]

658. Our Interests in the Caribbean. With our acquisition of the Panama Canal, our interest in the peace and stability of the countries bordering on the Caribbean led us to take the initiative more and more in guaranteeing those countries against revolution at home and interference from European nations. Roosevelt's warning to the Kaiser's warships to keep away from the ports of Venezuela [**585**] and his assumption of the responsibility for the finances of Santo Domingo [**596**] are instances of this protecting power. It was at the suggestion of Roosevelt and President Díaz of Mexico that a Central American Court of Justice was established at Cartagena, Costa Rica, in 1908, to have binding jurisdiction in cases of dispute between the signatory states of Central America.[2] President Taft's Secretary of State, Knox, was so intent upon increasing our financial prestige in the Latin-American countries as well as in Asia that his policy was called "dollar diplomacy." Taft put an American agent in charge of the customhouse at Nicaragua and to prevent revolution landed marines at the Nicaraguan capital, where they remained as a "stabilizing influence" until 1925. Since the Democratic traditions were opposed to imperialism in any form, it was an interesting question whether the advent of Wilson in 1913 would mark a reversal of our policy in the Caribbean. Both Wilson and Secretary Bryan were stanch believers in the "self-determination of nations" and in "putting human rights above property rights." Wilson did, indeed, advise the American bankers to withdraw from participation in the "six-power loan" to the new republic of China, because its conditions invaded the independence of China. But there was no change in our financial and political policy in the Caribbean. If anything, the dictation of the United States was increased under "the anti-imperialist" Bryan. "Yankee imperialism," says one critic, "grew steadily by homeopathic doses cleverly administered" while the attention of the people of the United States was absorbed in the great World War and the problems of peace.

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[1] A new diplomatic controversy with Mexico arose in the autumn of 1926, when the Mexican Congress passed a law (to take effect January 1, 1927) putting into operation Article XXVII of the Mexican Constitution.

[2] Unfortunately, the court came to an end in 1918 when the United States supported Nicaragua in its refusal to obey a decision adverse to a treaty between our country and Nicaragua. However, the World Court of International Justice, established at The Hague in 1921, may serve the Central American republics to preserve peace as the Court of Cartagena was intended to do.

659. Santo Domingo and Haiti. It was not until the New York *Nation* published a series of articles in the autumn of 1920 on the American occupation of Santo Domingo and Haiti that the general public realized what had been going on in the island for a period of five years. The articles contained some exaggeration of details, but their main contention was borne out by the testimony of American witnesses before a senatorial investigating committee. Our control of the finances of Santo Domingo ever since the Roosevelt arrangement of 1905 had made dictation of the policies of that republic fairly easy. We protested that we had "no designs against the sovereignty of Santo Domingo," but we insisted on the elections being held under the "observation" of American officers. When President Jiménez, in 1916, refused to agree to the permanent control of the finances by the Americans and the establishment of an American police force, Captain H. S. Knapp turned the Dominican government out. The republic was ruled for six years by American naval officers, until, in 1922, the Dominicans consented to elect a president who would accept our demands and ratify all the acts of our occupation. Then the American warships departed, leaving a guard of fifteen hundred marines, who remained in Santo Domingo until the summer of 1924 to see that President Burgos fulfilled his promises. Our conduct in Haiti was no less dictatorial. When that republic refused to allow us to establish a financial protectorate like that over Santo Domingo, American marines simply marched to the National Bank and seized the government funds (December, 1914). The orders from Washington to Rear Admiral Caperton, who arrived at Cape Haitien in July, 1915, read: "The United States expects to be intrusted with the practical control of the customs and the financial affairs of Haiti. . . . It has no designs upon the political and territorial control of Haiti." Nevertheless, we forced the republic to accept a president of our selection and a constitution of our dictation and quelled a revolt against our military occupation of the republic with ruthless vigor. An American major general protested against "the indiscriminate killings in Haiti," and Secretary Daniels's report for 1920 acknowledged the killing of 1861 Haitians in the previous year.

660. The Bryan-Chamorro Treaty. Near the close of the Taft administration the president of Nicaragua had offered for $3,000,000 to sell us the exclusive right to build a canal through his country and to establish fortified naval bases at each end of the canal. When Mr. Bryan became Secretary of State he sought to amend the terms so as to make Nicaragua a protectorate of the United States on the model of Cuba under the Platt Amendment [**562**]. Nicaragua was to make no treaties endangering her independence nor incur any debt beyond the capacities of her revenues to support, and the United States was to have the right to intervene at any time to maintain order in the republic. Our Senate refused to approve these provisions and they were eliminated from the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty of 1916, which contained the terms offered by the Nicaraguan president to Taft in 1912. The Bryan-Chamorro Treaty was opposed by Salvador and Costa Rica as an infringement of their rights in the Gulf of Fonseca and the San Juan River (the termini of the proposed canal) and was the cause of the break-up of the promising experiment of a Central American League started a decade before [**658**].

661. The Caribbean an American Lake. The instances just described are not the only examples of our intervention in the Caribbean region. We landed marines in our own protectorate of Panama in 1921 to compel that republic to obey the award of Chief Justice White in a boundary dispute with Costa Rica. Our government has approved bankers' loans to Colombia, Guatemala, and Honduras, which have given us considerable influence in determining the financial policy of those countries. In 1917 we paid Denmark $25,000,000 for the group of the Virgin Islands, which lie sixty miles east of Porto Rico and guard the northeastern entrance of the Caribbean Sea. The 26,000 inhabitants of the islands, only about 10 per cent of whom are of white blood, were put under the rule of an American naval officer as governor. Thus, slowly and steadily, by executive action (chiefly by our Navy Department) the Caribbean has become an American lake. This process of "Yankee Imperialism" has gone on without any warrant in our Constitution or laws and with little realization on the part of the American people. "It never appears as an issue at the polls and no one has ever voted for it or against it." It has grown out of the needs for preserving political and financial stability in the republics surrounding the Caribbean. "We intend," said Secretary Hughes, "in all circumstances to safeguard the Panama Canal . . . its complete immunity from any adverse control is essential to our peace and safety." Republican and Democratic administrations alike have concurred in this policy. Secretaries of State Bryan, Lansing, and Colby have been no less devoted to it than Secretaries Knox, Hughes, and Kellogg.

662. The Monroe Doctrine and Latin America. There is no doubt that American control has brought enormous material benefit to the people of the Caribbean republics. They have prospered under the *Pax Americana* imposed upon them. The money that was wasted on recurrent revolutions has been available for works of sanitation and drainage, for building roads and schools. More stable political conditions have attracted American capital for investment in developing their rich resources of sugar, tropical fruits and woods, rubber, coffee, petroleum, and asphalt. The trade of the six Central American republics with the United States grew from $47,500,000 in 1913 to $136,300,000 in 1920, and our total trade with Latin America mounted to $2,000,000,000 by 1925. Yet the interference of the great Republic of the North with the Latin-American states by dictating constitutions, controlling election, and imposing treaties has aroused a jealous fear among the republics of the South lest we intend, under the cloak of the Monroe Doctrine, to absorb the countries of the Caribbean and extend our authority over the whole region between the Rio Grande and the Panama Canal. Since Secretary of State Olney had declared in the Venezuela boundary question of 1895 [**539**], "The United States is practically sovereign on this continent," there had been many indications that the Monroe Doctrine, which was originally an assurance of the protection of the Latin-American republics against European encroachment, was coming to be a warrant for the encroachment of the United States itself upon those republics. For example, Mr. Root had declared in 1904, "What we will not permit the great powers of Europe to do, we will not permit any American republic to make it necessary for the great powers of Europe to do." And Secretary Knox had said in 1912: "The exercise of independent action by the American republics is subject to limitation imposed by the United States for its own protection and in the interest of an enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine" — which, he said, had been given to us by Providence to state and interpret! The fact that the United States emerged from the World War with greatly increased wealth and prestige only added to the suspicion of the Latin-American republics that we intended to use the Monroe Doctrine to lord it over them. "The classical phrase 'America for the Americans' now means nothing more than America, our Latin America, for the North Americans," wrote a famous Argentine author in 1922. President Wilson, yielding to the pressure of public opinion, even amended the Covenant of the League of Nations by inserting an article forbidding any interference with the Monroe Doctrine, that is, with the continued guardianship of the United States over the Western Hemisphere!

663. Pan-Americanism and the Monroe Doctrine. Many of the Latin-American countries joined the war against the Central Powers. Almost all of them are members of the League of Nations, in which their delegates have held high positions. They feel that there is no further need for their "protection" against Europe by the United States. They would replace the sole responsibility of the United States for the peace and order of the western continents by a joint responsibility of all the American republics; that is, they would "Pan-Americanize the Monroe Doctrine." However, when such a proposition was made by the delegates of Uruguay at the Pan-American Congress at Santiago, Chile, in 1923, it was immediately vetoed by our representative. We insisted that the Monroe Doctrine "must be exclusively interpreted and exercised by the United States." In other words, in spite of our willing coöperation with the Latin-American republics in a variety of enterprises, we refused to regard them as full political partners. They must leave to us alone the full responsibility for the maintenance of the *Pax Americana*. Even should our future treatment of these republics convince them of our "disinterested friendship," they nevertheless feel that they have a right to a voice in the determination of Pan-American policies.

The Struggle for Neutrality

664. The Outbreak of the World War. In the early years of the twentieth century Europe was an armed camp. In spite of the attempts of the Hague conferences of 1899 and 1907 to lessen the burden of military preparedness and provide a better basis for a better understanding among the nations; in spite of the increase of world-peace organizations and of international societies for scientific, educational, and economic coöperation; in spite of the many books that were being written condemning war, not only as a cruel relic of barbarism, but as a stupid and wasteful way of settling disputes between nations, — the preparation for war (always called a preparation for defense) went on apace. Two great groups of European nations faced each other in hostile jealousy and rivalry. Germany, Austria, and Italy, joined since 1883 in a Triple Alliance, represented the Central Powers of Europe. France and Russia had drawn together in an economic alliance in 1894, and ten years later the traditional enemies, France and England, arrived at a friendly understanding, the *Entente Cordiale*. The Central Powers, especially Germany, looked upon the Entente as a plot to surround them with a hostile "ring" and thwart their ambitions for colonial expansion ("a place in the sun") and their claims to have an equal voice in the determination of world politics. It was an event in the Balkans, the "tinder box of Europe," which started the conflagration of the World War. On June 28, 1914, Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne, was assassinated with his wife while driving through the streets of Serajevo in the Austrian province of Bosnia. Holding the Serbian revolutionary societies responsible for the murder, the Austrian government, backed by its ally in "shining armor," the German Kaiser, took vengeance by invading Serbia's territory and bombarding her capital. Russia mobilized to protect her fellow Slavs in the Balkans and check the Teuton "push to the East." France rallied to the support of her ally, Russia. When Germany ordered Russia to demobilize within twelve hours it looked as though all the great powers of Europe would be drawn into the Austro-Serbian quarrel over the assassination of a prince. In vain did the foreign ministers of the great capitals of Europe labor to avert the catastrophe of a general war in the last week of July, 1914. In vain did they plead for time for the submission of the dispute to the Hague Tribunal or to the arbitration of Great Britain, France, Germany, and Italy. The German army invaded neutral Belgium in its drive on Paris, and Great Britain immediately came into the fray on the side of France and Russia (August 4). In a few months Bulgaria and Turkey had joined the Central Powers and Japan and Italy had been won to the side of the Allies. Only Holland, the Scandinavian countries, Spain, and Switzerland of all Europe remained neutral.

665. Wilson's Proclamation of Neutrality. The United States, of course, had no slightest part in European rivalries, fears, and hatreds that had precipitated the war. Following the American policies sanctioned since the days of Washington, President Wilson issued a formal proclamation of neutrality on August 4, which he followed up a fortnight later with an appeal to the American people to be "neutral in fact as well as in name" and to curb any thought or action that might be "construed as a preference of one party to the struggle above another." A third of our population were foreign-born or of foreign parentage. A quarter of these were German-Americans. Russians, Poles, Italians, Hungarians, and Irishmen were working side by side in our mines, mills, and factories. They must put their allegiance to America above their attachment to the fatherland which they had left behind them. America must be calm and cool, completely detached from the struggle, "neither sitting in judgment on others nor disturbed in her own counsels," keeping herself ready when the time should come to lend her disinterested aid to the reëstablishment of peace. Theodore Roosevelt, agreeing with President Wilson in nothing else, recommended the same spirit of impartial abstention from judging either party, in an article published in the *Outlook* of September 23, 1914.

666. American Rights Threatened. Before the war had continued many weeks, however, it became evident that we could not view it like disinterested spectators watching a play. The German drive on Paris, delayed by the valiant resistance of the little Belgian army, was checked at the Marne River on September 6, and the German and French armies for many months thereafter faced each other in the long lines of trenches with little active fighting. The British navy got control of the seas and attempted to force Germany into surrender by shutting off her importations of munitions, war materials, and food. The Germans replied by sending out their submarines to torpedo the British war and merchant vessels. As the war took millions of men from the fields and factories of Europe, the demand of the belligerent countries for American food, clothing, metals, and war supplies of every sort increased enormously. We became again, as in the Napoleonic wars, the great neutral commerce carrier of the world. And again, as in the Napoleonic wars, the infringement of our neutral rights upon the high seas finally involved us in the European struggle. In the early months of the war our grievances were against Great Britain, whose Orders in Council arbitrarily extended the list of contraband (that is, goods which might be seized on their way to the enemy) to include rubber, cotton, wool, leather, copper, chemicals, and a score or more of other articles which had been formerly free from seizure. England held up our mails, blacklisted American firms which traded with the Central Powers, and seized cargoes of goods billed for Holland, Denmark, Norway, and Italy, on the ground that they were actually going to Germany and Austria.[1] Lively protests against this "indefensible and intolerable conduct" were sent to London by Secretaries Bryan and Lansing, but the British government refused to alter the policy which it believed necessary for winning the war. The offenses of England against our neutral rights might have brought more serious results had Germany not committed a far greater offense. For England was only seizing our cargoes (for which she promised to pay in full), whereas Germany began to destroy American lives.

667. The Submarine Peril. It is a rule of international law that if a warship captures or destroys a merchant vessel, it must place the passengers and crew of the vessel in a position of safety. The Germans, with their surface fleet either sunk or shut up behind the Kiel Canal, relied upon the submarines to destroy the British sea power. But the submarine could not observe the rules of international law. Being a frail craft, it could be destroyed by a single gunshot if it attempted to stop a ship and bring it into port as a prize. Nor did it have room on board to care for the passengers and crew of a merchant ship. It had to strike swiftly and secretly by launching its deadly torpedo. It was called "the stiletto of the seas." When the Germans, in

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[1] England was justified in her suspicions. Our exports to Sweden, for example, grew from $377,000 to $2,558,000 in the first year of the war and our exports to Denmark from $558,000 to $7,101,000. Of course the Danes did not eat thirteen times as much food or wear thirteen times as much clothing in 1915 as they did in 1914! Furthermore, England could cite the example of the United States in the Civil War, when Union vessels seized cargoes bound for Nassau or Cuba, which were really destined to find their way through the blockade into the Southern confederacy.

February, 1915, proclaimed the waters around the British Isles a war zone in ~~which~~ their submarines would operate freely, and warned neutral vessels against the danger of entering ~~this zone~~, our government protested against this denial of the use of the high seas to neutrals and notified Germany that it would hold her to "strict accountability" for any loss of American lives. The Germans denied any intention of destroying the lives of neutrals, but maintained that so long as we tolerated the illegal British blockade we ought not to complain of their using the only method they had of combating it. Unless Americans abandoned their right to sail on British merchant ships it was inevitable that sooner or later they would be victims of a submarine attack. On March 28 an American citizen was drowned when the British steamer *Falaba* was sunk by a torpedo. A few weeks later the 2 American steamer *Gulflight* was sent to the bottom. The climax came on May 7, when the great Cunarder *Lusitania*, loaded with five thousand cases of ammunition for the Allies, was torpedoed off the coast of Ireland and sank in less than twenty minutes, carrying to their watery graves 1153 of the crew and passengers, including 114 American men, women, and children. This atrocious deed would have justified an immediate declaration of war against Germany, and in the eastern section of the country there was a strong sentiment in favor of war. But President Wilson was determined to preserve peace. The country was unprepared for war and disunited in opinion, many people, especially in the West, being convinced that our citizens should keep out of harm's way by refusing to travel on ships which were liable to be torpedoed. Therefore, President Wilson, instead of calling Congress in extra session and sending in a war message, chose to deal with the crisis by diplomacy. He sent a note on May 13 expressing his confidence that Germany would disavow the sinking of the *Lusitania* and warning her that the American government would not "omit ~~any~~ word or act necessary to the performance of its sacred duty of protecting the rights of the citizens of the United States." The German government expressed regret that American lives had been lost, but denied responsibility for it.

The *Lusitania*, they claimed, was a ship of war of the British navy (she was carried on the reserve list), was armed when she left New York (which was not true), and was carrying ammunition (which she had a perfect right to do). Moreover, the German embassy at Washington had warned Americans not to sail on her.[1] By disregarding this warning and intrusting themselves to the care of the captain of a British liner, they had, said the Germans, invited their own destruction. The interchange of notes over the *Lusitania* affair continued, but the German government never retracted its justification of the act.

668. German and Austrian Plots. Because the Allies, through their control of the sea, were able to secure war supplies in America, while the Central Powers were not, the latter complained that we were not really neutral. They therefore asked us to put an embargo on the exportation of war material and so aid neither side. This we refused to do, pointing out that belligerents always had the right to purchase war supplies in neutral countries and that to suspend this right because one of the belligerents was unable to use it would be a rank discrimination in favor of that belligerent. Our merchants were as ready to sell supplies to the Central Powers as to the Allies.[2] Failing to get our government to stop the supply of material to the Allies, Germany and Austria sought to stop it themselves. Their emissaries put bombs on board munition ships sailing for Europe, set fire to factories, blew up bridges, fomented strikes in munition plants, and attempted to start a general labor war in this country. A letter from Dr. Dumba, the Austrian ambassador at Washington, to his chief in

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[1] A number of people who had taken passage on the *Lusitania* were called up on the telephone from the German embassy and advised to cancel their passage — which some did. On the morning of the sailing a notice was published in the newspapers warning neutrals against sailing to the war zone on vessels belonging to Great Britain or her allies. This action was a gross breach of diplomatic courtesy. "A foreign minister is here," says John Bassett Moore, "to correspond with the Secretary of State. . . . He has no authority to communicate his sentiments to the people by publication, and any attempt to do so is contempt of this government" ("Digest of International Law," Vol. IV, p. 68).

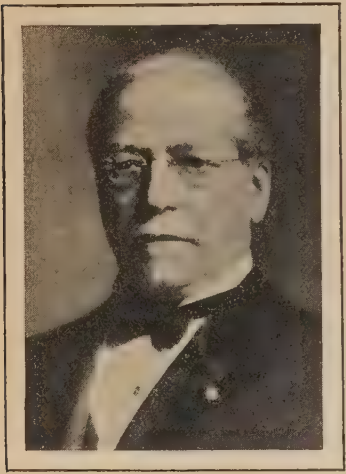
[2] In fact, the German merchant submarine *Deutschland* crossed the Atlantic in the summer of 1916 and took on a valuable cargo of war supplies at Baltimore and New London.

Vienna, recommending a plan to "disorganize and hold up for months, if not entirely prevent, the manufacture of munitions in Bethlehem and the Middle West," was intercepted in September, 1915, and its publication led to the prompt demand for Dumba's recall. A few weeks later our State Department asked for the withdrawal of the military and naval attachés of the German embassy, Captains Von Papen and Boy-Ed, on account of their "improper activities." President Wilson in his address to the Congress which met on December 7, 1915, condemned the propaganda of violence waged by foreign emissaries and by "hyphenated" American citizens, who had "poured the poison of disloyalty into the very arteries of our national life . . . sought to bring the authority and good name of our government into contempt, to destroy our industries wherever they thought it effective for their vindictive purposes, and to debase our politics to the uses of foreign intrigue."

669. Military Preparedness. The failure to get Germany to disavow the sinking of the *Lusitania*, the continued submarine peril, and the revelation of the sinister plots against our industrial peace made it evident that we could not continue to regard the European war as a remote affair. President Wilson's counsel of neutrality in thought was unheeded in the campaign of propaganda waged in this country by sympathizers with each of the belligerent groups. Since the beginning of the war, advocates of military preparedness had been active. In December, 1914, a group of New York business men organized the National Security League to rouse the people to the need for more adequate military and naval defense. The next summer an officers' training camp was established at Plattsburg, New York, largely through the efforts of General Leonard Wood. The National Defense Society, founded in August, 1915, condemned the administration for its indifference to military preparedness, and four months later the more radical American Rights Committee urged the immediate entrance of the United States into the war. At the same time the pacifists were busy organizing the League to Limit Armaments (1914), the American Union against Militarism (1915), and the Woman's Peace party (1915) with Jane

Addams as its leader. Mr. Bryan, who resigned the Secretaryship of State in June, 1915, rather than sign the second *Lusitania* note, threw his great influence against preparedness, declaring that in case of necessity we could "raise a million men between sunrise and sunset." The millionaire Henry Ford chartered the steamer *Oscar II* in December, 1915, and sent a peace delegation to Europe to get the soldiers "out of the trenches and back to their homes by Christmas." President Wilson now put himself at the head of the preparedness movement. In January, 1916, he began a tour of the Middle West, recommending military preparation "as effective and prompt as possible" without "losing a day." Yet on his return to Washington he refused to support Secretary Garrison's plan to enlarge the regular army to 400,000. Whereupon the Secretary of War resigned and was succeeded by Newton D. Baker, the mayor of Cleveland, Ohio [**639**]. During the spring months of 1916 Congress wrangled over the army bill, each party trying to make capital for the approaching presidential election. The National Defense Act which resulted, June 3, authorized the increase of the regular army to reach a strength of 223,000 men in five years, the "federalization" of the National Guard of 425,000, the establishment of civilian training camps and of military training schools in the colleges, and the construction of a $20,000,000 plant for the production of nitrates and other materials for munitions. Since a strong navy has always been a cherished American policy, it was easy to get Congress to adopt a $600,000,000 program (August, 1916), authorizing the building of ten dreadnaughts, six battle cruisers, and one hundred and forty minor vessels in three years.

670. Economic Preparedness. Besides these military and naval bills, Congress passed a number of measures during the session of 1916 designed to make industry, agriculture, shipping, and railroad transportation more efficient in case war should come. A Council of National Defense was created, consisting of six cabinet members, assisted by seven expert advisers, including Daniel Willard, president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, and Julius Rosenwald, head of the Sears Roebuck Company. A Rural Credits Act established twelve Federal Farm Banks, on the pattern of the Federal Reserve Banks, which were authorized to lend money at not more than 6 per cent on long-time farm mortgages. As the farmers by the census of 1910 owed over $3,500,000,000 and were often obliged to pay over 10 per cent interest on their mortgages, with the additional expense of renewing the mortgages every three or five years, the Rural Credits Act was expected to relieve their burden and make them more contented and efficient producers. Our merchant marine had languished since the Civil War, and we had depended on the ships of Great Britain, Germany, France, Holland, and the other maritime countries of Europe to carry our exports and imports. But with the outbreak of the World War, the greatly increased demand for American goods, coinciding with the disappearance of the German merchant vessels from the high seas, the destruction of many British, French, and neutral ships by the submarines, and the employment of others for auxiliary service in the war, brought about a pressing need for an American merchant marine. President Wilson tried, in 1914, to get Congress to pass an act allowing the government to purchase and operate ships; but it was not until two years later that opposition to the government's "going into business" was overcome and the Ship Purchase Act was passed, creating a United States Shipping Board of five members, with power to build, purchase, or lease vessels and to operate them for a period of not more than five years after the war.[1] Finally,



SAMUEL GOMPERS

Photograph by Ewing Galloway

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[1] Failing to dispose of its merchant vessels (the *Leviathan*, the *George Washington*, the *Resolute*, etc.) on acceptable terms, the government still operates them — at a loss.

just before the close of the long session of Congress which ended on September 8, 1916, the government intervened in an extraordinary way to maintain peace and the continuity of service in railroad transportation. The freight trainmen were demanding an increase of wages in the form of their actual ten hours' pay for eight hours of work, with an hour and a half extra pay for every hour of work beyond eight. The other railroad brotherhoods (engineers, conductors, firemen) backed the trainmen's demand, as did the powerful American Federation of Labor. When the railroad officials refused to concede or arbitrate the trainmen's demands, the brotherhoods declared a nation-wide railroad strike to begin on Labor Day, September 4. Such a strike, by stopping the shipment of food and munition to the Allies, might well have meant Germany's winning the war. On August 29 President Wilson asked Congress to avert the strike by granting the wage increase and, at the same time, by approving an increase of freight rates by the Interstate Commerce Commission to meet the added expense to the railroads. This Adamson bill was passed under pressure from the President and the brotherhoods on September 1, and the strike was called off. It was the first time that organized labor had compelled the government to do its will, and the opponents of the President condemned his "cowardly surrender to the brotherhoods" and his "bid for the 2,000,000 votes of organized labor" in the approaching presidential election. The railroads contested the constitutionality of the Adamson Act, but it was upheld by a five to four decision of the Supreme Court in March, 1917.

671. The Presidential Campaign of 1916. While Congress was busy with the above-mentioned measures of preparedness the presidential campaign was being waged. The Democrats, in spite of the declaration of their platform in 1912 against a second term, had no idea of replacing Wilson, who was nominated by acclamation. The problem before the Republicans was to choose a candidate who would win the Progressives back to the fold. The Progressive party was not dead, though its vote had been cut in half in the elections of 1914. Its convention met in Chicago on the same day (June 7) as the Republican convention, with the hope that the Republicans would nominate Roosevelt. Instead, they named ex-Governor Charles E. Hughes of New York, who since 1910 had been a member of the United States Supreme Court. Then Roosevelt gave the deathblow to the Progressive party, which he had called into existence four years earlier [**632**]. Regarding the defeat of the "weak" and "vacillating" Wilson as the paramount issue, he declined the Progressive nomination and threw his support to Hughes. The campaign was fought chiefly on the issue of the defense of American rights in the midst of the turmoil of the European war. President Wilson's position was strengthened by two victories which he had won early in the year. In February Senator Gore of Oklahoma and Representative McLemore of Texas had introduced resolutions into Congress forbidding American citizens to sail on armed belligerent merchant ships, which the German submarines were ordered to sink without warning. Wilson, declaring that we could not yield to this German threat "without conceding our impotence," demanded an immediate vote on the resolutions and they were tabled by a vote of 276 to 142 in the House and 68 to 14 in the Senate. The next month, when a German submarine sank the French passenger steamer *Sussex* in the English Channel, with a loss of two American lives, Wilson sent an ultimatum to Germany that the United States would sever diplomatic relations with the Imperial German Government unless it "should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of the present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight-carrying vessels." The ultimatum brought from Germany the promise (May 4) that merchant ships would not be destroyed "without warning and without saving human lives." It was this *Sussex* pledge that led the chairman of the Democratic convention to boast that President Wilson, "without firing a single gun or shedding a drop of blood," had "wrung from the most militant spirit that ever brooded over a battlefield a recognition of American rights and a concession to American demands." "He kept us out of war" was the Democratic slogan. A temporary cessation of submarine activity in the summer of 1916, due to the internal situation in Germany, gave strength to the Democratic claim that President Wilson had forced Germany to mend her ways. Mr. Hughes was vigorous in his criticism of President Wilson's European and Mexican policies, but he failed to give any definite answer to the question of what his own policy would be if he were elected. He stood for "the firm and unflinching maintenance of all the rights of American citizens on land and sea" — and so did President Wilson.

672. The Reëlection of Wilson. The election proved to be one of the closest in our history. Before midnight of election day it was known that Hughes had carried the populous eastern states, together with Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. At nine-thirty President Wilson telephoned to his private secretary, "Well, Tumulty, it begins to look as if we have been badly licked." Telegrams of congratulation poured in upon Hughes and he retired confident of his election. The *New York Times*, a strong Wilson paper, appeared in its early morning edition of Wednesday, November 8, with large headlines conceding a "sweeping victory" for Hughes. But as the day advanced and the returns from the remoter districts of the West came in, Wilson's fortunes grew brighter. One after another, states that had been assigned to Hughes were transferred to the Wilson column. Thursday night it became certain that Wilson had carried California by a narrow margin, and with it the election. Hughes carried every state of the North, east of the Mississippi River, except New Hampshire and Ohio. His defeat was due to his failure to win the Progressives of the West and of California in particular. He lost the thirteen electoral votes of the latter state, which would have given him a majority of three in the electoral college, by a piece of stupidity on the part of his campaign managers.[1] The electoral vote stood 277 for Wilson to 254 for Hughes, and the popular vote 9,128,837 to 8,536,380.

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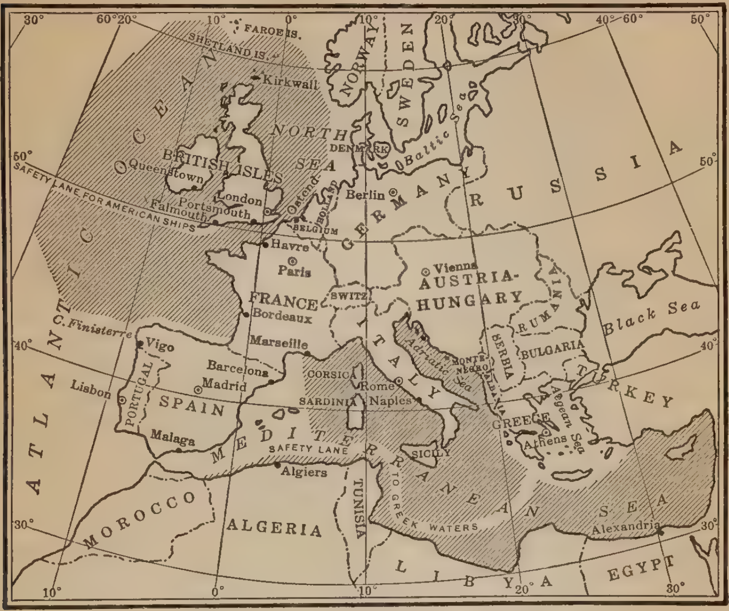
[1] Hiram Johnson, the former Progressive candidate for the vice presidency, was running for United States senator in California, where the Progressive sentiment was very strong. Hughes visited California on his campaign tour, but was kept from meeting Johnson or giving him any support, although Johnson was supporting Hughes for president. The result was that Johnson was elected by a majority of 300,000, while Hughes lost the state by 3773 votes out of a total of 928,805 cast — a margin of less than ½ of 1 per cent.

673. Wilson defines the Peace Terms which America will Sanction. A single topic absorbed the country during the remaining months of Wilson's first term; namely, our relation to the World War in Europe. On December 12, 1916, the German government, speaking in the tone of a victor to the vanquished, offered to meet the Allies in a conference to discuss peace; but the Allies rejected the offer "as a sham proposal" intended only to divide them and strengthen the patriotic war sentiment in Germany. President Wilson attempted a mild form of mediation when he sent a note to all the belligerent powers on December 18, asking them to state their "views as to the terms on which the war might be concluded . . . in order that we may learn . . . how near the haven of peace may be for which all mankind longs with an intense and increasing longing." A month later (January 22, 1917) Wilson addressed the Senate in a remarkable speech, declaring the conditions on which America would give "its formal and solemn adherence to a league of peace." It must be, he said, "a peace without victory." This startling statement, so offensive to both the Allies and the Central Powers, he begged to be allowed to explain. A victory would mean a conqueror's terms imposed upon the vanquished. A lasting peace must be based on a mutual understanding "between equals" and must be guaranteed by "the organized major force of mankind" (a League of Nations). It must secure the freedom of the seas and the security of small and weak nations. It must recognize that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." "These are American principles, American policies," he declared. "We can stand for no others, and they are also the principles of forward-looking men and women everywhere, of every modern nation, of every enlightened community. They are the principles of mankind, and must prevail."

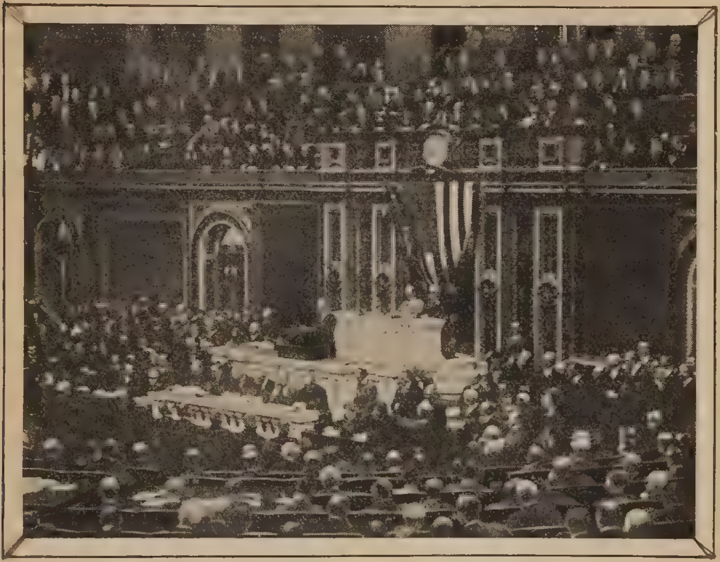
674. The Break with Germany. Indignant at the reply of the Entente to her proposals of December 16, and ignoring President Wilson's appeals, Germany issued a proclamation on January 31, 1917, enlarging the war zone and removing all former restrictions on her submarine warfare. She offered to let the United States send one passenger ship a week (very plainly marked with stripes of red and white on hull and funnels, and carrying a checkered flag at each masthead) through a narrow lane of safety to the English coast. This breach of the *Sussex* pledge President Wilson met on February 3, 1917, by breaking off diplomatic relations with Germany. "We do not desire any conflict with the German government," he said. "We are the sincere friends of the German people, and earnestly desire to remain at peace with the government which speaks for them. We shall not believe that they are hostile to us until we are obliged to believe it, and we purpose nothing more than the reasonable defense of the undoubted rights of our people."



THE GERMAN SUBMARINE ZONE OF JANUARY 31, 1917

675. The Arming of American Merchantmen. During the month of February, 1917, the German submarines sank 200 ships, of which 51 were neutrals, with a tonnage of 456,000. To send American vessels unarmed to meet such risk as these figures show would have been sheer folly. Wilson therefore asked Congress on February 26, 1917, for the power to arm American merchant vessels. The House readily passed the bill by a vote of 403 to 13, but a dozen senators, taking advantage of the Senate rule which allows unlimited debate, refused to let the bill come to a vote before the expiration of Congress at noon on March 4, 1917. In spite of this resistance of this "little group of willful men," the President, relying on the advice of his Attorney-General and Secretary of State, proceeded to arm the ships. The American liner *St. Louis* soon afterwards left New York with guns fore and aft, and safely traversed the danger zone.

676. The Declaration of War with Germany. The growing seriousness of the European situation had determined the President to call the 65th Congress in extra session on April 16. But a series of events following in rapid succession led him to advance the date by two weeks. Between February 3 and April 1, eight American vessels were torpedoed with a loss of forty-eight Americans. On March 1 an intercepted dispatch of the German foreign minister, Zimmermann, to the German minister in Mexico was published, suggesting an alliance of Germany, Mexico, and Japan against the United States in case our country entered the war, and offering Mexico as her reward the recovery of her "lost provinces" of Texas and New Mexico. On March 15 the autocratic Russian Czar was overthrown and a republic was set up at Petrograd, to the great rejoicing of the Entente nations. Our government recognized the new Russian régime on March 21. The prospect of our joining the Allies was made infinitely more inviting by the thought that it would not "pledge us to fight side by side with the autocratic and intolerable government of the Romanoffs." On the evening of April 2, 1917, President Wilson, guarded by a troop of cavalry, drove to the Capitol and addressed the eager, cheering throng that packed the floor and galleries of the House in what were perhaps the most momentous words ever uttered within its walls. Declaring that the "irresponsible German government" had "cast aside all considerations of humanity" and was "running amuck" among the nations, he asked Congress to recognize that the course of the German government was "nothing less than war against the people and government of the United States," and to accept formally the status of belligerent which had been forced upon us. "We have no quarrel with the German people," said the President, "but only with the military despotism of Germany. *The world must be made safe for democracy*. . . . We desire no conquest of dominion. . . . We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when these rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them. . . . It is a distressing and oppressive duty, gentlemen of the Congress," he concluded, "which I have performed in thus addressing you. There are, it may be, many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us. It is a fearful thing to lead this great and peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts —



PRESIDENT WILSON READING THE WAR MESSAGE for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other."

A resolution declaring a state of war with Germany and empowering the President to carry on war with all the power of our nation was passed through the Senate by a vote of 86 to 6 on the fourth of April and was adopted by the House (373 to 50), after a sixteen-hour debate, early in the morning of Good Friday, April 6, 1917. For the first time in over a century we were at war with a first-class foreign power.[1]

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[1] We broke off relations with Austria-Hungary on April 8, but did not declare war on her until the following December. We did not go to war with the other allies of Germany, — Turkey and Bulgaria.

Topics for Special Reports

1. **The New Banking System:** Ogg, pp. 228–232; H. U. Faulkner, *American Economic History*, pp. 507–513; E. E. Agger, *The Federal Reserve System* (*Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 265–281); H. P. Willis, *The Federal Reserve*, chaps. i–viii, and *The New Banking System* (*Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. XXX, pp. 591–617); D. S. Muzzey, *The United States of America*, Vol. II, pp. 546–555; O. M. W. Sprague, *The Federal Reserve Banking System in Operation* (*Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. XXX, pp. 627–644).

2. **Pershing's Pursuit of Villa:** Ogg, pp. 295–304; Robinson and West, Part III, Nos. 41, 53; *The Literary Digest*, Vol. LII, pp. 801–804 (with map); George McAdam, *Pershing's Story of the Villa Chase* (*New York Times*, Sunday, November 13, 1921), — General Pershing's Report published from the archives of the War Department.

3. **Our Intervention in Haiti:** The New York *Nation*, Vol. CXI, pp. 35, 254, 308, 366, 493; G. H. Blakeslee (ed.), *Mexico and the Caribbean*, pp. 184–276; Jones, pp. 125–147; G. H. Stuart, *Latin America and the United States*, pp. 219–238; Stephen Bonsal, *The American Mediterranean*, pp. 47–138; W. A. MacCorkle, *The Monroe Doctrine and its Application to Haiti* (American Academy of Political and Social Science, *Annals*, Vol. LIV, pp. 28–56).

4. **Measures of National Defense:** Ogg, pp. 384–399; J. S. Bassett, *Our War with Germany*, pp. 71–79, 114–130; McMaster, Vol. I, pp. 230–254; Theodore Roosevelt, *The Foes of our Own Household*; Robinson and West, Part I, chap. v, Part III, Nos. 43, 44, 46, 50, 51; Lane and Baker, *The Nation in Arms* (War Information Series, No. 2); Samuel Gompers, *American Labor and the War*, pp. 50–68; G. B. Clarkson, *Industrial America in the World War*, pp. 70–93.

5. **The Adamson Act:** Ogg, pp. 353–363; E. J. Clapp, in the *Yale Review*, Vol. VI, pp. 258–275; E. G. Robbins, *The Trainman's Eight-Hour Day* (*Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 541–557); *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. LIV, pp. 389–393; T. R. Powell, *The Supreme Court and the Adamson Law* (*The University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, Vol. LXV, pp. 3–27).

Questions for Review

1. Compare Wilson's objections to the tariff with Cleveland's [**501**]. **2.** Why did not the Underwood bill suffer the same fate in the Senate that the Wilson bill of 1894 did [**533**]? **3.** Why did Wilson call the currency system an "outgrown" one? **4.** What clauses in the Clayton Act were favorable to labor? **5.** How has our government aided education? agriculture? **6.** What have the farmers asked of the government that they have not obtained? **7.** Why have we not developed a merchant marine befitting our wealth? **8.** Do you think our vessels should pay tolls in the Panama Canal? **9.** Why does not the canal "pay," like the Standard Oil Company? **10.** How would you defend Wilson's Mexican policy? **11.** Trace our relations with Mexico from 1917 to 1927. **12.** Why are we more interested now in the

Caribbean region than we were in the nineteenth century? **13.** Why have the Latin-American countries grown more jealous of the intervention of the United States? **14.** Compare the Monroe Doctrine with the doctrine of Pan-Americanism. **15.** What demands did Wilson make on Huerta in 1913? **16.** What diplomatic questions are pending between the United States and Mexico at present (1927)? **17.** On an outline map shade the possessions and the protectorates of the United States in the Caribbean region. **18.** Compare Wilson's position on the trusts with Roosevelt's [**581**]. **19.** Show the resemblances between England's treatment of our commercial rights in 1914 and in 1812 [**214** f.]. **20.** How did the submarine offend against international law? **21.** Compare Hughes's loss of California in 1916 with Blaine's loss of New York in 1884 [**490**]. **22.** How did the German government justify the torpedoing of the *Lusitania*? **23.** Why was opinion in America divided on the question of our entering the war? **24.** Was Wilson right in making a distinction between the German government and the German people? **25.** Define the terms "lobby," "member banks," "rediscount," "land-grant colleges," "Yankee imperialism," "*Sussex* pledge."

CHAPTER XIX

THE UNITED STATES IN THE WORLD WAR

Our Part in the Fighting

677. America's War Aims. In his Flag Day address of June 14, 1917, President Wilson summed up the reasons which had brought us into the war: "The military masters of Germany denied us the right to be neutral. They filled our unsuspecting communities with vicious spies and conspirators . . . and sought to draw our citizens from their allegiance. They sought by violence to destroy our industries and arrest our commerce. They tried to incite Mexico to take up arms against us and to draw Japan into a hostile alliance with her. They impudently denied us the use of the high seas, and repeatedly executed their threat that they would send to their death any of our people who ventured to approach the coasts of Europe. . . . What nation, in such circumstances, would not have taken up arms? . . . The flag under which we serve would have been dishonored had we withheld our hand." Once in the war, the President dropped the language of pacifism and balanced impartiality and became an uncompromising advocate of the destruction of the German military power. There was no more talk of being "too proud to fight" or of "peace without victory." Now it was to be "force, force to the uttermost." Still, in speech after speech, he proclaimed to his fellow citizens and to the world that America would use her force for no selfish ends. She did not seek the rewards of victories in the domination of any country, or the acquisition of booty in the shape of money indemnities or colonies. She was fighting not to get something for herself at somebody else's expense, but to get a great boon for all the peoples of the world (including the German people themselves); namely, the right to live in security and peace under governments of their own choosing. "The great fact that stands out above the rest," said President Wilson, "is that this is a people's war, a war for freedom and justice . . . a war to make the world safe for the people who live in it and who have made it their own." In short, it was a crusade "to make the world safe for democracy."

678. How Europe regarded our Entrance into the War. The German military authorities viewed our declaration of war with indifference. In their eyes we were already furnishing all the aid we could to the Allies by our shipments of munitions and supplies. Though the situation on the western front had not changed much since the armies had settled down in their trenches after the battle of the Marne in September, 1914, German arms had won decisive victories in the east, driving back the Russians and crushing the Serbians and the Rumanians. German agents were busy in Russia to encourage the radical, anti-war revolutionists there and to detach that great country from its alliance with France and England, thereby freeing hundreds of thousands of German troops for use on the western battle front. The Germans believed that Wilson was brandishing a wooden sword. They despised our little army as less formidable than Rumania's. The Americans were a people of peace. Had not Secretary Bryan told the Austrian ambassador Dumba that the first *Lusitania* note [**667**] was written only to satisfy public opinion at home? Even if the Americans should raise an army of millions, the war would be over before they could be trained and the submarines would prevent their being transported to Europe. It would be only a matter of months, perhaps of weeks, before the new, unrestricted submarine assault would bring Great Britain to her knees and end the war. The Allies, on the other hand, welcomed the entrance of America into the war with great rejoicing. The American flag bedecked the streets of London, Paris, and Rome. It was raised with the Union Jack above the Houses of Parliament on "America Day" (April 20), when the king and queen joined the great assembly in St. Paul's Cathedral to give thanks for our aid. Commissioners were immediately sent to America by France and Great Britain (followed later by the Belgians, Russians, Italians, Rumanians, and Japanese), to bring the greetings of their countries and to advise our government how best to help their need. The British mission was headed by Arthur J. Balfour, the foreign secretary, and with the French delegation came René Viviani, the eloquent minister of justice, and Marshal Joffre, the hero of the Marne. The commissioners received an enthusiastic welcome by Congress and by the officials and people of several of the large cities of the country.

679. American Naval Coöperation. Our navy, better prepared than the army through the generous appropriations of former Congresses, was mobilized on the day war was declared, and eighty-seven ships of the German merchant marine in our ports were taken over. Even before the actual declaration of war, Rear Admiral W. S. Sims, president of the Naval War College at Newport, had been sent to England in answer to the insistent request of Ambassador Page, to help in the blockade of Germany. On May 4 a small fleet of destroyers arrived at Queenstown. In another month our battleships followed. American vessels laid down over 55,000 mines, constituting four fifths of a great barrage of the North Sea, extending 230 miles from the Orkney Islands to the coast of Norway. Furthermore, to help repair the frightful ravages of the submarines upon the Allied merchant marine,[1] an Emergency Fleet Corporation, organized under the United States Shipping Board [**670**], undertook the construction of 10,000,000 tons of merchant marine to carry food, locomotives, cars, trucks, munitions, and troops to the Allies. By the end of the war our service fleet had increased from 13 ships, with a tonnage of 94,000, to 2113 ships, with a tonnage of over 5,000,000. We carried to French ports alone, during the war, 7,500,000 tons of cargo, of which only 1.6 per cent was lost in transit. The cost of our navy and auxiliary service ships in the two years 1917 and 1918 was $3,833,000,000 — a sum equal to the total cost of the United States navy from the close of the second administration of Washington to the World War.

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[1] From January to July, 1917, the submarines, according to the figures of the French and British admiralties, sank between 3,500,000 and 4,000,000 tons of shipping. In the single week ending April 22 there were sent to the bottom 88 ships, totaling 237,000 tons. According to the Germans the figures were even higher.

680. Pershing in France. It was not President Wilson's original intention to send American troops to Europe before the spring of 1918. Our regular army of only a little over 200,000 men would have been a scarcely noticeable addition to the millions of European troops on the western front, and the officers were needed at home to train the hosts of recruits who must be called to the colors. Meantime, we expected to make our contribution to the Allied cause by furnishing "the sinews of war" in the shape of generous extension of credit for the purchase of all sorts of supplies. But on the plea of Viviani and Joffre that the presence of even a few thousand men in the uniform of the United States would do more than all the millions of tons of supplies or the billions of dollars of credit to make America's participation in the war seem like a reality to the armies which had borne the incessant burden for thirty-three months, the President decided to send a small American Expeditionary Force (the A. E. F.) to France at once. As commander of the A. E. F. he selected Major General John J. Pershing, a West Point graduate who had a splendid record of service in Cuba, the Philippines, and Mexico, and who was in command of the American forces on the Mexican border at the time of our entrance into the World War. General Pershing and his staff landed in England on June 8 and, after five days of fêting, crossed over to Paris, which, like London, was decked with the Stars and Stripes for his reception. A dramatic incident of Pershing's arrival in Paris was his visit to the grave of Lafayette, on which he deposited a wreath

GENERAL PERSHING

of flowers. The debt of gratitude which we had owed to France for one hundred and forty years was to be paid. Toward the end of the month 15,000 American regular troops of the First Division arrived at Brest, and, on the Fourth of July, a battalion of these troops paraded in the streets of Paris. A few weeks later General Pershing established his headquarters at Chaumont, one hundred and forty miles southeast of Paris, where his soldiers were to be trained in trench warfare before taking their place in the "quiet sector" assigned to them between Verdun and Belfort (map, p. 643).

681. Raising an Army. While the House was still debating the War Resolution (April 5), Secretary Baker had submitted to Congress the recommendations of the General Staff for filling the quotas of the regular army (287,000) and the National Guard (425,000) by volunteer enlistments, and for the conscription of 500,000 or 1,000,000 soldiers by a selective draft. In spite of the objections in Congress and the country to forcing men to become soldiers, it was decided that the selective draft was the fairest and wisest way of raising a new national army. It would bring home to all the young manhood of the nation the realization that the war was a common undertaking in which they must be ready to play their part; and the "selective" feature of the draft would enable the government to preserve the efficiency of the industries of the country (which were quite as essential as soldiers for winning the war) by preventing "the indiscriminate volunteering of key and pivotal men." The Selective Service Act, passed on May 28, 1917, increased the pay of the private soldier from $15 to $30 a month, allowed the President to raise a volunteer infantry force of not more than four divisions,[1] and required all males between the ages of twenty-one and thirty to register for military service. On June 5, registration day, 9,586,508 young men were enrolled in the 4557 registration districts of the country. Six weeks later numbers were drawn by lot in Washington, each number drawn calling into service the man of the corresponding registration number in his district. After a careful physical examination and the consideration of causes for exemption, 687,000 of the 1,374,000 men drafted were retained for the service. They were distributed among sixteen cantonments in as many states while the National Guard, called into the federal service, were sent to sixteen other camps. These thirty-two training camps, with all their apparatus of barracks, hospitals, shops, lighting and heating plants, water supply, sewage systems, and amusement halls, were built in a few months' time at a cost of $200,000,000. On the eve of the departure of the first contingent of the National Army for their camps, President Wilson sent them the following message: "The eyes of the world will be upon you, because you are in some special sense the soldiers of freedom. Let it be your pride, therefore, to show all men everywhere not only what good soldiers you are but also what good men you are, keeping yourselves fit and straight in everything and pure and clean through and through. . . . My affectionate confidence goes with you in every battle and every test."

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[1] This feature of the act was prompted by Theodore Roosevelt's offer to raise a volunteer division for immediate service in France. The Colonel claimed that 300,000 men were ready to go under his command, and many people, both in America and in Europe, believed that his presence on the field of battle would be a great encouragement to the Allies. But President Wilson, while commending Roosevelt's "vigor and enthusiasm," declined to accept his offer. "The business in hand," he said, "is undramatic, practical, and of scientific definiteness and precision . . . The first troops sent to France will be taken from the present forces of the regular army and will be under the command of trained soldiers only."

682. War Taxes and Liberty Loans. To meet the enormous expenses of our army and navy and air service, and at the same time to furnish the Allies with immediate assistance in money, it was necessary for our government to raise unprecedented sums by taxes and loans. During the two and one-half years of American neutrality, great fortunes had been made here out of war profits. The balance of our exports over our imports rose from $470,600,000 in 1914 to $2,135,600,000 in 1916 and $3,630,690,000 in 1917. Nearly four times as many men reported an income of over a million dollars in 1917 as in 1914. The radicals in Congress were in favor of the "conscription of wealth" made out of the war, for the payment of the war. Senator Johnson of California proposed a tax of 80 per cent on war profits, which he estimated would bring between $3,000,000,000 and $4,000,000,000 into the Treasury. The War Revenue Bill as finally passed by Congress on October 3, 1917, provided for an increased income tax, excess-profits taxes ranging from 20 to 60 per cent, increase in postal rates, and a variety of taxes on amusements, luxuries, transportation, and business transactions. But these taxes were trivial as compared with the revenue bill introduced into the House in the autumn of 1918 and signed by the President the following February. It called for over $6,000,000,000, the largest sum ever levied by a government on its people at one time. The normal rate on incomes above $4000 was raised to 12 per cent, with graded surtaxes reaching 65 per cent on incomes above $1,000,000. Corporations paid 12½ per cent on net incomes in addition to the taxes on excess and war profits. It was the policy to meet about one third of the expense of the war by taxation and to depend on loans (bond issues) for the rest. Until our entrance into the World War the government had sold its bonds not to the public directly but to the bankers. In May, 1917, however, Secretary McAdoo offered the first Liberty Loan of $2,000,000,000 at 3½ per cent interest to popular subscription in bonds as low as $50. Posters on the billboards, placards in store windows, one-reel features in the motion-picture theaters, appeals in the papers and magazines, urged every American citizen to "buy a bond." When the loan was closed on July 2, it was found that over 4,000,000 persons had subscribed $3,035,226,857. Three other Liberty Loans followed at intervals of about six months and each one was largely oversubscribed. In addition to paying taxes of $11,280,000,000 from April, 1917, to October,

NUMBER OF LOAN[1]	DATE	AMOUNT ASKED	RATE	AMOUNT SUBSCRIBED	NUMBER OF SUBSCRIBERS
First	May, 1917	$2,000,000,000	3½	$3,035,000,000	4,000,000
Second	Oct., 1917	3,000,000,000	4	4,617,000,000	9,400,000
Third	April, 1918	3,000,000,000	4¼	4,176,000,000	18,300,000
Fourth	Oct., 1918	6,000,000,000	4¼	6,988,000,000	21,000,000

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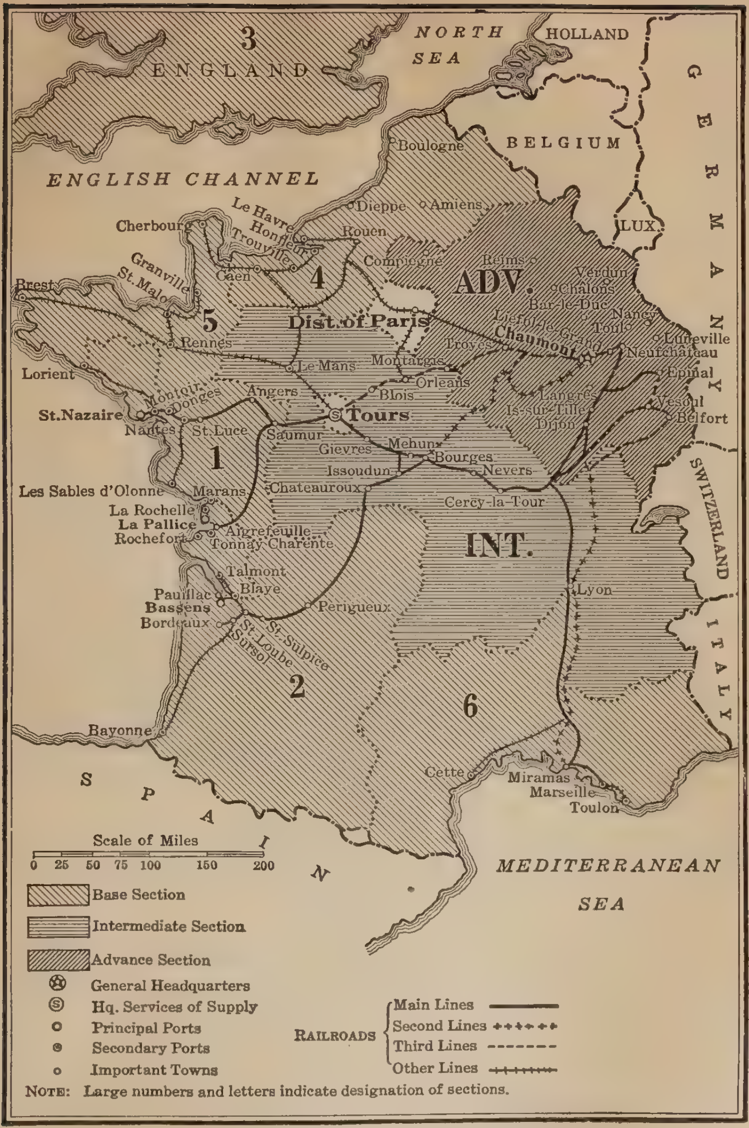
[1] A fifth great popular loan, the Victory Loan "to finish the job," was announced by the Treasury, April, 1919. It called for $4,500,000,000 at 4¾ per cent interest, and was taken by 15,000,000 subscribers. Like the four Liberty Loans, it was heavily oversubscribed.

1919, and subscribing double that amount to the government loans, the American people contributed as a free-will offering $4,000,000,000 to various organizations for the physical and moral welfare of the soldiers, like the Red Cross, the Salvation Army, the Knights of Columbus, the Jewish Welfare Board, the Y. M. C. A., and the War Camp Community Service. About $10,000,000,000 was loaned by our government to the Allies for the purchase of war supplies in this country. Altogether the cost of the war to the United States from April, 1917, to October, 1919, was $35,400,000,000, that is, $35,000,000 a day or over $25,000 a minute — enough to have continued the American Revolution for a thousand years!

683. The Allies' Call. In the autumn of 1917 and the spring of 1918, events occurred in Europe which called for the immediate help of American soldiers on the battle front. In October the Italians had suffered a terrible defeat at Caporetto by the Austro-German army and had been driven back from the Alps to the neighborhood of Venice, with nearly 200,000 men and 2500 guns captured. Ten divisions of French and British troops had been diverted from the western front to stabilize the situation and perhaps save Italy from the fate of Serbia and Rumania. Then, in November, the Bolshevists got control of the Russian Revolution and proceeded to detach their country from the cause of the Allies. The morale of the Russian army was already broken. The badly equipped, poorly fed, defeated peasants were throwing down their arms and streaming back from the frontier to claim the land promised them by the revolutionists. The Communist dictators, Lenin and Trotzky, entered into negotiations with the Germans at Brest-Litovsk for a peace without "indemnities or annexations," but were compelled by the German military power to consent to the dismemberment of their country. Russia was eliminated from the war and half a million German troops were freed for service in France. Here, with a considerable superiority in numbers over the Allies, the Germans began a series of great drives in March, 1918, to pierce the British and French lines and reach the Channel ports and Paris. The Germans failed to reach their objectives, but they



THE AMERICAN BASE IN FRANCE

From the final report of General John J. Pershing conquered 3000 square miles of territory and took 150,000 prisoners, advancing to Château-Thierry on the Marne, only forty-two miles from the outskirts of Paris. There were about 350,000 American soldiers in France when the German drives began, and General Pershing put them all at the disposal of Ferdinand Foch, who had been made generalissimo of the Allied forces on March 26, declaring that "the American people would hold it a great honor for our troops were they engaged in the present battle." Early in April our First Division, under General Robert Bullard, left its "quiet sector" near Toul for the scene of conflict and, on May 28, American soldiers stormed and captured the high fortified position of Cantigny — our first military contribution to the victory of the Allies. At the same time American troops of the Second Division (General Omar Bundy) and the Third Division (General Joseph Dickman) joined the

THE BRIDGE AT CHÂTEAU-THIERRY

At this point American and French troops stopped the German advance in the Second Battle of the Marne. The Germans reached the right side of the river, as shown in this picture, but could get no farther

French troops north of the Marne to help stop the German drive on Paris. Though some of these troops had been in France less than two months and had had no training in the front lines, they fought valiantly, driving the enemy from strongly fortified positions at Belleau Wood, Bouresches, and Vaux, capturing 1400 prisoners. For the "brilliant conduct of the fourth brigade of marines," led by Brigadier General J. G. Harbord, the French army orders of June 30 changed the name of Belleau Wood to "The Wood of the Marine Brigade." In the midst of the great German offensive, the hard-pressed Allies sent a message to President Wilson, thanking him for American aid and urging that "the maximum possible number of infantry and machine gunners should continue to be shipped from America in the months of June and July, to avert the immediate danger of an Allied defeat." Great Britain and France had reached the limits of their military strength. To establish the numerical superiority of the Allies and insure the ultimate victory, General Foch asked for an American force of 100 divisions in instalments of not less than 300,000 men a month.

684. America's Response. In response to this cry of distress, our War Department made plans to place 3,000,000 troops in France in the spring of 1919 in addition to maintaining a continuous supply of food, clothing, rolling stock, motor trucks, horses and mules, engineers, carpenters, masons, mechanics, truck drivers, and stevedores, over the "longest line of communication in the history of warfare."[1] The flow of American troops to France in the summer and autumn of 1918 is shown by the table on the following page.

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[1] In February, 1918, General Pershing established a Service of Supply for facilitating the distribution of the enormous amount of material sent over for the needs of the increasing American army. The headquarters of the "S. O. S." were at Tours, which was connected with the ports of American debarcation on the French coast of the Bay of Biscay by American-built railroads and telegraph lines. From Tours radiated the lines of communication with the troops at the front. All along the lines cantonments, training schools, and recreation huts were built. Seventy American storage depots dotted the map of France. One of the depots near Tours covered six square miles and housed in its three hundred buildings $100,000,000 of supplies (see map, p. 643).

Month	Total Strength of United States Army	Soldiers in France	Percentage
June	2,112,000	722,000	34
July	2,380,000	996,000	42
August	2,658,000	1,293,000	49
September	3,001,000	1,576,000	52
October	3,443,000	1,843,000	54
November	3,634,000	1,971,000	55

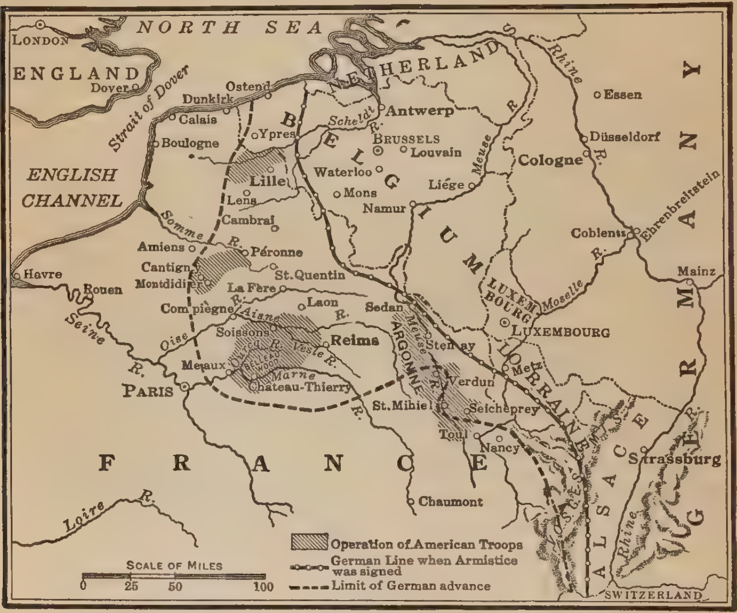
8701

The transportation of 2,000,000 soldiers across the Atlantic (nearly half of them carried in American-built ships) was a convincing answer to Germany's threat that the submarines would prevent an American army from ever reaching the shores of France. Only a few hundred troops were lost at sea, the most serious disaster being the destruction of the Cunarder *Tuscania* by a German torpedo off the coast of Ireland in February, 1918. All but 175 of the 2000 American soldiers, engineers, and aviators on board were rescued by the *Tuscania's* convoy. It must have been doubly exasperating to the Germans to know that it was their own great liner *Vaterland*, seized at the port of New York and converted into the troop-ship *Leviathan*, which ferried almost 100,000 American soldiers across the sea to help break the Hindenburg line.

685. St. Mihiel and the Argonne. By mid-July the German drive of four months had been checked at all points and General Foch began a counter attack of another four months, which was to end in the surrender of the German armies, the abdication of the Kaiser and the Crown Prince, and the establishment of a republic in Germany. In this last phase of the war the American soldiers played a major part, and when the war was ended they were holding a hundred miles, or a quarter of the lines, of the western front. They fought against the Austrians in Italy and reënforced the French in Belgium, but their chief exploits were the reduction of the St. Mihiel salient and the drive through the Argonne forest. Since 1914 the Germans had held a strongly fortified triangle of land jutting from its base near the Lorraine border twenty miles into French territory, with its apex at St. Mihiel on the Meuse. General Pershing, who had organized the various units of the regular army, the National Guard, and the new National Army, into the First American Field Army, attacked the St. Mihiel salient on September 12 with 550,000 Americans supported by four divisions of French troops and several hundred French and British tanks and airplanes. In a three days' battle the troops swept through the wire entanglements and over the fortified ridges, clearing the entire salient, capturing 16,000 prisoners, 443 guns, and vast quantities of military stores and equipment abandoned by the Germans in their hasty retreat. Ten days later began the famous Meuse-Argonne drive, a Titanic struggle of more than six weeks, in which 1,200,000 American troops were engaged. The objective of the attack was the city of Sedan, through which ran the great four-track railway paralleling the German front, the artery of the enemy's supplies of troops, munition, and provisions from Belgium, Luxemburg, and Lorraine. The scene of the struggle was the Argonne forest, twenty-five miles deep, a mass of barbed-wire entanglements, pathless wastes pitted with shell craters, and dense undergrowth hiding the ravine and ridges which shel-

"YANKS" BRINGING IN GERMAN PRISONERS

tered nests of machine guns. The French officers had declared the forest impenetrable, yet our army never faltered. By October 4 they had cleared the Germans out of the Argonne, and at the end of another month of steady fighting against some of the best of the Kaiser's troops they reached the bank of the Meuse at a point opposite Sedan. American losses had been heavy (117,000 dead or wounded), but our army had liberated 560 square miles of territory with 150 towns and villages, captured 40,000 prisoners and nearly 4000 cannon and machine guns, and cut the enemy's most important line of communication. Four days after the "Rainbow" Division had reached the banks of the Meuse, the Germans signed the armistice and the war was over.[1]



MAP SHOWING AMERICAN OPERATIONS IN FRANCE

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[1] Some idea of the magnitude of the engagements of St. Mihiel and the Meuse-Argonne can be formed by comparing them with two great battles of the Civil War. General Pershing commanded five and one half as many troops in the three days'

686. The Fourteen Points. Early in January, 1918, Lloyd George and President Wilson addressed Parliament and Congress, announcing the terms which would be acceptable as a basis of peace. The statements were made in response to the publication by the Russian Bolshevist government of the secret treaties which revealed the imperialistic designs of the Allies and to the suggestion from various sources that the Austrian and German people were anxious for peace if only they could be assured that the Allies were not determined on their political and economical annihilation. President Wilson's address of January 8 to Congress proposed fourteen points as "the only possible program for world peace." The first five points dealt with general reforms in international relations: open diplomacy, the freedom of the seas, economic coöperation, the reduction of armaments, and the adjustment of colonial claims with due regard to the interests of the populations concerned. The next eight points contained specific provisions concerning the treatment of Russia, Belgium, Alsace-Lorraine, Italy, the Balkan States, Turkey, and Poland. The fourteenth point, which President Wilson regarded the most important of all, read: "A general association of nations must be formed, under specific covenants, for the purpose of affording mutual guaranties of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike." President Wilson reiterated the unselfish motive of the United States in entering the war and denied any wish to injure Germany or "block in any way her legitimate influence or power." In his Metropolitan Opera Speech in New York on the launching of the fourth Liberty Loan (September 27, 1918) President Wilson repeated these assurances, but insisted that America was determined to fight the war to a finish against the "military masters of Germany," who had "shown themselves to be devoid of honor or humanity."

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battle of St. Mihiel as General Meade did in the three days' battle of Gettysburg. The Meuse-Argonne battle lasted six times as long as the Battle of the Wilderness and twelve times as many American troops were engaged in it as Grant had in the Wilderness campaign. The weight of ammunition fired in the Meuse-Argonne drive exceeded that fired by the Union armies during the whole Civil War.

687. The Armistice. The political and military authorities of Germany took no notice of Wilson's Fourteen Points in the spring of 1918. They were intent on the great drive which was to win the war. Terms of peace would be formulated at Berlin, not at London or Washington. But the events of the summer of 1918 put an entirely different aspect on affairs. The German submarine campaign was a failure. Allied ships were being built far faster than they were being destroyed. Ludendorff had not reached Paris or the Channel. Since mid-July the Hindenburg line had been steadily pushed back. The Kaiser still spoke of his "invincible, heaven-favored" armies and, in a speech as late as September 12 at the famous Krupp gun factory, claimed the victory for his "death-defying navy and mighty generals." But the mighty generals, Hindenburg and Ludendorff, knew that the German cause was lost. The alliance of the Central Powers was breaking up. On September 20 Bulgaria signed an armistice with the French general D'Espérey, and six days later the Austrians asked for terms of peace. The German Kaiser abandoned the Junkers, summoning Prince Max of Baden, an avowed advocate of peace, to the chancellorship. On October 4, when the American troops were nearing Sedan, Chancellor Max approached President Wilson through the Swiss minister at Washington, asking him to invite all the belligerent states to agree to "the immediate conclusion of an armistice on land and sea." After satisfying himself of the sincerity of the German advances and the genuineness of the German reforms, Wilson submitted the correspondence to the Allied governments, with the suggestion that they authorize their military authorities to conclude an armistice. The terms were drawn up by the Supreme War Council of the Allies, and on November 7 were presented by Marshal Foch to German delegates, who were conducted, blindfolded, within the Allied line. The Germans were required to evacuate France, Belgium, Alsace-Lorraine, and Luxemburg immediately. German armies were also to be withdrawn from all German territory on the left bank of the Rhine, and from a strip ten kilometers wide on the right bank, extending from the frontier of Holland to the frontier of Switzerland. Allied and American

INDEPENDENCE DAY. AMERICAN SOLDIERS SALUTING THE STATUE OF WASHINGTON, PARIS, JULY 4, 1918

From a painting by J. F. Bouchor, Official Painter to the French Armies troops were to occupy the left bank and to garrison the three great centers of Mayence, Coblentz, and Cologne. Furthermore, the Germans were to surrender all their submarines, 50 destroyers, and 24 warships; to hand over vast stores of cannon, machine guns, airplanes, locomotives, freight cars, and motor trucks; to repatriate all prisoners and exiles, to make reparation for the damage done to property by their invading armies, and to pay all the expenses of the Allied armies of occupation.

688. The End of the War. The Germans protested against the severity of the terms, but resistance was hopeless. Revolution was imminent in Germany. There was rioting in the fleet at Kiel. The Kaiser and the Crown Prince signed letters of abdication at the headquarters at Spa on November 9, and the next day fled for refuge to Holland. A few hours before the expiration of the time limit, the German delegates signed the armistice, and at 11 A.M. of November 11, 1918, the last gun was fired at the front. Compared with the sacrifice of millions of men who had borne the brunt of fighting for four years, the losses of the Americans in the last months of the war were trivial. Less than 50,000 of our soldiers were killed in battle, somewhat over 50,000 died of disease, and of the 240,000 wounded five sixths were restored to duty again. The loss in the navy was about 10,000. Perhaps the most gratifying feature of the war was the health record established by the American army. The deaths from disease in the A. E. F. were only 19 per 1000 as

	In Dollars	Men Killed in Battle
Germany	39,000,000,000	1,600,000
British Empire	38,000,000,000	900,000
France	26,000,000,000	1,385,000
United States	22,000,000,000	49,000
Austria	21,000,000,000	800,000
Russia	18,000,000,000	1,700,000
Italy	13,000,000,000	462,000

COMPARATIVE COST OF THE WAR TO SEVEN CHIEF BELLIGERENTS against an annual death rate of 65 per 1000 in the Civil War and of 110 per 1000 in the Mexican War. The finely trained medical corps of 2000 commissioned officers and over 30,000 civilian physicians and surgeons practically banished the scourge of all armies in former days, intestinal diseases.

Soon after noon on Armistice Day President Wilson drove to the Capitol through the avenue lined with cheering crowds to announce to a joint session of Congress the terms of the armistice. On the same day he issued the following proclamation to the American people: "My Fellow Countrymen, The armistice was signed this morning. Everything for which America fought has been accomplished. It will now be our fortunate duty to assist by example, by sober friendly counsel, and by material aid in the establishment of just democracy throughout the world."

OUR PART IN THE PEACE

689. The President goes to Paris. A week after the armistice was signed President Wilson made known his decision to go to France "for the purpose of taking part in the discussion and settlement of the main features of the treaty of peace." "I shall make my absence as brief as possible," he said in opening the session of Congress on December 2, "and shall hope to return with the happy assurance that it has been possible to translate into action the great ideals for which America has striven." With the exception of a flying visit home (February 24–March 5, 1919) to sign the bills of the expiring Congress, he remained in Paris until the treaty was completed and signed by the German delegates on June 28, 1919 — the fifth anniversary of the assassination at Serajevo, which had precipitated the war. The President's reason for going to Paris was to secure the inclusion in the treaty of a provision for an Association or a League of Nations to prevent the recurrence of a general war. This had been his chief concern even before the United States entered the war. In his speech of January 22, 1917, to the Senate, while disclaiming any intention to dictate the terms of the peace, he had insisted that it must be a lasting peace secured by "the organized major force of mankind." A year later he had laid down as his fourteenth point [**686**] the demand for a general association of nations, and in his Metropolitan Opera House speech he had declared that such a league "must be a part . . . the most essential part of the peace settlement itself." There were objections to his leaving the country just when the war had come to an end and important domestic problems were to be adjusted; but he believed that it was his "paramount duty" to go to Paris. No person of lesser prestige and authority than the President himself could be depended upon to persuade the European powers to adopt a League of Nations. Therefore President Wilson sailed from New York on December 4, 1918, on the *George Washington*, with a large number of expert advisers in economics, geography, and history, to add to the staff that had been working for some months under the direction of Colonel House. As his associate members on the peace commission, he appointed Robert Lansing, Secretary of State; General Tasker H. Bliss, our representative on the Supreme War Council of the Allies at Paris; Colonel House; and Henry M. White, a Republican who in years past had been our ambassador at Paris and Rome. According to Secretary Lansing's account of the peace negotiations, the associate commissioners, with the exception of Colonel House, took little part in formulating the terms of the treaty. President Wilson was virtually the sole American delegate.

690. Our Prestige in Europe. During the months which intervened between his landing at Brest (December 13) and the opening of the Peace Conference, President Wilson visited France, Great Britain, and Italy, and was hailed by the people everywhere as "the savior of Europe." To the countries of the Old World, exhausted in money and man-power, he stood as the representative of a fresh, vigorous, and rich nation come to their relief. When the order came to cease firing on the western front we were just getting into our war stride. Soldiers were flowing from American camps to France at the rate of 10,000 a day. In the month of the armistice we constructed 171 vessels with a tonnage of 357,668. We were manufacturing more rifles and machine guns than either Great Britain or France, and were planning to send aëroplanes to the front at the rate of 10,000 a month after January, 1919. The Man Power Act of August 31, 1918, had called into the service all men between the ages of 18 and 45 and under it 13,000,000 were registered on September 12.[1] Out of our abundant wealth we had loaned the Allies some $10,000,000,000. And, above all, we had come to the Peace Conference as the one powerful nation with wholly unselfish aims, with no desire for territory, no boundaries to adjust, no reparations to demand, no colonies to claim, but only the healing constructive program of securing the world's future peace. Whether or not America "won the war," it is idle to debate. England's fleet, France's army, America's wealth, were all indispensable factors. But America was determined to win the peace.

691. Wilson's Actual Position. Nevertheless, President Wilson, with all his prestige and idealistic aims, was in an embarrassing situation. For just as he was winning a commanding position in the eyes of Europe, he was losing that position at home. In October, 1918, after having said six months before, "Politics is adjourned," he had made the partisan mistake of appealing to the country to elect only Democrats to Congress, on the ground that Republicans were not supporting the administration. In view of the fact that the votes of the House on the war measures showed a larger percentage of Republican than of Democratic support, this partisan appeal was characterized by the chairman of the Republican National Committee as a "more ungracious, more unjust, more mendacious accusation" than was ever made by "the most reckless stump orator." In the ensuing elections the Republicans won both Houses of Congress, polling an aggregate majority of 1,200,000 in the congressional districts of the country. Such a defeat of the administration in the countries of western Europe would have meant replacing the actual ministry by the leaders of the opposition. But with us the Executive serves through his term of four years whether his party wins or loses in the mid-term elections. Therefore, while Lloyd George went to the Peace Conference supported by a large majority in the "khaki election" waged on the platform of hanging the Kaiser and making Germany pay the whole cost of the war; while Clemenceau was supported by a vote of over three to one in the French Chambers, in his announced intention of making France forever secure against the German menace by the old policy of alliances, — Woodrow Wilson went to urge his program of a "Peace of Justice," guaranteed by a League of Nations, and spoke of having "instructions" and a "mandate" from the American people to put this program through, a month after the American voters had defeated his party in Congress. "The President goes abroad," said the *New York Tribune*, "a rebuked and discredited leader in his own nation." This language was too strong, for nobody knew how much support the President really had for his program among the people of the country. Yet the congressional defeat of 1918 made his position an embarrassing one as he took his place of equality and even of preëminence among the representatives of the Allied Powers, who had little understanding of the meaning of an American election; and it boded ill for the fortunes of any treaty which he should bring home to submit for ratification to a hostile Senate.

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[1] Less than 1 per cent of these newly registered men were inducted into the service, as against 25 per cent of the men registered in 1917 [**681**], because the armistice was signed a month after the registrations under the Man Power Act.

692. The League of Nations. The Peace Conference assembled at Paris on January 18, 1919, with seats provided for seventy delegates from twenty-seven nations. Premier Clemenceau was chosen president of the conference. No representatives from the defeated powers were invited. The direction of affairs was taken in hand by an inner group of ten, consisting of the premiers (including President Wilson) and the foreign ministers of the five great powers — Great Britain, France, the United States, Italy, and Japan. After a few weeks this group was narrowed down to Wilson, Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and Orlando (the "Big Four"), who held one hundred and forty-five meetings behind closed doors from March 24 to May 7, in which "the whole treaty was put into shape: territorial, financial, economic, and colonial clauses alike." Only a few of the delegates shared Wilson's enthusiasm for a League of Nations. Most of them were intent on punishing Germany and on reaping the gains which their nations had been promised in the secret treaties made among the Allies during the war. Nevertheless, Wilson's influence was strong enough to secure the appointment of a committee to draw up a "Covenant of the League of Nations," which he presented to a full session of the conference on February 14, to constitute "an integral part of the treaty of peace." More than a dozen of the nations immediately expressed their approval. The chief provisions of the twenty-six articles of the Covenant concerned the reduction of armaments, the publicity of treaties, the arbitration of disputes, and the punishment of nations which should go to war in defiance of the Covenant. The machinery of the League was to be in the hands of an Assembly consisting of delegates from all the member states, and a smaller executive Council of nine members, of whom five were to be always representatives of the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, to have the initiative in directing activities of the League. Article X, which President Wilson declared to be "the heart of the Covenant," reads: "The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League. In case of any such aggression, or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression, the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled."

693. The President defies Opposition. As soon as the Covenant of the League of Nations had been presented to the conference, President Wilson sailed for home to wind up the session of Congress. He had cabled the request that the Covenant be not made a subject of debate in Congress until he had had the opportunity of discussing it with the members of the Senate and House Committees on Foreign Affairs, whom he invited to dinner at the White House on February 26, 1919. But his request was not heeded. Senators Borah, Reed, Cummins, Lodge, and others were already attacking the Covenant before President Wilson landed in Boston. Nor did the dinner at the White House make any converts. The President had spoken at Boston of appealing to the American people for the support of his work at Paris.

But he knew that according to the Constitution it was not to the people but to the Senate that he had to present his treaty for ratification. In spite of this, he had offended the Senate by not appointing a single member of it on the peace commission. Now, just as the session of Congress came to a close, thirty-nine Republicans, who would sit in the Senate to which President Wilson would submit the treaty, signed a statement to the effect that they would not vote for the ratification of the treaty if it contained the Covenant of the League in its present form. These thirty-nine adverse votes would be six more than enough to defeat ratification. But President Wilson defied the Senate. On the evening of the adjournment of Congress he declared, in a speech in New York, that the first thing that he would tell the conference at Paris was that "an overwhelming majority of the American people" favored the League, and that when the treaty came back "the gentlemen on this side" would find the Covenant of the League not only in it but so firmly tied up with the treaty that it could not be removed "without destroying the whole vital structure." The next morning President Wilson sailed again for France on the *George Washington.*

694. The Treaty Completed. When Wilson got back to Paris he found that some members of the conference had grown indifferent to the League during his month's absence and were willing to postpone it until after the conclusion of peace. But he rallied the wavering members to its support and secured its adoption as the first article of the treaty on April 28. The treaty, as completed and presented to the Germans about a week later, was a document of eighty-thousand words which imposed the most severe terms on the vanquished nation. Germany was obliged to surrender all her colonies, to restore Alsace-Lorraine to France and other territory to Poland, Denmark, and Belgium, to deliver over her warships, submarines, and docks, to demolish her fortifications in large areas, to reduce her army to a police force of 100,000 men, to pay a bill of damages of 200,000,000,000 gold marks, and to confess her responsibility for the war. The German statesmen declared that the acceptance of "this murderous volume" was impossible. But the Allies were inexorable, and in the end the assembly of the new German Republic bade its envoys sign the treaty, "yielding to superior force, and without renouncing our own view of the unheard-of injustice of the peace conditions." The ceremony was performed on June 28, 1919, in the great Hall of Mirrors in the palace at Versailles, where, forty-eight years before, the Hohenzollern king of Prussia, William the Great, had been proclaimed the first emperor of Germany.

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THE RETURN OF WOODROW WILSON FROM PARIS JULY 9, 1919

695. Criticism of the League. As soon as the treaty was signed President Wilson hastened home to submit it formally to the Senate (July 10), where it had already been warmly debated for a month.[1] The chief point of attack was Article I, which contained the Covenant of the League; and the parts of the Covenant which were most bitterly assailed were Articles X, XI, and

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[1] The President had called Congress in extra session by cable from Paris in May in order to get necessary appropriation bills passed which the Senate had held up at the close of the short session in March, in the attempt to keep him from returning to Paris. He wanted the senators to refrain from discussing the treaty until he presented it to them, but that was impossible. The treaty had been printed and widely circulated in Europe as soon as it was completed in May, and several copies of it had found their way to the United States. It was "read into" the *Congressional Record* a month before President Wilson submitted it to the Senate.

XVI, which gave the League the right to advise what military or economic contributions the member states should furnish in guaranteeing the independence and integrity of the countries in the League and punishing any state which should resort to war in disregard of its pledges. These articles, said the opponents of the League, pledged the United States to go to war to defend the territory or sovereignty of a European or an Asiatic state at the bidding of a Council of nine men, eight of whom were foreigners. Other parts of the Covenant seemed to bind us to submit to the arbitration of a foreign tribunal questions affecting our honor, to admit the interference of alien nations with our domestic policies of defense and commerce, to play a subordinate part to the British Empire, which was represented by six votes in the Assembly to one for the United States — in short, to abandon the advice of the "Fathers" to keep clear of European alliances. While the treaty was still in the hands of the Committee on Foreign Relations, President Wilson invited the members of the committee to the White House (August 19), where he sought to answer their questions and clear up what he believed to be their misunderstanding of the Covenant. He assured them that their fears lest the sovereignty of the United States would be sacrificed to the dictation of a Council of foreigners were groundless. No measure could be taken in the Council except by unanimous consent, and a representative of the United States would have a permanent seat in that body. He would naturally vote in obedience to his instructions from home. Congress would still preserve its constitutional right of declaring war. We should be pledged to do nothing under the Covenant that we should not choose to do anyway as a great peace-loving and justice-loving nation. The President saw no objection to the Senate's accompanying the ratification of the treaty with "interpretations of the sense in which the United States accepts the engagements" to which it was pledged, provided such interpretations were not made a part of the ratifying act itself. He patiently answered the cross-questioning of Chairman Lodge, Senators Brandegee, Borah, Knox, Johnson, and others, for three hours, but he did not convert the Republican opponents of the League.

696. The Treaty Rejected. There were four groups in the Senate. The forty-seven Democrats (with the exception of three who were opposed to the League on any terms) were about equally divided between those who favored President Wilson's request that the treaty be accepted as it stood and those who would ratify it with mild reservations. Most of the forty-nine Republicans, led by Senator Lodge, stood out for amendments to the Covenant which they believed necessary to protect the authority of Congress and the sovereignty of the United States. They would ratify the treaty subject to the acceptance of these amendments by the other powers. A small group of "irreconcilable" Republicans, most prominent among whom were Borah and Johnson, rejected the Covenant entirely as the surrender of our traditional policy of avoiding "entangling alliances" with the powers of Europe. The treaty was reported to the Senate by the Foreign Relations Committee on September 10, with a number of amendments and reservations, which were debated in the two months that followed. When the vote was taken on November 19, on the ratification of the treaty with such reservations as had been adopted, 34 Republicans and 5 Democrats voted in the affirmative and 13 Republicans and 42 Democrats in the negative. Thus the treaty in its amended form, so far from securing the necessary majority, had an actual minority of 16 votes.[1] Immediately after this vote was taken Senator Underwood of Alabama proposed the ratification of the treaty without change, as President Wilson desired. One Republican (McCumber) and 37 Democrats voted Aye and 46 Republicans and 7 Democrats Nay. The resolution was therefore defeated by practically the same figures as the Lodge resolution. The Republicans would not allow the treaty to be ratified without changes and the Democrats would not allow it to be ratified with changes.

697. Wilson appeals to the Country. The President's conference of August 19 at the White House with the members of the

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[1] The almost solid Democratic vote against it was due to a letter from President Wilson to Gilbert Hitchcock of Nebraska, his spokesman in the Senate, asking the "friends and supporters of the treaty" to defeat the Lodge resolution, which, he said, provided "not for the ratification, but rather for the nullification of the treaty."

Foreign Relations Committee must have convinced him that he could not get the Republican support in the Senate necessary for ratification. On September 3, therefore, a week before the treaty was reported out of committee, he started on a tour of the country to explain the Covenant of the League to the people directly. He spoke to large and enthusiastic audiences all the way out to the Pacific coast, but the irreconcilable senators, Borah, Johnson, and McCormick, who followed on his trail to denounce the League, spoke to equally large and enthusiastic audiences. Wilson was a sick man when he started on his trip, against the advice of his physician. On September 25, as he was passing through Colorado on his homeward journey, he suffered a stroke of paralysis which made him an invalid for the remaining four and one-half years of his life.[1] On the rejection of the treaty in November he washed his hands of the Senate. "Personally I do not accept the action of the Senate as the decision of the nation," he wrote to the fifteen hundred diners at the banquet in celebration of Jackson Day at Washington on January 8, 1920. He was in favor of submitting the treaty to the people at the coming election, which should take the form of a "great and solemn referendum as to the part the United States is to play in completing the settlement of the war." Treaties are not ratified by popular referendum, however, and even if the election in 1920 should so change the complexion of the Senate as to make ratification possible during President Wilson's term, it would be more than a year before the new Senate could be called in session. The majority of the Democratic senators were in favor of making another attempt to secure ratification by a compromise set of reservations which should be acceptable to both sides. The treaty again came to a vote in March, 1920. This time half of the Democratic senators ignored the President's advice and cast their votes for ratification with mild reservations. But though this vote gave the treaty an actual majority (57 to 39 counting pairs), it still fell far below the two-thirds vote necessary for ratification. The treaty was then returned to President Wilson at the White House with the formal announcement that the Senate had been unable to obtain the constitutional majority for ratification.[1]

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[1] He died at Washington on February 3, 1924. President Coolidge issued the mourning proclamation: "As President of the United States he was moved by an earnest desire to promote the best interests of the country as he conceived them. His acts were prompted by high motives and his sincerity of purpose cannot be questioned. He led the nation through the terrific struggle of the World War with a lofty idealism which never failed him. He gave utterance to the aspirations of humanity with an eloquence which held the attention of all the earth, and made America a new and enlarged influence in the destiny of mankind." Senator Lodge pronounced a eulogy.

698. The Election of 1920. A few days after the troublesome session of Congress adjourned, the Republican nominating convention met at Chicago (June 8, 1920). The three leading contestants for the nomination were General Leonard Wood, Governor Frank Lowden of Illinois, and Senator Hiram Johnson of California. Wood was considered as the heir of Theodore Roosevelt, who had wholly returned to the Republican fold and was regarded as the leader of the party at the time of his death, in January, 1919. Lowden was acceptable to the business interests, and Johnson was the choice of the more radical elements of the party. The country was somewhat surprised when the deadlock between these candidates was broken on the tenth ballot by the nomination of Senator Warren G. Harding of Ohio, for whom there had been no popular demand at all. Harding was "put over" by a small but powerful group of senators in the convention (Lodge, the chairman, Watson, Root, Smoot, Wadsworth, and New). He was a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, and had supported the Lodge amendments to the Treaty of Versailles. The Democratic convention at San Francisco, after a long struggle between Attorney-General Palmer and the President's son-in-law, William G. McAdoo, turned on the forty-fourth ballot to Governor James M. Cox of Ohio. Governor Calvin Coolidge of Massachusetts, who had won the credit of suppressing a strike of the Boston policemen, was named on the ticket with Harding, and Cox's running mate was Franklin D. Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy and a distant cousin of ex-President Roosevelt. Neither Harding nor Cox had the remotest claim to the leadership of their respective parties. Governor Cox came out in full support of the League and won the hearty indorsement of President Wilson, who asked the country again, a few days before the election, to make our adherence to the League the issue. A number of prominent Republicans signed a statement declaring that the surest way to get the United States to "associate" with the nations was to vote for Harding. The issues of the campaign, however, were very complex. Prices were outrageously high. Industry was vexed with strikes as a result of war conditions. The "wets" and the "drys" were wrangling over the prohibition amendment. The liberals were indignant with the Attorney-General for his severity against the alleged "Reds" and with Postmaster-General Burleson for his censorship of the press. Secretaries Baker and Daniels were criticized for their conduct of the War and Navy Departments. The country went to the polls in November and voted not so much against the League of Nations as against the Wilson administration as a whole, which was held responsible for the disorders following the war. They cast 16,152,220 votes for Harding to 9,147,553 for Cox. The Republicans carried every state of the North and West, all the border states except Kentucky, and even the former Confederate state of Tennessee. They elected 309 of the 435 members of the House, and increased the majority from 2 to 22 in the Senate. The electoral vote was 404 to 127. "It was not a landslide," said Tumulty, the President's secretary, "it was an earthquake." The stricken man in the White House was silent in his overwhelming defeat of the program on which he had set his heart and for which he had given his life's strength.

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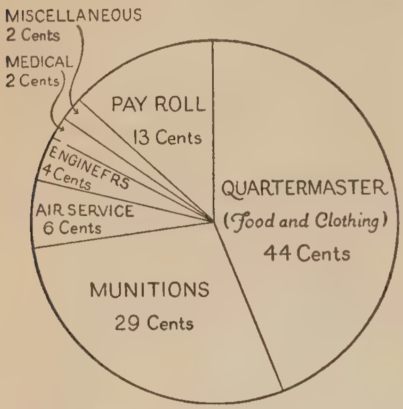
[1] The failure to ratify the treaty left us legally still at war with Germany. Congress passed the Knox resolution, declaring that the war was at an end, but the President vetoed it (May 27, 1920) as "an ineffaceable stain on the gallantry and honor of the United States." The House failed to override the veto and we remained technically at war with Germany until after the advent of the Republican president, Harding, in 1921.

699. The Establishment of the League. While the Senate had been debating the Covenant, the Treaty of Peace had been ratified by Germany and the principal nations of the Allies, and its proclamation at Versailles on January 10, 1920, had brought the League of Nations into operation. Six days later the first meeting of the Council of the League was held at Paris on the call of President Wilson. The Permanent Secretariat was organized, the budget was fixed, the National Hotel on the shores of Lake Geneva was purchased as the headquarters of the League, and committees were appointed to deal with health, labor, the government of mandates, the reduction of armaments, the organization of a Permanent Court of International Justice, and a number of other subjects mentioned in the Covenant. On November 15 the representatives of forty-one nations met in the first General Assembly of the League at Geneva, just thirteen days after the "great and solemn referendum" at the polls had seemed to confirm America's determination to have no part or parcel in it. The refusal of the United States to take part in the organized effort for world peace, after its glorious part in the World War, was in the eyes of millions of our countrymen a deplorable mistake — nothing less than a craven denial of our duty to the world. For other millions it was the fulfillment of our duty to preserve the tradition handed down from Washington, Jefferson, and Monroe to keep America out of the rivalries and conflicts of the Old World. This difference of opinion still continues among the people of the United States.

How the War Affected America

700. The People and the Government. No other event in our history ever brought such a revolution in the industry, habits, and thoughts of the American people as the World War. Ordinarily our people have had but little contact with the government at Washington. Our traditions have been those of individual initiative and freedom of competition in business, of unrestricted choice in the earning and spending of money, of full liberty in expression of opinion. Before the income tax of 1913 was levied, very few Americans except the importers of dutiable goods had ever paid a dollar directly into the national Treasury. Only one man in a hundred of military age had worn the uniform of the regular army. Probably not one person in five hundred had ever seen a United States government bond. But the war changed all this. Over 20,000,000, or one in every five of our population, subscribed to the fourth Liberty Loan. At the close of the war there were nearly 4,000,000 men (one half of them overseas) in uniform, and the Man Power Act of August 30, 1918, had provided for the registration of over 13,000,000 males between the ages of 18 and 45 to be subject to the selective draft. Seven million people were paying a billion dollars of income taxes into the Treasury. And the government at Washington, acting through scores of boards, commissions, committees, and sections, was controlling the entire production and distribution of the important industries of the country, dictating to the people what they should eat and wear, rationing their sugar and fuel, and limiting their railroad travel and their Sunday automobile rides. Never had a nation of such determined individualists been put under a régime of such rigid paternalism.



HOW THE AMERICAN DOLLAR WAS SPENT IN THE WAR

701. The Demand on America's Resources. All this control was exercised with the sole aim of helping the Allies to win the war. The part which our soldiers played in the closing months of the war was magnificent; but, after all, the 1,200,000 American troops in the great battles of the Meuse-Argonne were only about 15 per cent of the total fighting force on the western front. It was upon America's almost inexhaustible resources in the factories, mills, mines, forests, and fields that the Allies depended for their chief aid. Clemenceau spoke of the men who directed these resources toward the winning of the war as the "organizers of the industrial victory." America was the "last reservoir" of supplies. Without her metals, timber, coal, food, textiles, locomotives, and trucks, the fighting arm of the Allies would have been paralyzed. It is true, as critics of the administration pointed out, that there were few American airplanes or guns at the front when the war ended, and that most of the shells used by the American artillerists came from the French factories. But had it not been for the millions of tons of steel, the copper and chemicals, the spruce and cotton, shipped from America to supply the factories of France, the necessary guns, shells, and airplanes could not have been manufactured. All this we furnished in addition to supplying our own rapidly growing army with an incredible amount of material over a line of three or four thousand miles.[1] To fill these demands it was necessary that a full inventory of America's resources should be made, that her production should be organized to "speed up the war," that her food and fuel should be rationed, and that her shipping and railroad transportation should be managed so as to make the utmost contribution to the armies at the front.

702. Powers conferred on the President. The authority for the control of America's resources came ultimately from the president, and the president's power to exercise this authority was derived not from his constitutional position as commander in chief of the army and navy, but from certain extraordinary grants made to him by Congress. "Whatever the President says is necessary to win the war," said a Republican representative from Massachusetts, "that I will vote to give him." Congress had already in the National Defense Act of 1916 [**670**] given the president the right to appoint a board on "the mobilization of industries necessary for military preparedness," out of which had come the Council of National Defense with its seven civilian advisers on raw materials, finished products, munitions, transportation, labor, engineering, and medicine. With our entrance into the war the powers of the president were made far more definite. By the Lever Act of August 10, 1917, he was authorized to "requisition foods, feeds, fuel, and other supplies necessary to the support of the army or any other public use connected with the common defense." He could fix prices, regulate distribution, buy, store, and sell fuel, grain, and vegetables, and require producers to sell to the government through the agencies which he might designate. For the administration of this act, a Federal Food Administration Grain Corporation was created with a monopoly of the purchase of wheat, the price of which was fixed at $2.20 a bushel. The use of grain for manufacturing distilled liquors was forbidden for the duration of the war. The climax of the President's extraordinary power was reached in the Overman Act of May 20, 1918, giving him authority to create new organs of administration, change old ones regardless of existing laws, and redistribute their personnel, powers, and funds according to his judgment. The Overman Act made President Wilson a political "dictator" for the remainder of the war.

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[1] For example, the army purchased twice as many blankets in 1918 as the total number manufactured in the country in 1914. In the first fourteen months of the war its requisitions included 138,800,000 pairs of woolen stockings, 30,700,000 pairs of shoes, 26,500,000 flannel shirts, 13,900,000 woolen coats, and 8,000,000 overcoats. The cost of these articles of clothing was over $1,000,000,000, or an average of $500 for each soldier. In the operations of Pershing's army at St. Mihiel alone 5000 telephones and 50,000 miles of field wire were used.

WILLIAM G. McADOO

703. Food and Fuel. Under the Lever Act, Herbert C. Hoover, a California mining engineer whose management of the Belgian Relief Commission had kept the people of Belgium and the devastated portions of France from starvation, was appointed Food Administrator of the United States, with large powers of control over the conservation and distribution of food supplies. "Food will win the war — don't waste it!" was the slogan. Meatless and wheatless days were prescribed. The people of the country responded with hearty coöperation. Farmers planted a larger acreage. Hotels and restaurants saved wheat and sugar. Families pledged themselves to eat corn bread and drink unsweetened coffee. Even the children planted "war gardens." The Food Administration, served by an army of volunteer workers, was handling the purchase and distribution of foodstuffs to the value of $300,000,000 a month at the close of the war. We sent over $2,000,000,000 worth of food to Europe in the year 1918. Dr. H. A. Garfield, president of Williams College, was made Fuel Administrator and was aided by local administrators in all the states. The terribly severe winter of 1917–1918 made heroic measures necessary. When 250 ships with invaluable cargoes for the Allies were lying at the docks in January, 1918, because their coal bunkers were empty, Dr. Garfield ordered all the manufacturing plants east of the Mississippi that were not engaged in war production to shut down for a period of five days and for ten successive Mondays. There were angry protests from the manufacturers, but President Wilson upheld the Fuel Administrator's order.

704. The Railroads. In the first months of the war the railroads had formed a voluntary association under President Daniel Willard of the Baltimore and Ohio to promote efficiency in transportation, but they proved unequal in the face of the rising cost of labor and materials to furnish the equipment and the service necessary for the war needs of the country. Therefore, on December 26, 1917, President Wilson took over the railroads of the United States, representing an investment of $17,500,000,000 and employing nearly 2,000,000 men. Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo was made Director General of the railroads, which were to be returned to their owners within twenty-one months after the close of the war. They were to receive a yearly rental from the United States based on their average annual earnings from June, 1914, to June, 1917. The owners were assured that their interest would be "scrupulously looked after" by the government. The roads and coastwise steamship lines were operated as a single system. Competition was abolished, consolidated ticket offices were opened in the various cities, needless trains and parlor cars were dropped from the schedules, and the public was urged to stay at home. The Director General authorized the expenditure of $938,000,000 for improvements and equipment during 1918 and increased the wages of the railroad men that year by $300,000,000. Owing to the increase of wages and the rise of the price of materials, the railroads lost hundreds of millions of dollars under government management. The large express companies, also, were merged into a single concern to handle the government's shipments and the telephone and telegraph lines passed under the control of the Postmaster-General.

705. Labor and the War. Because of the enormous demands on the industries of the country, labor assumed an importance in the World War which it had never had before. Men were being taken from the industries by the tens of thousands to fill the ranks of the army. Immigration, which had been above the 1,000,000 mark in the years 1912 to 1914, sank to a little over 100,000 in 1918. Women filled the gap to some extent, but still the shortage of labor led to serious difficulties in industry. Wages were raised to unheard-of levels by the bidding of the government and private firms against each other for workers. Agents of unscrupulous firms did not hesitate to "steal" labor from their neighbors. Extravagance in unwise expenditure arose from the increased buying power of the laboring class. Finally, to prevent the wasteful "turnover" in labor, the government went into the business of an employment agency and allocated to its most useful work practically all the skilled labor of the country. From the first, labor supported the war whole-heartedly. "This is labor's war," said Samuel Gompers, who was a member of the advisory board of the Council of National Defense. Under his leadership the labor unions agreed not to strike during the war. Early in 1918 a National War Labor Board was created, with ex-President Taft and F. P. Walsh as joint chairmen, to act as a supreme court in labor disputes. Some fifteen hundred cases were submitted to the War Labor Board, and in the few instances in which labor refused to accept the decisions the President used the pressure of public opinion to make the men return to their work, or in extreme cases took over the plant. A War Labor Policies Board was established to deal with labor employed in the departments of the government.

706. The War Industries Board. The central directing agency of America's economic life during the war was the War Industries Board, which in the midsummer of 1917 was established to hasten the mobilization of industry. In March, 1918, Bernard M. Baruch, a financier of intense quiet energy, accepted President Wilson's invitation to become chairman of the Board, with powers which made him the industrial dictator of the American people. "Barney Baruch," said the chairman of a congressional investigating committee, "had more power during the war than any other man in the world." By the President's letter he was authorized to "act as the general eye of all supply departments in the field of industry." The task was immense. Agents of the Allies during the years 1914–1917 had been bidding wildly in this country for supplies of all sorts, sending our exports up from $1,500,000,000 to nearly $4,500,000,000. They were spending $500,000 a month here. As soon as we entered the war, our own military departments joined in the competition. The War Department issued 60,000 orders for supplies in the first three months that we were in the war. Our total war budget for 1917 was $8,000,000,000 and for 1918 $15,000,000,000. Our foreign credits to the Allies were greater than the cost of 25 Panama canals. To bring order out of the chaos of conflicting bidding and "rush orders," to stimulate the production of essential industries and curtail the production of unessential ones, to determine priorities of delivery, to keep prices fair, to supervise the Allies' purchasing, to allocate shipping, — these were a few of the duties of the Board. "Should locomotives go to Pershing to help him get ammunition to the front, or should they go to Chile to haul the nitrate, without which there would be no ammunition? Should steel go to destroyers, whose mission was to sink the submarines, or to the merchant ships, which the submarines had thinned to the point of breaking down the food supply of the Allies? Should nitrate go to munitions, without which the guns were useless, or to fertilizers, without which the artillerymen would be foodless? Should cranes go to the American wharves for loading ships for France or to French wharves for unloading the same ship?" About the War Industries Board as a nucleus gathered thirty-five committees on materials, ranging from "alcohol" to "zinc." Twenty-one regional advisers from Boston to San Francisco coöperated with the central Board. More than seven hundred business men and technical experts came to Washington to serve on the various divisions of the Board, many of them leaving salaried positions worth tens of thousands of dollars to work for the government at a dollar a year.

707. The Coöperation of the People. The success of such agencies as the War Industries Board, the Food and Fuel Administration, and the War Labor Board depended on the coöperation of the American people: on the willingness of the great manufacturers to submit to the control of their supplies of raw material and of the amount and distribution of their products; on the consent of the consuming public to have their bill of fare regulated, their heating and lighting rationed, their amusements and travels curtailed. The response which the American people made to the emergency demand of the war was magnificent. Heretofore business and patriotism had occupied separate compartments in the American mind. Now they were fused. Great steel and copper producers made contracts with the government at prices 50 per cent lower than those prevailing in the inflated market. The industries that were not essential to the war, like the manufacture of pleasure automobiles, assented to the reduction of their output to one half or one fourth of its prewar amount. The plea "Will you take this material or will you let the boys in France have it?" seldom failed. If here and there a manufacturer stood out for his "rights," asserting that he had coal and raw material in plenty and would use them as he pleased, the hint that the Fuel Administration might find it necessary to commandeer his coal, or that it would be impossible to spare the railroad cars to transport his products, brought him quickly to his senses. If the workers in a munitions plant insisted on their right to strike, in spite of the agreement to submit their controversies to arbitration during the war, an order from the president to take over the factory and "conscript" the workers was sufficient. If individuals indulged their selfish desires in food, clothing, amusement, or social display against the requests of the conservation agencies in Washington, they felt the rebuke of popular disapproval.

708. Opposition to the War. So long as the United States remained neutral, any citizen had a right to oppose our entrance into the war. But once we were in it the attempt to obstruct the government in its prosecution of the war was equivalent to giving aid and comfort to the enemy. Over against the millions of our people who gave the war their loyal support there were a few hundred only who worked actively to make the war a failure. This small disloyal group was made up of extreme partisans or paid agents of Germany and Austria in this country and of certain radical elements among the labor agitators who condemned the war as a crime of the capitalist class against the workers. "Conscientious objectors" to war in any form or for any cause were allowed to perform noncombatant service in various departments (medicine, engineering, construction, and repair), while drafted men whose conscience would not permit them to serve in military uniform were allowed to work on farms under the surveillance of the War Department. To guard against danger from the treasonably inclined, enemy aliens were forbidden to approach within one hundred yards of wharves, to be found in waters within three miles of the shore line, or to ascend in balloons or airplanes. On June 15, 1917, an Espionage Act was passed, prescribing severe penalties for interfering with the recruiting or the disciplining of troops or disclosing information about places connected with the national defense. The Espionage Act was supplemented in May, 1918, by a Sedition Act, making it a crime to criticize by speech or writing the government or the Constitution. In the following October the Secretary of Labor was given the authority to send out of the country aliens who believed in the forcible overthrow of government. The Postmaster-General was ordered by the Espionage Act to exclude from the mails any seditious or treasonable publications. The property of enemy aliens in the country was seized to the amount of some $700,000,000 and turned over to A. Mitchell Palmer, the Alien Property Custodian, to hold as a trustee, its eventual disposition to be determined by Congress.

709. Censorship. There was a lively protest against the interference of the government with freedom of speech and of the press, which was guaranteed by the Constitution. Men spoke of the revival of the Alien and Sedition acts of 1798. The daily *Official Bulletin*, published by the Committee on Public Information under the direction of George Creel, was criticized as an organ of propaganda to force the people to accept as final truth such news of the war and such interpretation of the acts of the administration as the government chose to make public. The Department of Justice was zealous in prosecuting socialist and radical speakers, breaking up alleged seditious meetings, and raiding the headquarters of suspected organizations. Several hundred persons, men and women, were sentenced to prison for offenses ranging from a deliberate attempt, like Eugene V. Debs's, to obstruct the draft, to an impetuous remark, like Rose Pastor Stokes's, accusing the government of being in sympathy with the profiteers. It is hard to determine the limit to which the government of a liberty-loving people should go in repressing freedom of speech and writing in time of national emergency. Obviously, it will depend on the degree of danger apprehended, and on that point there will be wide difference of opinion. As we look back from the days when the emergency has passed, it is easy to see instances in which the government was overzealous in repression and prosecution. It would have been enough to punish unlawful acts and deeds of violence, letting opposition to the war and the government in speech and writing play itself out. The few hundreds, or possibly thousands, of disloyal citizens and aliens were, after all, but a tiny and impotent minority compared with the tens of millions of Americans who gave their unstinted support to the military, industrial, and social measures of the government necessary to win the war.

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Questions for Review

1. Why were the German military authorities indifferent to our entrance into the war? **2.** What were the aims of the United States in entering the war? **3.** What part did our navy play in the war? **4.** What does a "selective" draft mean? **5.** What does the phrase "the conscription of wealth" mean? **6.** How were the expenses of the war met by our government? **7.** Why were American troops badly needed in France in the summer of 1918? **8.** Which of the first five of Wilson's Fourteen Points have been realized? **9.** What were the terms of the armistice? **10.** How does an armistice differ from a treaty of peace? **11.** What can you say of the health record of our army in the World War? **12.** Why did Wilson go to Paris? **13.** Had a president ever been out of the country before? If so, when and for what purpose? **14.** Do you think Wilson deceived the peace conference in saying that he represented the will of the American people? **15.** Compare his position with that of Lloyd George. **16.** What is Article X of the Covenant? **17.** Do you think that Wilson defied the Senate, or the Senate defied Wilson? Explain your answer. **18.** What were the main objections of the Senate to the Covenant? **19.** Do you think that Wilson was responsible for the defeat of the Treaty of Versailles by the Senate? Explain. **20.** Do you think that war should be declared only by a popular vote (plebiscite)? **21.** Name some of the extraordinary powers conferred on Wilson during the war? Compare them with the powers of Lincoln in the Civil War [**450**]. **22.** What were the services of Mr. Hoover in the war? of Mr. Gompers? **23.** Why was the government's operation of the railroads expensive? **24.** What changes in the relations of the people to the government did the war bring? **25.** Do you think that the government had more or less reason to exercise censorship in the World War than in the Civil War [**425**]?

CHAPTER XX

AMERICA SINCE THE WAR

READJUSTMENT

710. The Reaction. So complete and sudden a revolution as the war made in the business life and social habits of the American people was bound to be followed by a reaction when peace came. In 1917 and 1918 the nation was living on its nerves, keyed up to an unusual pitch of coöperation in its great task of winning the war. With the return of peace there came a let down. It almost seemed as though the American people repented of their emotional idealism. Business was eager to get back to its old competitive basis. Labor was determined to maintain its high wages and capital its unwonted profits. Political rivalry revived. The Republican majority in Congress was jealous lest Woodrow Wilson and the Democrats should make political capital out of the war. The extraordinary powers conferred on the President by war legislation must return to the people's representatives in Congress, and the executive boards and commissions must cease to control production, transportation, prices, wages, food, fuel, and the general occupation and habits of the people. Many seemed to think that the domestic problems raised by the return to peace conditions would be easily solved. President Wilson expressed this opinion in his address to Congress just before his departure for Paris in December, 1918: "Our people do not wait to be coaxed or led. They know their own business and are quick and resourceful at any readjustment." Others, however, realized that the readjustment would be neither quick nor easy and that the America which emerged from the war would be an entirely different country from the America before the war.

711. Demobilization. The return of civil life to the 3,634,000 men in the army proceeded rapidly and smoothly. Nearly half the young men in the American training camps were discharged within five months after the signing of the armistice. More than two thirds of our soldiers in France were back at home before the peace treaty was signed in June, 1919, and after January, 1920, the only part of Pershing's forces remaining in Europe was the little American army (17,000) of the occupation of the Rhine region at Coblenz. Our government was generous to the American soldier. His pay of $30 a month was nearly three times as large as the British soldier's. Out of this the government allotted $15 to his wife and added sums ranging from $15 to $30 a month according to the size of his family. If a man was totally disabled he received amounts ranging from $30 to $65 a month (increased in December, 1919, to amounts from $80 to $100) from the Treasury. The government also allowed every enlisted man to take an insurance policy up to $10,000 at a low premium rate to run for five years after the war was over. These policies, issued to four and one-half million men, totaled over $37,000,000,000, an amount far larger than the policies of all the private American life-insurance companies combined. Almost $500,000 was paid to the dependents of seventy Marines who were killed in one engagement in France. The average allowance of our government to the dependents of American soldiers was $360 a year per man as against $202 in England, $50 in France, and $11 in Italy. The American losses in battle were very small compared with the British and French losses, yet our government spent more than Great Britain and France combined in benefits to the disabled and insurance to the dependents of the killed. When our soldiers returned the government continued its benefactions. A bonus of $60 was paid to each of the officers and men as they "sewed the red chevron of discharge upon their sleeves and passed into civil life." For those who found difficulty in getting work the government employment agency tried to supply jobs. Between December 1, 1918, and September 27, 1919, 474,085 of the 757,474 applicants were placed. A Federal Board for Vocational Training, established in August, 1918, to educate disabled service men for such occupations as they were capable of filling, was less successful. However, the figures of the Veterans' Bureau show that up to February 1, 1922, the government had spent nearly $2,500,000,000 for the disabled and was then paying $1,000,000 a day to the ex-service men or their dependents. Of the Bonus Bill we shall speak later.

712. Decentralization. While the soldiers were coming home, the government was relinquishing many of the extraordinary powers which it had assumed during the war. At the end of 1918 the great War Industries Board was disbanded [**706**].[1] Shortly afterwards the President's orders abolished government control over fuel and food [**703**]. In May, 1919, the cables were returned to their owners and in August the telegraphs and telephones. On December 24, 1919, President Wilson announced that the railroads would be returned on the first of the following March [**704**]. The War Labor Board [**705**] had already ceased to exist. There were government contracts for billions of dollars' worth of supplies, buildings, and ships outstanding at the close of the war. Where work had not been begun on the contracts, they were canceled; in the other cases they were adjusted by a Board of War Claims. There were also vast supplies of clothing, food, and equipment of various sorts in the storehouses of the "S. O. S." [**684**, note] in France and the camps in America. A Liquidation Commission created by the War Department turned over the permanent American structures and improvements in France to the government of that country for $400,000,000. The supplies abroad, valued at $1,700,000,000, we sold for about half their cost. The shoes, gloves, blankets, clothing, food, kitchen utensils, plumbers' fixtures, etc., accumulated in the American camps, were disposed of to the people at cost, partly to stem the rising tide of prices, which had increased 80 per cent since 1914.

713. The Shipping Problem. By far the greatest loss to the government, however, was in ships. "Ships will win the war!"

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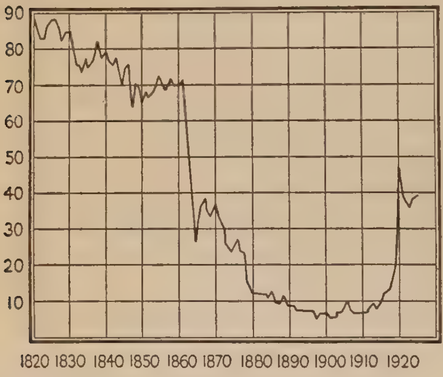
[1] When the war was over they did not march up Fifth Avenue to the cheers of their admiring countrymen. Tired, in many cases utterly drained by long effort and depressed reaction, they shut their government desks and trickled back one by one to the old desks in the offices of everyday business and industry. — G. B. Clarkson, "Industrial America in the World War," p. 476

had been a slogan. In 1914 we had a total of about 1,000,000 tonnage of merchant marine registered for foreign trade and only 8.6 per cent of our exports and imports were carried in American vessels. These figures were essentially the same as those of five years before. Our foreign merchant marine, in other words, was practically stagnant. But during the war our shipbuilding program was speeded up enormously by the Emergency Fleet Corporation, an adjunct of the United States Shipping Board [**670**]. At the signing of the armistice there were 381,000 workers in the shipyards, as against 44,000 at the beginning of the war, and the Shipping Board controlled a fleet of 1196 vessels with a gross tonnage of 6,500,000. There were 1525 vessels more in process of construction, bringing the total tonnage for the foreign trade up to nearly 10,000,000 in 1920. The total appropriations for the Emergency Fleet Corporation up to the end of the year 1920 reached the enormous sum of $3,255,000,000, and American ships were carrying 43 per cent of our foreign commerce in the latter year. It was not in the interest of the government to remain in the shipping business. The Merchant Marine (Jones) Act of June 5, 1920, directed the Shipping Board to sell the government vessels to private owners "as soon as practicable." But in spite of easy terms of payment and the creation of a fund of $25,000,000 for loans to the private owners to get their trade started, nobody wanted to buy the ships on any terms. The close of the war and the end of the submarine peril had released the shipping of the maritime countries of Europe. The economic exhaustion of the belligerent nations reduced their purchasing power. Freight

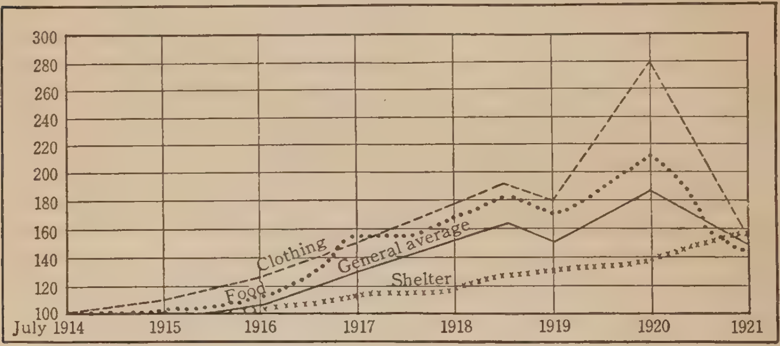


PERCENTAGE OF AMERICAN TRADE CARRIED IN AMERICAN SHIPS, 1820–1924 rates dropped sharply. In a word, there were far too many ships for the amount of trade. Besides, the La Follette Seamen's Act of 1915 [**649**] prescribed conditions of wages, and treatment for American sailors which made it impossible for our merchant ships to compete with the more cheaply manned vessels of Great Britain, Scandinavia, or Japan. Consequently, the government was obliged either to operate the ships itself or to lay them up in rivers and bays to deteriorate. Both plans were costly. The fleet of wooden ships on which Chairman Denman of the Shipping Board had spent $250,000,000 were written off as a total loss in August, 1920.[1] In default of buyers the government still continues to operate the United States line of vessels headed by the *Leviathan* (the former German liner *Vaterland*), which was reconditioned at a cost of $8,000,000 after serving as a transport during the war.

714. Industrial Turmoil. The truce between capital and labor came to an abrupt end as soon as the emergency need of coöperation for winning the war was passed. The capitalists were unwilling to give up their huge war profits and the laborers insisted on the maintenance of their high war wages. Each side was afraid to make any concession lest the other should take advantage of it to establish a dictatorial control over industry. Every rise in prices was accompanied by a demand for an increase in wages, which caused a further rise in prices and a new demand from the wage earner. The consuming public, caught in the whirl of this "vicious circle," saw the purchasing price of its dollar decline from 100 cents in 1914 to 76.2 cents in 1917 and 48 cents in 1920. Clothing cost almost three times as much, food more than twice as much, rent half again as much in 1920 as in 1914. A perfect epidemic of strikes broke out in 1919, involving 4,000,000 workers and costing $2,000,000,000 of loss to capital and labor. Dockmen, ship hands, firemen, garment

[1] A San Francisco merchant two years later paid $750,000 for 226 of these ships, which had cost the government an average of $700,000 apiece. Passing up the Hudson one could see a great flotilla of steel ships rusting away in Haverstraw Bay. The useless and deteriorating merchant marine was costing the United States a million dollars a day. In August, 1926, the government accepted Henry Ford's bid of about $800 apiece for 200 steel vessels as "junk."

workers, textile workers, carpenters, builders, miners, telegraph operators, street-car men, steel workers, expressmen, policemen, hotel waiters, barbers, followed each other out of their jobs until it seemed as if the industry of the country were completely demoralized. In the month of February, 125,000 men in the building trades in New York City struck; in August, 250,000 in the railroad shops; in September, 367,000 in the steel industry; in November, 435,000 in the bituminous coal fields. One of the worst features of the situation was the large proportion (about 25 per cent) of "outlaw" strikes (that is, strikes not authorized by the unions), conducted by radical agitators imbued with the Russian Soviet theory of turning the capitalists out and putting the industries in the hands of the workers. President Wilson tried in vain to compose the strife. He invited representatives of capital, labor, and the public to meet in a conference at Washington in October, 1919, "to consult together on the vital questions concerning our industrial life"; but instead of trying to find a common basis of agreement, the representatives of capital and labor fell to wrangling over the justice of the great steel strike which was then raging, and the conference broke up in discord and mutual defiance.



RISE OF PRICES OF FOOD, CLOTHING, AND SHELTER, 1914–1921

715. The Government interferes in the Coal Strike. The most serious of the many strikes of 1919 was inaugurated on November 1, when, in spite of Wilson's plea for the maintenance of a full supply of fuel for the world's need, 435,000 men in the bituminous coal fields laid down their tools to enforce their demands for a 60 per cent increase in wages and the guaranty of a minimum of thirty hours of work a week. As we were still technically at war with Germany, the Lever Act of 1917 [**703**], giving the President power to regulate the fuel supply, was still in force. H. A. Garfield, Fuel Administrator under its provisions, resumed his activities. On November 8 a federal judge of Indianapolis enjoined the officers of the United Mine Workers to end the strike before November 11, on pain of punishment for "rebellion against the government in time of war." Mr. John L. Lewis, acting president of the union, complied with the order, remarking, "We are Americans; we cannot fight against the government." Though the strike was called off, the men were slow in returning to work. The cold days of December came on with only about 40 per cent of the normal production of coal. The governors of some states took over the coal mines within their borders, and volunteers came forward to work them. Meanwhile the Fuel Administrator, the Secretary of Labor, and the mine operators and workers were seeking to arrive at a satisfactory settlement. Garfield proposed a 14 per cent increase in wages, Secretary Wilson a 31 per cent increase; but the miners declared both inadequate. Finally, on December 11, the miners agreed to return to work on Garfield's terms, pending a final adjustment of wages and hours. The operators quarreled with the administration, on the ground that Secretary Wilson arranged terms with the miners over their heads, and threatened to raise the price of coal if Garfield's terms were altered. Garfield himself resigned. The strike was over, but it was not till the end of March, 1920, that a settlement was made on the basis of a wage increase of 27 per cent. The strike had cost $125,000,000, of which nearly half was in loss of wages.

716. The Railroad Situation. There was a wide diversity of opinion as to the terms on which the railroads should be restored to their owners on March 1, 1920. Walker D. Hines, who had succeeded Secretary McAdoo as Director General of the railroads, in January, 1919, wanted the government to continue its management for five years longer, believing that it would be of benefit both to the owners and to the workers to have the strength and credit of the United States behind the railroads while they were getting adjusted to a peace basis. The railroad executives wanted to have the roads returned immediately, but with considerable government control: a Federal Transportation Board to recommend rates to the Interstate Commerce Commission sufficient to secure fair profits for the road, the legal prohibition of strikes and lockouts, the settlement of labor disputes by a Board of Arbitration. The stockholders wanted the government to guarantee 6 per cent on their invested capital, while any profits above this sum should be distributed equally between the employees, the owners, and a fund for improvement. Mr. Glenn E. Plumb, counsel for the railroad brotherhoods, advocated a plan of public ownership. The government should buy the roads and operate them through a National Railway Operating Corporation, composed one third of railroad employees, one third of managers, and one third of members appointed by the President. This corporation should pay the government a rental of 5 per cent out of the revenues of the roads, and half of any excess should go to the employees. If a deficit resulted instead of a surplus, it should be made up by public taxation. Labor disputes were to be settled by an arbitration board of five officials and five employees. The Plumb plan was indorsed by the American Federation of Labor and received a good deal of support as in line with President Wilson's suggestion of a "genuine democratization of industry, based on the full recognition of the rights of those who work in whatever rank to participate in some organic way in every decision which directly affects their welfare." Its opponents, however, regarded it as dangerously like the Russian Soviet plan of the control of industry by the workers. Bills introduced by J. J. Esch of Wisconsin in the House and Albert Cummins of Iowa in the Senate were so far apart that it seemed hardly possible that a compromise could be arrived at by the two Houses before the date set by the President for the relinquishment of government control over the railroads [**704**].

717. The Railroad Transportation Act. By dint of hard labor, however, the conflicting views were reconciled in the Esch-Cummins Bill, or the Transportation Act, which was signed by President Wilson on February 28, 1920. The main provisions of the act were (1) the enlargement of the powers of the Interstate Commission (increased to eleven members), which should fix rates so as to yield a return of 6 per cent for two years on the estimated valuation of the railroads and could control the issue of securities; (2) the creation of a Railway Labor Board of nine members appointed by the President — three from the railroad workers, three from the owners, and three from the public — to settle labor disputes; (3) the appropriation of $200,000,000 to aid the roads to get back to their prewar status, and of $300,000,000 as a "revolving fund" out of which loans to the roads should be made; (4) the prohibition of any increase in rates or decrease in wages before September 1, 1920; (5) the provision that no man should serve as officer or director of more than one road after December 31, 1921. The Transportation Act has never been acceptable to labor. The Railroad Labor Board's grant of over 20 per cent increase in wages in the summer of 1920 was called "grossly inadequate" by Mr. Gompers, and the American Federation of Labor in its annual convention at Montreal voted by more than two to one in favor of the government ownership of the roads. Nor was the Railway Labor Board able to prevent a strike of three hundred thousand railway shopmen in the summer of 1922, which not only threatened to demoralize the whole transportation system but was attended with violence in the shape of assaults on "scab" workmen and attempts to wreck bridges and trains.

718. The "Reds" in America. The activities of the Department of Justice in repressing opposition to the government in the conduct of the war [**708**] naturally encouraged a spirit of suspicion in many of our citizens, who believed that a critic of any war measure must be a pro-German working for the defeat of the Allies. When the war was over the spirit of intolerance, instead of dying out, seemed to grow stronger. The reason for this was the fear lest the doctrines of the Russian Bolshevists, which were causing revolution in many of the European states, should spread to this country. The "left wing" of the Socialist party had joined the I. W. W. in indorsing the Moscow International, which stood for the expropriation of capital by the working class. Such radical agitators sought to get control of the labor unions and turn them from the peaceful methods of arbitration or orderly strikes to revolutionary action. The Russian Bolshevists declared that they would not cease from their propaganda of communism until the capitalist system had been overthrown in the United States and England, as well as on the continent of Europe. They sent an agent to this country, who brought with him credentials signed by the Bolshevist minister of foreign affairs. Our State Department recognized neither this agent nor the government which sent him; yet he opened an office in New York, gathered an official staff, and proceeded to direct an active campaign of propaganda. Radical associations in a number of our cities adopted the name of the "All-Russia Soviet of America." In February, 1919, the attempt was made to paralyze the whole industrial life of the city of Seattle, Washington, by a "general strike" which grew out of the grievances of the workers in the shipyards. On November 11, the first anniversary of the signing of the armistice, a parade of the American Legion at Centralia, Washington, was fired upon and four men were killed. Earlier in the year an attempt had been made to wreck the house of Attorney-General Palmer in Washington city, by a bomb placed on the doorstep. For these and similar outrages the I. W. W. was generally held responsible and several of its members were sentenced to prison terms. By orders of the Department of Labor about two hundred and fifty revolutionists were arrested in a dozen cities of the country, and in December, 1919, the transport *Buford*, dubbed the "Soviet Ark," sailed from New York to carry to Russia two hundred and forty-nine aliens who were "a menace to law and order in this country." Attorney-General Palmer was criticized by prominent citizens who could not be suspected of any tinge of Bolshevism for his overzealous application of repressive measures. He was accused of encouraging a panicky fear of the "Reds" in order that he might pose as the defender of "100 per cent Americanism" and so pave the way for his nomination for the presidency in 1920.

719. The Lusk Laws. An extreme example of the determination to enforce patriotism by law was furnished by the activities of the Lusk Committee of the New York legislature. The committee secured the passage of bills requiring all schools or associations giving "courses of instruction in any subject" to get a license from the regents of the state and denying a license to any teacher who advocated, "either by word of mouth or in writing, a form of government other than the government of the United States or of this state." These bills for the suppression of the freedom of teaching were wisely vetoed by Governor Smith, but they were signed by his successor, Governor Miller. Furthermore, on the recommendation of the Lusk Committee the New York legislature, by a vote of 140 to 6, refused to seat five members of the Socialist party who had been regularly elected, on the ground that a Socialist could not be a loyal citizen. When the rejected Socialists stood for reëlection and were again returned to the legislature, they were again excluded. Ex-Governor Charles E. Hughes led the protest of thousands of citizens against this high-handed injustice, declaring: "This is not, in my judgment, American government. I count it a most serious mistake to proceed not against individuals charged with the violation of law, but against masses of our citizens combined for political action [the Socialist party] by denying them the only resource of peaceful government, that is, action by the ballot box and through duly elected representatives in legislative bodies."

720. Prohibition. Though the "dry" movement was making rapid progress, especially in the states of the South, before the war [**618**], it is a question whether or when the consent of thirty-six states to an amendment to the Constitution establishing nation-wide prohibition could have been secured without the pressure of the war. The Lever Act of August 10, 1917, forbade the use of grain for the manufacture of distilled liquors during the period of the war, and, before the end of the year, both Houses of Congress had passed a resolution for a prohibition amendment to the Constitution by large majorities. In November, 1918, the Food Stimulation Act forbade the use of grains, cereals, or fruits for the manufacture of intoxicating beverages from the first of the following May until the President proclaimed the war over and demobilization finished; and forbade the sale of all intoxicating beverages after July 1, 1919. Meanwhile the Eighteenth Amendment had been ratified on January 16, 1919, to go into effect one year from that date. The purpose of the year of grace was to give the liquor interests time to dispose of their stocks. But the law forbidding the sale of intoxicants after July 1, 1919, deprived these interests during the last six months of 1919 of the privilege given them by the amendment. Therefore, in view of the fact that the country would be dry after January 16, 1920, by the amendment, President Wilson tried to get Congress to repeal the law of 1918, and when he failed in this he vetoed the Volstead Act for the enforcement of the amendment, which defined intoxicating beverages as those containing $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 per cent of alcohol. Both Houses passed the Volstead Act over Wilson's veto by majorities of more than three to one. The "wets" protested that the ratification of the amendment by the states which had provisions in their constitution for a referendum to the people was not final, but the Supreme Court in June, 1920, upheld the constitutionality of both the amendment and the Volstead Act. There is no shadow of a doubt that the Eighteenth Amendment is the law of the land, but there is a bitter controversy between the "wets" and the "drys" whether it should be. The former call it an intolerable invasion of the private rights of the citizen, maintain that it is not and cannot be enforced, point to the bootleggers who are reaping large fortunes from the sale of poisoned liquor, and declare that the widespread contempt for law is doing America infinitely more harm than all the drinking ever did. The "drys," on the other hand, maintain that the amendment is being better enforced every year and point to the decreased per capita consumption of liquor, the elimination of the saloon in politics, the swelling savings-bank accounts, and the closed jails and workhouses as proofs of the success of prohibition. Each side publishes its own set of statistics and each is more convinced of the justice of its own position by the arguments of the other side.

721. The Complex Issues of 1920. The student must realize that it was in the midst of this political, economic, and social turmoil, attendant on the return of the country to a peace basis, that the election of 1920 [**698**] was held. It could not be, as President Wilson wished, a "great and solemn referendum" on the question of America's adhesion to the League of Nations. High rents, empty coal bins, twenty-five-cent sugar, arrogant plumbers, dissatisfied doughboys, prosperous bootleggers, Bolshevist bombs, were all dancing before the people's eyes in a confused medley. The times were out of joint. The President was broken in body and mind. The cabinet had disintegrated. The old leadership of 1913–1918 was gone. Holding the administration responsible, as they have always done, for the misfortunes arising from varied and complex social conditions, the great majority of the people went to the polls in the autumn of 1920 to register their belief that a change of administration could not help bringing an improvement in their fortunes.

Harding and Coolidge

722. The New Administration. Just before his nomination for the presidency Senator Harding had expressed his political creed in a speech before the Ohio Society in New York: "Stabilize America first, prosper America first, think of America first, exalt America first!" He belonged to that large majority of our citizens who take comparatively little interest in the larger affairs of the world. He was the proprietor of a newspaper in the town of Marion, Ohio, and a true "son of the middle border." "We seek no part in directing the destinies of the Old World," he said in his inaugural address. It was the disturbed conditions in our country, the high prices and taxes, the strife between capital and labor, the distress of the farmers, the threat of unrestricted immigration, the social unrest stirred by the radical agitators, that claimed his attention. America was in a feverish state. What it needed most was the cooling application of sedatives in the form of calm and conciliatory legislation, or, as President Harding put it, "the return to normalcy." The appointment of Charles E. Hughes as Secretary of State and of Herbert C. Hoover as Secretary of Commerce met with general approval. Andrew W. Mellon of Pennsylvania, the new Secretary of the Treasury, was less well known in 1921, but has proved to be one of the very ablest administrators of the office, which he has now (1929) held during a longer period than any other Secretary of the Treasury in our history, except Albert Gallatin and William H. Crawford. Although Albert B. Fall of New Mexico (Secretary of the Interior) and Edwin Denby of Michigan (Secretary of the Navy) came under a cloud of suspicion later for their alleged mismanagement of the government's oil reserves in Wyoming and in California, the only cabinet appointment to arouse unfavorable criticism in the spring of 1921 was that of Harry M. Daugherty (Attorney-General), an Ohio lawyer who, the critics said, was rewarded for political services in his state by an office far beyond his abilities.[1] Vice President Coolidge was invited to attend the cabinet meetings.

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WARREN G. HARDING

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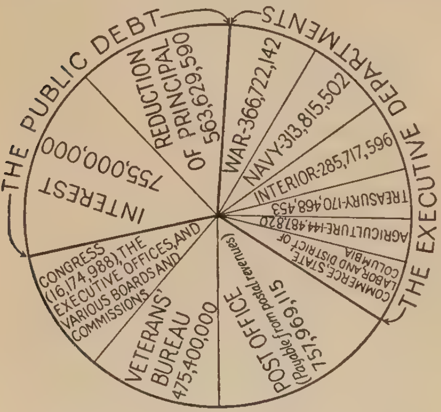
[1] The other members of the cabinet were John W. Weeks of Massachusetts, Secretary of War; Will H. Hays of Indiana, Postmaster-General; Henry C. Wallace of Iowa, Secretary of Agriculture; and James J. Davis of Indiana, Secretary of Labor. Postmaster-General Hays resigned in the spring of 1922 to become president of the National Association of Motion Picture Producers and his place was taken by Dr. Hubert Work of Colorado. In 1923 Secretary Fall resigned and Dr. Work became Secretary of the Interior, while his place as Postmaster-General was taken by Senator H. S. New of Indiana. In March, 1924, Attorney-General Daugherty and Secretary Denby both resigned under pressure. Dean Harlan F.

723. Tariff and Taxes. In spite of his overwhelming victory at the polls, his ample majorities in Congress, and his disposition to coöperate with Congress, President Harding found the road of return to "normalcy" a long and difficult one. He summoned the 67th Congress in extra session on April 11, 1921, to begin the work of financial reconstruction. A budget system was established for the careful sifting of the demands of the various government departments for appropriations of money, and Brigadier General Charles G. Dawes, a banker of Chicago, who had been Comptroller of the Currency under McKinley, and the American agent for the purchase of supplies for the armies in France during the war, was made the first Director of the Budget. To protect the farmer against the competition of Canadian products, an emergency tariff was passed in May, 1921, putting high duties on wheat, corn, meat, and wool. This was followed in September, 1922, by the Fordney-McCumber tariff, which more than restored the high rates of the Payne-Aldrich Act. The new tariff was bitterly denounced by the Democrats, who claimed that it would add billions of dollars to the cost of living, when prices were already 60 per cent higher than they had been before the war, and that the erection of this "economic barrier" (contrary to President Wilson's advice in the Fourteen Points) would impair our good relations with the European nations, whose only way of paying the large debts they owed us was by sending us their goods. But predictions of the effect of tariff legislation in our history have generally turned out to be wrong. Prices have actually declined and trade with foreign nations has steadily increased since the passage of

Stone of Columbia Law School was appointed Attorney-General, soon to be transferred to the Supreme Court, and succeeded in the Attorney-Generalship by John G. Sargent of Vermont. Judge C. D. Wilbur of California, an Annapolis graduate, was made Secretary of the Navy. Mr. Hughes retired from the State Department in March, 1925, to be succeeded by William B. Kellogg of Minnesota, our ambassador to London; and at the same time a new Secretary of Agriculture in the person of William M. Jardine of Kansas, president of the State Agricultural College, came into the cabinet. Secretary of War Weeks retired in October, 1925, and was succeeded by the Assistant Secretary, Dwight F. Davis. Secretaries Mellon and J. J. Davis retained their original portfolios to the end of the administration.

the Fordney-McCumber tariff; while the Treasury receipts from duties have grown from $356,000,000 in 1922 to over $600,000,000 in 1928. A beginning was made in the reduction of the war taxes by the repeal of the excess-profits tax and the transportation tax, but there was a wide divergence of opinion among the congressmen and the people at large as to the way the income tax should be reduced. Secretary Mellon favored the lowering of the high surtaxes on very large incomes (65 per cent on incomes over $1,000,000) to not more than 25 per cent, in order to induce wealthy men to put their capital into productive business instead of investing it in tax-exempt bonds. He pointed out that the Treasury had received nearly $250,000,000 from taxes on incomes over $300,000 in 1919 and only $85,000,000 from the same source in 1921. The agricultural sections of the country and the small income-tax payers insisted that wealth and big business should continue to pay the heavy surtaxes. The bill which resulted from long months of discussion was a compromise measure signed by President Coolidge on June 2, 1924. It reduced the normal income-tax rates to 2 per cent on the first $4000, to 4 per cent on the next $4000, and to 6 per cent on more than $8000, but it left surtaxes running as high as 40 per cent. Unexpected and unexampled prosperity in the years 1924–1926 created surpluses in the Treasury outrunning the government's estimates by hundreds of millions of dollars; but still there was no sign of agreement as to the method of tax reduction. The Democrats were for an immediate lowering of the income-tax rate and called the Republican proposals for reducing the sur-



ESTIMATED EXPENDITURES OF THE GOVERNMENT FOR 1928 plus by rebates on taxes already paid or by the application of it to the payment of the national debt only a clever scheme for postponing the tax-reduction bill until the eve of the presidential election of 1928, when it might be counted on to win votes for the Republican candidate.

724. The Soldiers' Bonus. The question of tax reduction was complicated by the demand of the ex-service men for a bonus. The government had sought to avoid a repetition of the pension abuses which followed the Civil War by its system of allotments and insurance [**711**] for the soldiers in the World War. Generous provision was made for the disabled, but the men who returned to civil life uninjured received nothing but the $60 bonus paid them on discharge. The doughboy compared his war pay of $30 a month (from which $15 might have been deducted for the wife at home and another $6.60 for the premium on his $10,000 insurance policy) with the $200 which his neighbor had been earning meantime in a factory or shipyard. Uncle Sam was rich. He could afford to make up some of this difference to the boys who had risked their lives, or been ready to risk their lives, on the battlefields of France. Such legislation was urged by the American Legion, an association of ex-service men incorporated by act of Congress in the autumn of 1919 and pledged "to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States, to maintain law and order, to foster 100 per cent Americanism, and to preserve the memories and incidents of the Great War." As early as May, 1920, the House passed a Soldiers' Bonus Bill by the decisive vote of 298 to 92, but the Senate did not reach a vote on the measure during the session. In March, 1922, the House again passed a bonus bill by a still larger majority (377 to 70) amid cheers from the crowded galleries, where a delegation of ex-service men were massed, and this time the Senate concurred after a long debate. But President Harding vetoed the bill (September 19), declaring that a measure which would cost the government $3,000,000,000 ought to carry with it the provision for raising the needed revenue. The House immediately passed the bill over Harding's veto, but the vote in the Senate (44 to 28) fell four short of the necessary two-thirds majority. Again, in the spring of 1924, Congress passed a bonus bill, this time in the form of paid-up twenty-year insurance policies up to the amount of $2000 for men who served overseas and $1500 for men who remained in the service at home. President Coolidge vetoed the bill, but it was passed over his veto by both branches of Congress (May 17 and 19, 1924). The estimated cost of the bonus to the government was about $100,000,000 a year.

725. The Farmers' Plight. Probably the most serious of all the domestic problems since the war has been the distress of our agricultural population. During the war the government's guaranty of $2.20 a bushel for wheat and its assurance that overproduction would be impossible, since there would be "a hungry Europe to feed after the war," had encouraged the farmers to buy new lands at high prices and to extend their crop acreage rapidly. With the return of peace and the end of the government guaranty, the prices of farm products dropped suddenly. If Europe was hungry, she was also impoverished; and our tariff discouraged her from purchasing in the American market, while it enabled the manufacturer to maintain prices for shoes, clothing, and farm machinery much higher than the prewar levels. The farmer was obliged to sell in an unprotected market and buy in a protected market. He had a large crop surplus which he had to dispose of at such prices as he could get. His wheat declined from $2.14 a bushel in 1920 to 93 cents in 1922; his corn from $1.25 to 86 cents; his hogs from $14 a hundredweight to $7.80. The purchasing price of his dollar had shrunk from $1.29 to 70 cents. The actual cost of raising a bushel of grain or oats in 1922 was larger than the sale price. The farmer turned to the government for relief (as he had done in the 1880's), and he has been seeking relief ever since. A "farm bloc," consisting of about one hundred representatives and senators of both parties from the agricultural states, appeared in Congress in 1921, and, in the mid-term election of the next year, which cut the Republican majority from 168 to 14 in the House, they secured something like a balance of power in Congress. Through their efforts a number of measures were passed for farm relief, — acts to prevent speculating in the future grain supply, to protect the dairymen against adulterated milk, to legalize coöperative agricultural societies, and to secure the farmer fair treatment at the hands of the agents of the stockyards and the packing houses. During the year 1922 the government, through the revived War Finance Corporation, appropriated $433,000,000 to help finance the export of agricultural products, and in March, 1923, the Agricultural Credits Act extended the credit of the Federal Land Bank to farmers who wished to borrow on the security of their live stock and of their crops on the way to market. Still, the farmers were by no means satisfied by these measures. The peak of their demands was reached in the McNary-Haugen bill for the creation of a National Agricultural Export Commission, with a capital of $200,000,000, authorized to buy up surplus farm products and sell them abroad for what they would bring, while the tariff on them was to be raised high enough to prevent their reimportation into the United States.[1] Whether the government should, and how much it could, help the farmers' situation by further legislation are questions on which experts disagree. But the serious truth remains that unless the agricultural class of the nation is sound, prosperous, and contented, all our great industrial and commercial wealth is threatened. For the farm is still the basis of the nation's prosperity.

726. The Immigration Laws. Because America has made it her boast to be the land of refuge for the oppressed and of opportunity for the ambitious, we have welcomed the immigrants from the Old World almost without restrictions until very recent days. Moreover, we have needed the labor of their hands on the farms, cattle ranches, and timber ranges, in the mines, mills, and factories. During the decade preceding the World War over 10,000,000 immigrants came to America. We have noted in an earlier chapter [**523**] the change in the type of immigrants since about the year 1890, when Italians, Hungarians, Poles, and Russians began to predominate over the more assimilable stocks from Great Britain, Germany, and Scandinavia. In the year 1914, for example, 800,000 of our 1,200,000 immigrants came from Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Russia. There had been a good deal of concern as to the Americanization of these rapidly arriving foreigners with little or no understanding of our language, institutions, and ideals; and Congress had attempted to restrict immigration by laws imposing literacy tests, which Presidents Taft and Wilson had vetoed (the latter unsuccessfully in 1917). The war, however, revealed some alarming facts in regard to our foreign population. Increasing numbers of our immigrants were neglecting to become naturalized American citizens and were retaining their real allegiance to the lands from which they had come. Radical labor agitators were suspected of "taking their orders from Moscow." Over one thousand newspapers in the United States were printed in foreign languages and over 10 per cent of the people of the country over ten years of age were unable to speak English. After the war there was danger that we should be inundated by a new flood of immigrants from the distressed countries of Europe. "The world is preparing to move to America," said the Commissioner of Immigration. Therefore, a law was passed in the spring of 1921 limiting the number of immigrants that any country could send to the United States to 3 per cent of its nationals here according to the census of 1910. Three years later (May 26, 1924), the Johnson-Lodge Immigration Bill was signed by President Coolidge, reducing the quota of immigrants to 2 per cent of the number here from each country according to the census of 1890, and providing that after July 1, 1927, only 150,000 immigrants a year should be admitted, apportioned among the several countries in the ratio of their representation here according to the census of 1920.[1]

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[1] The McNary-Haugen bill, first introduced into Congress in 1924, was passed in February, 1927, but was vetoed by President Coolidge a few days before the expiration of the 69th Congress.

727. Industrial and Social Conflict. No such epidemic of strikes as marked the year 1919 occurred in the Harding term.

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[1] The substitution of the census of 1890 for that of 1910 in the Johnson-Lodge Act was for the purpose of increasing the proportion of immigration from the more desirable stocks of northern and western Europe. How it did this may be seen from the table on the following page.

Yet there were most serious conflicts in the mining and transportation industries. An attempt to unionize all the labor in the West Virginia coal fields in 1921 led to such a scene of rioting that the governor of the state was obliged to put Mingo County under martial law and President Harding sent federal troops to restore order. The next spring 600,000 miners in both the bituminous and the anthracite fields went out on strike. A reign of terror was inaugurated in Herrin, Illinois, where strikers attacked and murdered the strike breakers. The President, after a vain attempt to get the United Mine Workers to submit their grievances to arbitration, telegraphed the governors of twenty-eight coal-producing states (July 18, 1922), offering them federal protection in taking over and operating the mines. In the midst of the coal strike 300,000 railroad shopmen, dissatisfied with the award of the Railway Labor Board under the Esch-Cummins Act [**717**], laid down their tools. The resulting deterioration in railroad equipment not only demoralized the schedules but made travel behind the defective locomotives positively dangerous. The war being over, President Harding could not rely, as President Wilson had done, on the Lever Act to control fuel or the extraordinary power of the Director General of the railroads to regulate transportation. When powers of persuasion failed, he had to fall back upon the always unpopular use of the injunction or of federal troops, which tended

Country	Quota under Act of 1921	Quota under Act of 1924
The British Isles	77,342	62,574
Germany	68,059	51,227
Sweden	20,042	9,561
Russia	34,284	2,248
Poland	25,827	5,982
Italy	42,057	3,485

The first group of three countries had sent us 135,000 immigrants in the year 1913 and the second group 556,000. A clause of the Johnson-Lodge Act barring aliens who were ineligible for citizenship drew a spirited protest from the Japanese ambassador Mr. Hanihara, as abrogating the "Gentleman's Agreement" of 1907 [**605**].

rather to embitter than to heal the strife. Besides the industrial conflict there was a deplorable spirit of social persecution abroad in the land. It seemed as though the suspicion and intolerance aroused by the war increased rather than diminished when the war was over. Military and industrial demobilization proceeded steadily, but moral demobilization lagged. The hates and fears and prejudices which had been engendered during the war continued unabated. These feelings were reflected in various movements of a more or less fanatical nature which spread through the country with astonishing rapidity, — movements tending toward repression of individual thought and expression, and toward persecution of fellow citizens whose views or whose social status did not meet with the approval of some section of public opinion. All these acts and events threatened to reduce our cherished freedom of thought — one of the corner stones on which our democratic republic was founded — to freedom to think only what the emotional mass mind approved.

728. The Washington Conference. While rejecting membership in the League of Nations, President Harding had declared in his inaugural address that the United States was ready to "associate with the nations of the world, great and small, for conference and counsel, for the suggestion of plans of mediation, conciliation, and arbitration." He responded promptly to a unanimous resolution of the Senate, proposed by Senator Borah as an amendment to the Naval Appropriation Act of May, 1921, inviting him to call a conference of the great naval powers to discuss the question of putting an end to competition in naval armaments. The President did not limit his invitation to Great Britain and Japan, our chief rivals in naval strength, but included France and Italy as important naval powers, and China, Holland, Belgium, and Portugal as nations with large interests in the Far East. Delegates from eight European and Asiatic powers, therefore, assembled at Washington for the opening of the conference on November 12, 1921. Secretary of State Hughes, the chairman of the conference, won instant applause when he proposed a "naval holiday" of ten years in the construction of battleships. He offered on the part of the United States to scrap thirty ships (fifteen in process of construction), totaling 845,700 tons. He asked Great Britain to scrap nineteen ships of 583,375 tons, and Japan seventeen ships of 448,928 tons — a total reduction of about 2,000,000 tons of the world's navies. He proposed a naval ratio of 5 : 5 : 3 for the three powers (525,856 tons for the United States, 582,050 for Great Britain, and 313,300 for Japan). France and Italy agreed to an allotment of 175,000 tons each of capital ships.[1] The United States thus gave up the building program of 1916 [**669**], which would have made us the strongest naval power in the world by 1924; and Great Britain abandoned her traditional policy of maintaining a navy equal to the combined fleets of her two strongest possible rivals.

729. The Treaties. Besides the five-power treaty for the limitation of naval armaments, the conference framed other treaties, prohibiting the use of the submarine as a commerce destroyer, condemning asphyxiating gas in warfare, providing for Japan's return of the province of Shantung to China, guaranteeing the integrity of China and the continuance of the "open-door" policy, regulating Chinese customs and the use of the cables in the Pacific. A four-power treaty between the United States, Great Britain, France, and Japan bound the signers to respect one another's insular possessions in the Pacific Ocean and to submit to the decision of a joint conference any disputes arising out of these possessions. An important clause of this treaty abrogated the alliance between Great Britain and Japan which had existed since 1902. The conference adjourned on February 6, 1922, and four days later President Harding submitted the sheaf of treaties to the Senate, asking for a speedy ratification in order to prove that our professed desire to promote world peace was not "a hollow mockery." All the treaties were ratified. The Washington Conference has been criticized as futile because it failed to deal with land armaments or to put an end to naval competition in submarines, cruisers, destroyers, and aircraft. The critics point to the fact that we spent 174 per cent more on our navy in the year following the Washington Conference than we had spent in 1914 and claim that we have fallen far behind Great Britain in real naval strength by scrapping uncompleted modern battleships while Great Britain scrapped old vessels. For all it may have failed to do, however, the Washington Conference marked a step forward in international good will, and its treaties for "the pacification of the Pacific" were a notable contribution to world peace.

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[1] The limitations proposed applied only to "capital ships" which were defined as warships of over 10,000 tons or carrying guns of a caliber exceeding 8 inches. There was no restriction placed on the construction of battle cruisers of 10,000 tons or under, and the competition in this type of naval construction has been keen in the last few years. Prominent naval officials say that the United States, by their respect for the spirit as well as the letter of the Washington treaty, are falling far behind Great Britain and Japan in naval strength. In December, 1926, President Coolidge expressed his assent to a proposal for the authorization of ten new cruisers, to cost $140,000,000 — without, however, approving the appropriation of the money as yet. Early in 1927 President Coolidge made the proposal, to which Great Britain and Japan have signified their assent, for a further conference for the limitation of naval construction.

730. European Debts. A question which has occupied the attention of the United States and Europe ever since the war is whether and how we should collect the debts owed us by the Allied nations, which on July 1, 1926, totaled, with principal and interest, nearly $12,000,000,000, about 75 per cent of which was owed by Great Britain and France. Many have argued that, in view of our late entrance into the war and the large sums we made out of the war during the period of our neutrality, we should wipe these debts off the books. The position of our government, however, has been to insist on payment, while making the terms as easy as our debtors could ask. Early in 1922 Congress passed a law for the funding of these debts, and President Harding appointed a commission, headed by Secretary Mellon, to arrange the terms. In January, 1923, Stanley Baldwin, the chancellor of the exchequer, and Montagu Norman, governor of the Bank of England, came to Washington and negotiated an agreement by which England was to pay her debt of $4,600,000,000 in installments spread over a period of sixty-two years, with interest at 3 per cent for the first ten years and 3½ per cent thereafter. Our other chief debtors — France, Italy, and Belgium — made it clear that payments to us depended upon reparation payments to them by Germany. Germany's bill of damages had been set at 200,000,000,000 gold marks by the Treaty of Versailles, but it was impossible for her to pay any such amount in her exhausted condition. The matter was in the hands of a Reparation Commission of the Allies, who made no headway until France (which made the attempt to collect directly from Germany by a military occupation of the Ruhr region in January, 1923) agreed to the proposal of Secretary Hughes that an international committee of economic experts should carefully investigate Germany's capacity to pay and recommend a plan of payment. General Dawes, Owen D. Young (a New York lawyer), and H. M. Robinson (a Californian banker) were the American representatives on the commission, which evolved the "Dawes Plan" in the spring of 1924. This plan, accepted by the Reparation Commission and by Germany, provided for the payment over a long term of years of such sums as the German revenues from the railroads and other industries would allow; for a loan to Germany of $200,000,000 (more than half of which was taken by the United States) to help her get on her feet; and for the supervision of her revenues and payments by an Agent General of Reparation Payments — a post occupied by the American, Seymour Parker Gilbert. Since the reparation muddle was cleared up by the Dawes Plan, and its modification in the Young Plan a few years later, we have made debt settlements with all the Allied European powers except Soviet Russia, with whom we have steadily refused to have any diplomatic relations. The method of repayment is generally by annual installments spread over a period of sixty-two years, with interest rising from 1 to 3½ per cent. The settlement with France was the most difficult. Although Secretary Mellon and the French Ambassador, Henri Berenger, came to an agreement in July, 1926, calling for the repayment of something less than half the face value of our loan of over $4,000,000,000 to France during the war and after the armistice, it was not till July, 1929, that the French Chamber accepted the terms by the close vote of 300 to 292. Our Congress ratified the settlement in December, 1929.

731. The World Court. Our Senate rejected the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 because it contained the Covenant of the

League of Nations. Our people in the presidential election of the next year gave an overwhelming majority to the anti-League candidate, Senator Harding. Our new Secretary of State, Charles E. Hughes, refused for months to take any notice of communications from the Secretariat of the League at Geneva. Our ambassador to England, Colonel George Harvey, declared in a speech in the spring of 1921 that the idea of our entering the League was "absurd," and that our government would "not have anything to do with the League, or with any commission or committee appointed by it or responsible to it, either directly or indirectly, openly or furtively." For all that, we have been growing closer to the League every year and coöperating with it both "furtively" and "openly." Official American "observers" have attended many conferences and committee meetings of the League, dealing chiefly with nonpolitical matters such as health, labor conditions, freedom of transit and communication, the opium trade; and American citizens in their private capacity have accepted positions of responsibility to which they have been appointed by the League. A notable instance of the embarrassment which our aloofness causes us is the question of our entrance into the World Court. The fourteenth article of the Covenant provided for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice. The distinguished American lawyer Elihu Root served on the committee to draw up the constitution of the Court in 1920, and the distinguished American authority on international law, Professor John Bassett Moore of Columbia University, was elected by the League as one of the eleven judges of the Court sitting at The Hague. President Harding, in February, 1923, advised the Senate to sanction our entrance into the World Court, and President Coolidge on several occasions repeated the recommendation. At last the Senate, in spite of the opposition of Mr. Borah and the other "irreconcilables," who would have nothing to do with an organization created by the League, voted, in January, 1926, to join the Court on certain conditions. Delegates from the forty-four member states of the League which are in the World Court met at Geneva on September 1, 1926, to consider the conditions proposed by our Senate, and showed the utmost desire to welcome the United States to membership, if the Senate would accept such an interpretation of its reservations as would make it clear that we were not asking for privileges (like the veto power) which were not shared by the other members of the Court. Since the Senate refused to modify its terms, and President Coolidge declined to bring further pressure to bear upon it to do so, we still (1929) remain outside the World Court.

732. The Election of 1924. If in the last few paragraphs the names of Presidents Harding and Coolidge have frequently appeared together, it is because there was no sharp change in the policy of the administration when Vice President Coolidge was suddenly called upon to assume the presidency. On August 2, 1923, the country was shocked by the report received in the evening that the President, on his return from a trip to Alaska, where he had been taken ill with ptomaine poisoning, had died in the Palace Hotel at San Francisco. The news was flashed across the continent to Vice President Coolidge at his boyhood home in the little village of Plymouth, Vermont, where by the light of a kerosene parlor lamp the oath of office as president of the United States was administered to him by his aged father, a justice of the peace. The new President entered upon his duties without display of any sort, showing himself extremely simple in taste, laconic in speech, and thoroughly absorbed in his work — a typical, hard-headed, deliberate, thrifty Yankee. He requested all the members of the Harding cabinet to retain their portfolios and announced his intention of continuing the policy of his predecessor. Although

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CALVIN COOLIDGE

he had sat with the members of Harding's cabinet, the country at large did not hold him responsible for certain scandals that had occurred under the Harding régime, such as the corruption in the management of the Veterans' Bureau and the nation's oil reserves.[1] In the presidential year of 1924 much capital was made out of the delinquencies of the Republican officials by the Democrats and the farmer and labor groups, but President Coolidge was easily nominated at the Republican convention at Cleveland (June 10) on the first ballot, with 1065 votes to 34 for Senator La Follette of Wisconsin and 10 for Senator Johnson of California. General Charles G. Dawes [**723**, **730**] was named for vice president. The Democrats met at Madison Square Garden, New York, on June 24, where the partisans of ex-Secretary William G. McAdoo and Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York battled for a fortnight in sweltering heat. At last the wearied convention turned on the 103d ballot to John W. Davis, an able lawyer of West Virginia and successor of Walter H. Page as our ambassador to England. Governor Charles W. Bryan of Nebraska, brother of William J. Bryan, was nominated for the vice presidency to satisfy the more radical elements of the party. On the adjournment of the Republican convention, Senator La Follette repudiated Coolidge, who, he said, had "literally turned his back upon the farmer," and organized an independent-progressive party, which was launched at Cleveland on July 4, with La Follette and Burton K. Wheeler, Democratic senator from Montana, as the candidates. The Socialist party, which had cast 919,799 votes for Debs in 1920, indorsed the La Follette ticket, as did the Farmer-Labor party and the

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[1] After his retirement from the cabinet, Secretary Fall of the Interior was indicted for leasing to the Sinclair and Doheny interests valuable naval oil reserve lands at Teapot Dome, Wyoming, and Elk Hill, California, which he had had transferred to his jurisdiction from the Navy Department. When it was discovered that Secretary Fall had accepted opportune loans of money from Doheny and Sinclair, the popular suspicion of his guilt became strong. He and Doheny were tried at Washington on charges of conspiracy and bribery in December, 1926, and acquitted on technical grounds, though the country at large was by no means convinced of the innocence of the defendants.

American Federation of Labor. La Follette stood for the public ownership of the railroads, the safeguarding of the government's oil reserves, generous measures of relief for the farmer, and a constitutional amendment permitting Congress to override a decision of the Supreme Court declaring a law unconstitutional [**542**]. It was predicted that he would carry enough of the Western states to deprive Coolidge of a majority in the electoral college and throw the choice into the House of Representatives. But Coolidge swept the country on election day, carrying every state north of Mason and Dixon's line except Wisconsin, and securing 382 electoral votes to 136 for Davis (in twelve Southern states) and 13 for La Follette (in Wisconsin). The popular vote was 15,729,060 for Coolidge, 8,391,431 for Davis, and 4,820,758 for La Follette. The Republicans won a majority of about sixty in the House and fifteen in the Senate. A novel feature of the election was the choice of 123 women for seats in state legislatures and the election of two women governors, Mrs. Miriam A. Ferguson of Texas and Mrs. Nellie T. Ross of Wyoming.

733. The Coolidge Policies. In his inaugural address, which was heard by millions of his fellow countrymen over the radio, President Coolidge declared that the election showed unmistakably that the American people did not approve such radical measures as the government ownership of railroads and electrical utilities or the modification of the authority of the Supreme Court. He commended the tariff and immigration laws, advocated tax reduction and economy, emphasized obedience to the law as "the first rule of citizenship," and favored our coöperation with the nations of the world in the promotion of peace and prosperity, without, however, sacrificing "our position of detachment and independence." In addresses to the New York Chamber of Commerce (November 19, 1925) and the Chicago convention of the American Farm Bureau (December 7), he reiterated his opposition to "needless government regulation of business" in general, and in regard to agriculture declared against the government's "directly or indirectly fixing prices or buying or selling farm products." By the encouragement of agricultural education, the extension of credit facilities, the construction of good roads, and financial aid to marketing associations, the government should help the farmers to help themselves, but should not itself go into the marketing business as the advocates of the McNary-Haugen bill demanded [**725**]. When a strike broke out in the anthracite coal region of Pennsylvania, which lasted over five months during the autumn and winter of 1925–1926 and entailed a loss of $150,000,000 in wages and a reduction of 35,000,000 tons of coal, President Coolidge refused to intervene as President Roosevelt had done in 1902 [**584**] and President Harding in 1922 [**727**], though the Senate adopted a resolution asking him to call a conference between the operators and the miners. He was in favor of leasing to private operators the great government war plant established at Muscle Shoals on the Tennessee River for the manufacture of nitrates and fertilizers. He wanted the government to sell the merchant marine which had been taken over from Germany or constructed at home during the World War [**713**].[1]

734. The President and Congress. President Coolidge met determined resistance in Congress both in his domestic and in his foreign policies. Those members of the Senate and the House who had supported La Follette in the campaign of 1924 were punished by being deprived of their influential positions on committees, and they retaliated by antagonizing the administration. The Senate refused to ratify a number of President Coolidge's appointments, including the nomination of

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[1] In June, 1923, five of these freight and passenger ships of the "President" class had been purchased by the Dollar Line. In May, 1928, the Jones-White Act reluctantly continued the policy of maintaining the merchant marine through federal aid by the appropriation of a $250,000,000 loan fund for the construction of new vessels. The most attractive bid for the United States ships came on January 16, 1929, in response to the invitation of the Shipping Board, when the P. W. Chapman Company of New York offered $6,782,000 for the *Leviathan*, $2,000,000 each for the *George Washington* and the *America*, $1,000,000 each for the *Republic*, the *President Harding*, and the *President Roosevelt*, and $460,000 each for the five vessels of the American Merchant Line — a total of $16,082,000 for eleven ships. The Chapman Company also agreed to build two new vessels "superior in type and speed to the *Leviathan*."

Charles B. Warren [**657**] as Attorney-General — the first rejection of a cabinet nomination since the days of President Grant (1868). In both Houses the administration's plans for tax revision and prohibition enforcement, the funding of the European debts, railroad consolidation, the naval program, and intervention in Nicaragua encountered bitter hostility. The mid-term elections of 1926 saw the Republican majority of 16 wiped out in the Senate, with the return of 48 Republicans, 47 Democrats, and 1 Farmer-Laborite, and reduced from 60 to 36 in the House. President Coolidge's personal friend, Senator Butler of Massachusetts, chairman of the Republican National Committee, was defeated by his Democratic opponent, David I. Walsh, in spite of the fact that the President had published a letter urging the voters of Massachusetts to elect Butler. In the face of disappointments and rebuffs, however, the President pursued the even tenor of his way. He neither scolded Congress nor whined to the people. He abstained equally from the biting sarcasm of Cleveland, the spectacular self-justification of Roosevelt, and the thinly veiled contempt of Wilson. With characteristic silence and undeviating regularity he worked through the scheduled hours of each day, and won increasing popularity with a people that respects above all else the example of "work done squarely and unwasted days."

735. National Finances. The years 1925–1928 were a period of unprecedented prosperity in the United States. In spite of substantial reductions in federal taxes and continuous payments on the national debt (which stood at $17,604,290,563 on June 30, 1928, as against about $26,000,000,000 at the close of the World War), the Treasury showed a large surplus at the end of each fiscal year. The cut in the income-tax rates in 1924 [**723**] did not result in a decrease of revenue from that source, and at the end of the next fiscal year there was a surplus of over $370,000,000, inviting further tax reduction. The new bill signed by Coolidge in February, 1926, besides abolishing certain "nuisance" taxes, lowered the normal rates on incomes from 2 per cent to 1½ per cent on the first $4000, from 4 per cent to 3 per cent on the next $4000, and from 6 per cent to

5 per cent on the excess of $8000. It also raised the exemption from $1000 to $1500 for a single person and from $2500 to $3500 for a married couple. Further reduction of taxes became improbable as President Coolidge's term drew to a close, because of extraordinary expenses anticipated for the construction of the Boulder Canyon dam on the Colorado River ($165,000,000), the building of fifteen cruisers and an airplane carrier for the navy ($274,000,000), and federal engineering works for the prevention of floods in the Mississippi Valley ($325,000,000), the lower states of which suffered an appalling loss of life and property by an inundation in the spring of 1927.

736. The Problem of Farm Relief. The one conspicuous exception to the general prosperity of the country during the Coolidge administration was the condition of the farmers. They had grown poorer while the rest of the country was growing richer. In the five-year period 1922–1927 it was estimated that over 1,000,000 people had left the farms for the cities and that the value of farm capital had decreased from $79,000,000,000 to $59,000,000,000. The return to the farmer on this capital was less than 3 per cent, while the railroads were guaranteed an income of 6 per cent by the Transportation Act of 1920 [**717**], the manufacturer was protected by the tariff, and the laborer by the immigration laws [**726**]. The net income of the farmer was rated at less than $800 a year, against $1300 for the school teacher, $1650 for the government employee, and $1675 for the preacher — all poorly paid professions. The farmers constitute 22 per cent of the working population of the country; they receive less than 10 per cent of the income. While the American people paid $22,500,000,000 for 17 food products in 1928, the farmers received but one third ($7,500,000,000) of this sum, the other two thirds going to the middlemen. Furthermore, the steady rise of state and local taxes since the World War has imposed an increasing burden upon the farmer, while the prices which he has to pay for farm implements and machinery are kept high by the tariff. His mortgage indebtedness has grown from $1,762,000,000 in 1914 to over $4,500,000,000 in 1929. Finally, as the demand for food is strictly limited by the population, while the demand for manufactured articles of all sorts from shoe-lacings to automobiles can be indefinitely stimulated by the appeal to comfort and luxury, the farmer has little of the opportunity of the manufacturer to increase his market by high-pressure salesmanship and alluring advertisement. We have already seen how the "farm bloc" in Congress attempted from the beginning of the Harding administration to get legislation passed which would give the farmers some favors equivalent to those which the protective tariff gave to the manufacturers, and how President Coolidge vetoed the McNary-Haugen bill in February, 1927 [**725**]. In his message to Congress the following December the President declared that "any sound and workable proposal to help the farmer" would have "the earnest support of the government." The 70th Congress passed a second McNary-Haugen bill in the spring of 1928, by votes of 53 to 23 in the Senate (April 13) and 204 to 121 in the House (May 3). But as the new bill would still "put the government into the farming business" by requiring it to purchase the farmers' surplus of grain, cotton, live stock, and tobacco, and sell it abroad for what it would bring in the world market, recouping itself by the so-called "equalization fee,"[1] President

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[1] The purpose of this was to give the farmer the benefit of the tariff, which he could not enjoy as long as he had to sell his crop at the price which the surplus part of it would bring in the world market. To illustrate: There is now a duty of 42 cents a bushel on wheat imported into this country, but it does the farmer no good because we *export* wheat. Suppose the wheat crop of America to be 750,000,000 bushels in 1929, of which the American people consume 650,000,000 bushels. The remaining 100,000,000 bushels have to be sold abroad. If the price of wheat in the world market is $1.50 a bushel, obviously the farmer can get only $1.50 a bushel for his whole crop — for a producer must sell all his crop for the highest price which he can get for any of it. Therefore the farmers would receive $1,125,000,000 for their 750,000,000 bushels. Now if the farmers could sell their whole crop *within* the country, they would have the advantage of the 42 cents tariff, and could charge at least $1.90 a bushel. This would give them $1,425,000,000 for the crop. But the government, having bought the farmers' 100,000,000 surplus bushels at $1.90 a bushel and being obliged to sell them abroad at $1.50, would lose $40,000,000. The "equalization fee" proposed to assess this loss on the producers of the wheat, which would mean a tax of 5⅓ cents a bushel on the crop of 750,000,000 bushels. This would reduce the net sale price to the farmers from $1.90 to $1.84⅔ a bushel, or

Coolidge again vetoed the bill (May 23, 1928). These vetoes of the farm relief measures aroused a good deal of resentment in the West and led to prophecies that the great agricultural states of the Mississippi Valley and the Northwest would refuse to support for the Republican nomination for the presidency any candidate but a "friend of the farmer," like ex-Governor Lowden of Illinois or Senator Norris of Nebraska.

737. Relations with Mexico and Nicaragua. Friction with Mexico over her legislation to put into effect the articles of the Constitution of 1917 regulating alien exploitation of agricultural and mineral lands [**657**] was constant during the first two years of the Coolidge administration. Secretary of State Kellogg offended President Calles by accusing Mexico of being "on trial before the world" as a violator of international law; and President Coolidge ignored the Robinson resolution, adopted by a unanimous vote of the Senate (January 25, 1927), calling for the arbitration of our dispute with Mexico. There was nothing to arbitrate, said the President, since Mexico's action was a clear case of "confiscating property legally owned by American citizens." However, a few months later President Coolidge sent Dwight W. Morrow, a partner in the firm of J. P. Morgan, as ambassador to Mexico. Morrow and President Calles quickly came to an agreement over American rights, and the renewed friendship between the two countries was greatly strengthened when Colonel Charles Lindbergh, after a non-stop flight of 2200 miles from Washington, landed at Mexico City (December 14, 1927) as an "American ambassador of good will."[1] However vexing our controversy with Mexico was to the Americans who had mining, oil, or ranching in-

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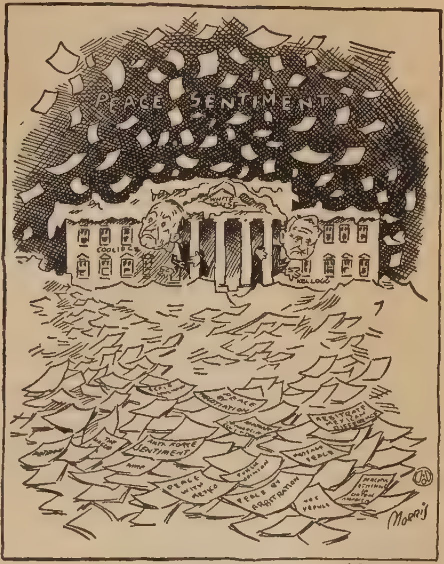
$1,385,000,000 for the total crop. Comparing this price with the $1,125,000,000 which we have seen the farmers would receive without the tariff protection, it appears that the farmers would be better off by $260,000,000.

[1] Colonel Lindbergh continued his tour of good will, flying over each of the republics of Central America, Colombia, Venezuela, and the West Indies, returning in a non-stop flight from Havana to St. Louis on February 14, 1928. He flew 10,000 miles over mountain, sea, and jungle, through fog, rain, and sunshine, without an accident, and was the object of the wildest demonstrations of enthusiasm in all of the sixteen countries that he visited.

terests there, the American public as a whole was much more concerned over the administration's policy in Nicaragua. Hardly had our marines been withdrawn from Nicaragua in 1925 [658] when a new revolution broke out. The regularly elected Liberal president and vice president were driven from office and a Conservative, Adolfo Díaz, was elected to the presidency by a packed Congress. When the exiled vice president, Sacasa, returned to Nicaragua late in 1926 to fight the Díaz régime, our administration supported Díaz, providing him with arms and munitions, and landing American marines (eventually more than 5000) to establish neutral zones for the protection of American lives and property. Sacasa's forces gained ground, in spite of our support of Díaz, until, in April, 1927, they were within thirty miles of the capital. Thereupon President Coolidge dispatched Colonel H. L. Stimson to Nicaragua with an ultimatum to both parties to lay down their arms, on pain of our starting military operations against them. Sacasa and Díaz complied, but the Liberal rebel leader Sandino continued a guerrilla warfare against the United States marines for several months, during which more than twenty of our men were killed and fifty wounded. Protests against the administration's policy in Nicaragua were constant. Petitions came from the American Federation of Labor, peace societies, and various committees of clergymen, educators, and publicists. Senators Borah, Heflin, Reed, and Wheeler



Adams Service

THE BIG SNOWSTORM

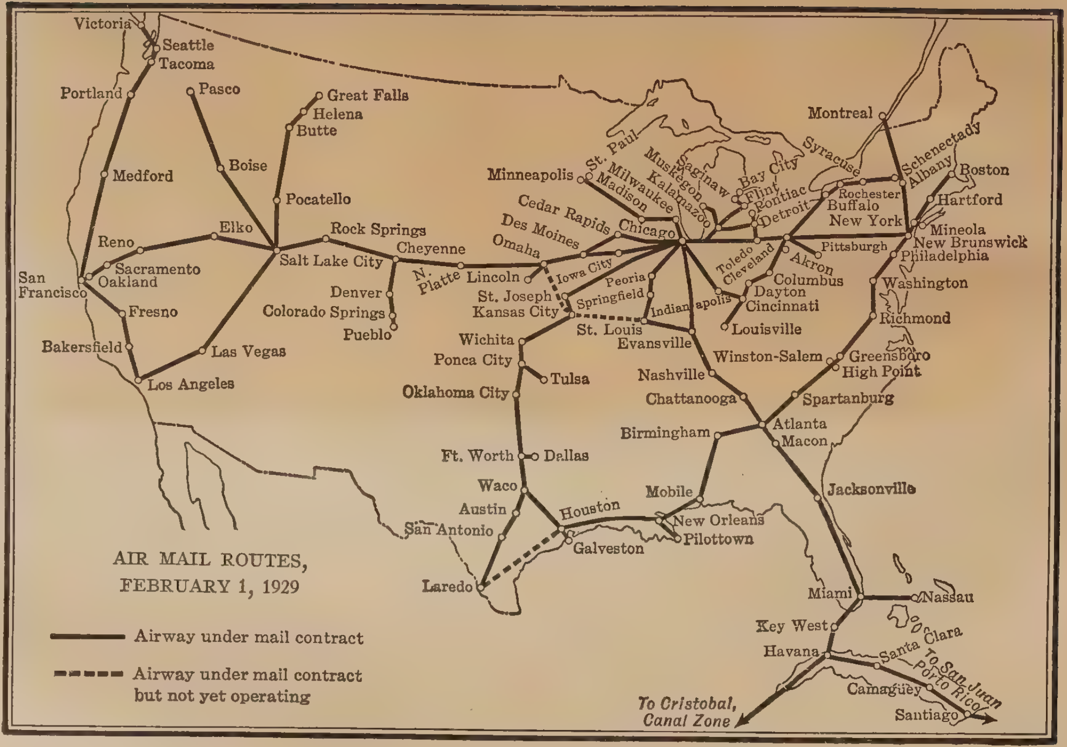
flayed the administration, and a resolution was proposed in both Houses to prevent the President from using the army or navy of the United States without permission of Congress, except to protect American lives actually in danger. Senator Wheeler declared in a speech at Cleveland (February 11, 1928) that war was "being waged in Nicaragua by Calvin Coolidge privately in defiance of the Constitution," and that Nicaragua had been "reduced from a sovereign state to a Wall Street protectorate." When Sandino was finally overcome, peace returned to the distracted country, and both Liberals and Conservatives fulfilled their promise to abide by a fair election held under the supervision of United States officials. Brigadier-General Frank R. McCoy with a large force of American inspectors and a constabulary of two thousand marines and guardsmen presided over the election of November 4, 1928, at which the Liberal candidate, J. M. Moncada, was chosen president for the ensuing four-year term.

738. The Sixth Pan-American Congress. While American marines were hunting out nests of Sandino rebels in Nicaragua, the sixth in the series of Pan-American congresses inaugurated by Secretary Blaine in 1889 [**511**] met at Havana, Cuba (January 16, 1928). About one hundred and fifty prominent men from the twenty Latin-American countries attended as delegates, and the six-week session produced a mass of resolutions and agreements concerning the nature and functions of the Pan-American Union, international law, aviation, trade, immigration, education, copyrights, and so forth. Charles E. Hughes headed the American delegation. President Coolidge went in person to open the Congress with a message of good will to our sister republics. "All the nations here represented," said he, "stand on an exact footing of equality." Mr. Hughes repeated his oft-repeated assurances of the disinterested friendship of the United States: "We have no policy of aggression. Nothing could be happier for the United States than that all the countries in the region of the Caribbean should be strong and self-sufficient . . . settling their problems with peace at home and the fulfillment of their obligations abroad." With great skill Mr. Hughes kept the Congress clear of political questions, such as intervention and the scope of the Monroe Doctrine. One of the resolutions provided for the negotiation of arbitration treaties between the Latin-American states, and provision was made for a supplementary Pan-American Conference to meet at Washington in December, 1928, to draw up such treaties. The Washington conference not only completed (January 5, 1929) a set of arbitration treaties which Secretary Kellogg called "the most advanced ever adopted by the nations of the world," but it also had the good fortune to prevent a war from breaking out between Bolivia and Paraguay over a long-disputed area in the heart of South America.

739. The Briand-Kellogg Peace Pact. On April 6, 1927, the tenth anniversary of the entrance of the United States into the World War, M. Aristide Briand, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, and a noble champion of the cause of peace among the nations, approached our government with the proposal that the United States and France should sign a pact outlawing war "as an instrument of national policy," and agreeing to find a pacific means for settling "all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature" that might arise between them. For more than a year this proposal was discussed by M. Briand and Secretary Kellogg in all its bearings upon the interests of the United States in this hemisphere and the engagements of France under the Locarno treaties and the League of Nations. Mr. Kellogg was in favor of extending the pact to the other nations of the world, and on April 13, 1928, he sent identical copies of a multilateral treaty for the outlawry of war to the governments of Great Britain, Italy, Germany, and Japan — all of which accepted the idea. On August 27, 1928, the representatives of fifteen nations met at Paris and signed the Briand-Kellogg Peace Pact. Mr. Kellogg went over to sign for the United States, and Gustav Stresemann, the first German foreign minister to enter Paris since the Franco-Prussian War, was received with applause as he put the first signature to the treaty. Fifty-nine nations, or practically the whole civilized world, have either signed or expressed their readiness to sign the pact. On January 15, 1929, it was ratified by the Senate of the United States by the overwhelming vote of 85 to 1, Senator Blaine of Wisconsin being the only one to vote "nay," although many of the senators had expressed their lack of faith in the efficacy of the pact. This misgiving was due to the interpretation put on the pact, and accepted by its champion, Senator Borah, which excepted from outlawry any war of defense and declared that "each nation is free at all times and regardless of the treaty provisions to defend itself, and is the sole judge of what constitutes the right of self-defense and the necessity and extent of the same." Since every nation that went to war in 1914 did so in what it regarded its own necessary defense, critics of the Briand-Kellogg Peace Pact failed to see how it would prevent future wars. However, the pact was hailed as a step in the direction of international peace by the very fact that it was a positive and collective denunciation of war as a national policy by the civilized nations of the world. It ought to make easier the next and indispensable step toward lasting peace; namely, the reduction of armaments.

740. Our Naval Policy. President Coolidge worked diligently for one form of reduction of armaments. On February 10, 1927, he sent an identic note to Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, asking them to empower their delegates to the Geneva Preparatory Conference on Disarmament, which was to assemble in May, to negotiate a treaty with the United States limiting the construction of cruisers, submarines, and destroyers — types of war vessels which had not been covered by the provisions of the Washington conference of 1921–1922 [**728**]. In a special message to Congress on the same day the President said, "I am sure that all governments and all peoples would choose a system of naval limitation in preference to consciously reverting to competitive building." But the President was mistaken. France and Italy declined his invitation outright, and while Japan and England accepted, the latter power made a demand for about double the cruiser tonnage proposed by the United States, which meant, in President Coolidge's words, "not a limitation but an extension of war fleets." Disappointed by the failure of the conference, the President committed himself more openly to the cause of naval preparedness on our own part. In an address at Kansas City on Armistice Day, November 11, 1928, he said that while America had made and would continue to make "every reasonable effort" in the direction of international peace, she was also "committed to a policy of adequate national defense." He asserted that there was "no better navy than our own in the world," that our army was "not outmatched by any other like number of troops," and that we had recently "laid out a five-year program for improving our aviation service." Secretary of the Navy Wilbur had proposed a five-year building program calling for seventy-one new vessels to cost about $800,000,000. This extravagant program was cut down to fifteen cruisers and one aircraft carrier, estimated to cost $274,000,000, and a bill stipulating the construction of these sixteen vessels in three years was passed by the House on March 17, 1928, by a vote of 287 to 58. President Coolidge favored the bill, but with the three-year time-limit stricken out. Nevertheless, he signed the Cruiser bill when it was passed by the Senate, on February 5, 1929, with the provision that five new cruisers should be begun in each of the years 1929, 1930, and 1931.

741. The Conquest of the Air. In the field of industry and invention America has made enormous progress in the last few years. The automobile industry, for example, which was not considered of enough importance to find mention in the census of 1910, has now become our leading industry, with billions of dollars invested and an annual output of between 4,000,000 and 5,000,000 motor vehicles. The greatest triumph of invention has been the conquest of the air, both as a medium of instantaneous communication of sound and even of photography by radio, and as a path of travel for dirigibles and airplanes. Though the first successful flight in a heavier-than-air machine was made by Wilbur and Orville Wright at Kittyhawk, North Carolina, in December, 1903, little progress in aviation was made until the World War. Now, not only has the air service become an indispensable and expanding branch of national defense in both the army and the navy, but the Post Office Department lets contracts for the transportation of seven tons of mail a day by planes flying thirty thousand miles over twenty-two routes in the United States, serving more than a third of our population in over a hundred cities. About ten thousand miles of the postal routes are lighted for night flying by beacons of 2,000,000 candle power at ten-mile intervals, while huge beacons of 500,000,000 candle power light the regular landing fields on the transcontinental route (Chicago, Iowa City, Omaha, North Platte, and Cheyenne). Air-mail fatalities dropped from one to every 104,000 miles flown in 1921 to one in every 1,128,000 miles in 1926. In the last few months the mail routes have been extended to Montreal and to Mexico City, the Canal Zone, the West Indies, and other points in Latin-American countries. The Department of Commerce reported in 1928 aërial routes for business transportation covering over 11,000 miles and serving 80,000,000 of our population. Only in passenger transportation have we lagged behind Europe, where practically all the capitals and important cities are connected by a network of air routes over which passenger planes fly on regular schedules. Since Lindbergh thrilled the world by his daring non-stop flight from New York to Paris in the *Spirit of St. Louis* in May, 1927, several successful (but more, fatal) attempts have been made to cross the ocean by air. The first successful flight from Europe to America was made by Captain Koehl and Major Fitzmaurice in the Junkers monoplane *Bremen*, April 12–13, 1928. The *Bremen* landed on a little island off the coast of Labrador, with injuries which made further flight impossible. But an American plane hastened from Detroit to the rescue, and the aviators were brought in triumph to New York and Washington. A most romantic chapter in the conquest of the air has been written in the recent polar expeditions. When Lieutenant Peary, in 1909, left his ice-bound ship in the Arctic to make his dash with dogs and sleds for the north pole **[640]**,



AIR MAIL ROUTES,
FEBRUARY 1, 1929

he and his companions were lost to civilization for several months. But when the Amundsen-Ellsworth-Nobile party, in the dirigible *Norge*, cruising 2000 miles from Spitzbergen to Point Barrow, Alaska, passed over the North Pole on May 12, 1926, they sent a radio message (the first message from "the top of the world") which was published a few hours later by the *New York Times*. Commander Richard E. Byrd and Floyd Bennett had made the flight from Spitzbergen to the north pole and back in sixteen hours in a plane only two days before the *Norge* started. In April, 1928, Captain G. H. Wilkins of Australia repeated the voyage of the *Norge* in the opposite direction, flying from Alaska to Spitzbergen in a plane, and the next month General Umberto Nobile, after cruising across the pole in the dirigible *Italia*, met with disaster.[1] The latest of the polar expeditions, and by far the most elaborate, left New Zealand, under the command of the intrepid Byrd, for the exploration of the Antarctic, and reached its base at the Ross Ice Barrier on Christmas Day, 1928. The Byrd expedition of some thirty men, provided with four airplanes, one hundred dogs, ice tractors, radio equipment, and moving picture apparatus, at an expense of over $860,000, plans a detailed study of the physical and meteorological conditions of the great Antarctic continent which surrounds the south pole.

742. The Campaign of 1928. Whether or not President Coolidge would stand for reëlection in 1928 was a question discussed by the politicians and the public, but the President himself gave no hint of his intentions until August 2, 1927, when he issued the ten-word statement from his vacation camp near Rapid City, South Dakota: "I do not choose to run for president in 1928." Interpreting this as the expression of a preference merely, and not a refusal, his backers insisted that he would consent to a nomination if he were "drafted." But in December he told the National Republican Committee that his decision "stood," and that they should "select a candidate from among the numbers of distinguished men available." Mr. Hughes, perhaps next to the President the most influential man in the party, announced definitely that he would not be a candidate. The withdrawal of these two men left Herbert C. Hoover, the efficient Secretary of Commerce, as the most likely choice of the party. It was understood that he was favored by the administration, although the President gave him no public support until the very eve of the election. Alfred E. Smith, who had steadily gained in popularity since the election of 1924, and who was serving his fourth term as governor of New York, with an excellent record in political and social administration, was evidently the strongest contestant in the Democratic party. His nomination was made almost certain by the withdrawal in September, 1927, of William G. McAdoo, his opponent in the Madison Square convention of 1924 [732]. A veritable epidemic of presidential fever seemed to invade the Senate. Curtis of Kansas, Norris of Nebraska, Goff of West Virginia, Willis of Ohio (who died suddenly on March 30, 1928), and Watson of Indiana on the Republican side, and Walsh of Montana, Reed of Missouri, and George of Georgia on the Democratic side announced their candidacies. The Republican convention met at Kansas City, Missouri, on June 12, and nominated Hoover on the first ballot, with 837 votes out of a total of 1088. The Democrats, meeting at Houston, Texas, on June 26, nominated Governor

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[1] Nobile and his crew were rescued from the Arctic ice in an exhausted condition. The great polar explorer Amundsen, who had been the first to reach the south pole (1911), was one of those who responded to the SOS of the *Italia*. He left Tromsö, Norway, in a seaplane on June 18, 1928, to save his companion of the *Norge* cruise of 1926, but was never heard from again.

Sioux City Tribune

"BUT THE RAVEN — STILL IS SITTING"

Smith on the first ballot, by the equally decisive vote of 849$\frac{2}{3}$ out of 1100. Senators Charles E. Curtis of Kansas and Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas were named as the respective vice-presidential candidates. Both platforms pledged their parties to the enforcement of the prohibition legislation and the relief of the farmers, the two burning issues of the day. Mr. Hoover made but few speeches, and in them showed no disposition to propose any definite plans of legislation or policy. Governor Smith, on the other hand, toured the country widely, defining the policies which he would follow if he were elected.

743. The Election of Hoover. On election day (November 6) Mr. Hoover carried forty of the forty-eight states of the Union, including all the West and North (except Massachusetts and Rhode Island), all the border states, and four states of the "solid South" (Virginia, North Carolina, Florida, and Texas) which had been in the Democratic column since the reconstruction era of over a half a century ago. Hoover's electoral vote was 444 to 87 for Smith. Norman Thomas, the Socialist candidate, whose campaign speeches deserved better attention than they received in the exciting battle between the major parties, polled only 267,835 votes. Governor Smith's popular vote of 15,005,497 to 21,429,109 for Hoover showed that he was stronger than either Davis in 1924 (with only 33 per cent of the popular vote) or Cox in 1920 (with 39 per cent). Still, Smith lost his own state of New York, where for the first time he ran behind his ticket, the Democratic candidates for governor and United States senator, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Dr. Royal S. Copeland, respectively, defeating their Republican opponents, Albert Ottinger and Alanson B. Houghton. The congressional elections insured substantial Republican majorities in both houses of the 71st Congress — 269 Republicans to 165 Democrats in the House and 55 Republicans to 39 Democrats in the Senate. Mr. Hoover's extraordinary victory, especially his invasion of the "solid South," was attributed by the Democrats to the prejudice against Governor Smith as a Roman Catholic, a "wet," and a Tammany man. The Republicans, on the other hand, maintained that it was a nation-

HERBERT C. HOOVER

wide recognition of Mr. Hoover's great ability as an executive with wide experience, and attributed the victories below Mason and Dixon's line to the fact that the South, with its increasing industrial development, was turning toward the Republican policies of high protection and the encouragement of big business. Soon after the election Mr. Hoover sailed from San Diego, California, on the United States battleship *Maryland* for a visit to the Central and South American republics, his object being, as he said at a state banquet in Peru, to "better prepare himself for the task of reënforcing the peace and friendship" between North America and Latin America "by a widened knowledge of the men and problems of our sister republics." The president-elect's tour was both a graceful gesture of international courtesy and a practical recognition of the importance of first-hand acquaintance with a region in which our investments had grown from less than $1,500,000,000 in 1913 to over $5,000,000,000 in 1928, and with which our trade had passed the $1,000,000,000 mark. Mr. Hoover visited Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Peru, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil, sailing from Rio de Janeiro for home on the battleship *Utah* on December 21, 1928.

744. The New Administration Installed. While the short, "lame-duck" session of the 70th Congress was debating the Briand-Kellogg Peace Pact and the Cruiser bill and enacting severer penalties for the infraction of the prohibition laws, Mr. Hoover, either at his Washington residence or on a fishing vacation in Florida, was studying the problems which would confront him after the fourth of March, preparing his inaugural address, receiving hundreds of visitors, and wrestling with the difficult task of the selection of his cabinet. On March 2 the names of the cabinet were given to the public. The only members of the Coolidge cabinet to be retained were Secretary of the Treasury Mellon and Secretary of Labor Davis. Secretary of State Kellogg consented to remain for a few weeks, until Colonel Henry L. Stimson of New York should arrive from his post at Manila as Governor-General of the Philippine Islands to take the first place in the new cabinet. The other cabinet portfolios were assigned as follows: Secretary of War, James W. Good of Iowa; Attorney-General, William D. Mitchell of Minnesota; Postmaster-General, Walter F. Brown of Ohio; Secretary of the Navy, Charles Francis Adams of Massachusetts; Secretary of the Interior, Ray Lyman Wilbur of California, a brother of the retiring Secretary of the Navy; Secretary of Agriculture, Arthur M. Hyde of Missouri; Secretary of Commerce, Robert P. Lamont of Illinois. The names of Mitchell (a conservative Democrat), Hyde, and Lamont came as a complete surprise, since there had been rumors of the appointment of several well-known men to the positions in question. None of the four states of the "solid South" that voted for Mr. Hoover was represented in the cabinet. In the late morning of March 4 President Coolidge and President-elect Hoover rode together through the crowded streets of Washington, under lowering skies, from the White House to the Capitol. The President signed the last-minute bills of the expiring Congress, the new senators and the new vice president, Charles Curtis, were sworn into office, and then, on a platform at the east front of the Capitol, and before the vast crowd of citizens standing in the cold drizzling rain, Chief Justice Taft administered the oath of office to Mr. Hoover as the thirty-first president of the United States, and the new president read his inaugural address, which was carried by radio to the ends of the land. He emphasized first of all and as "the most sore necessity of our times" the vigorous enforcement of the laws, and recommended the "reform, reorganization and strengthening of our whole judicial system." He pledged the coöperation of the government in the work of education, public health, agricultural relief, and general business prosperity. He expressed the hope that the United States would enter the World Court, and declared that he coveted for his administration "a record of having further contributed to advance the cause of peace." He closed with a jubilant confession of optimism: "Ours is a land rich in resources, stimulating in its glorious beauty, filled with millions of happy homes, blessed with comfort and opportunity. In no nation are the institutions of progress more advanced. In no nation are the fruits of accomplishment more secure. In no nation is the Government more worthy of respect. No country is more loved by its people. I have an abiding faith in their capacity, integrity, and high purpose. I have no fears for the future of our country; it is bright with hope."

How we stand Today

745. "A Backward Glance o'er Traveled Roads." In these pages we have traced the development of the American people from a few scattered settlements on the Atlantic shore in the seventeenth century to a great continental nation of 117,135,817, with colonial possessions in the Caribbean and the far Pacific. We have seen how in the colonial days the enterprising descendants of these settlers, increased by new emigrants from the British Isles and the continent of Europe, pushed westward to the barriers of the Appalachians and beyond, successfully disputing with the French the Ohio "gateway to the West" and subduing the Indians and the forest in their progress down the "Western Waters" into the rich lands between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi. We have seen how the independent spirit of our forefathers chafed under the political control of a government three thousand miles distant, and resented that government's regulation of their commerce and industry in the interests of a world-wide empire, until they finally renounced their allegiance to the British crown and, after a Revolutionary struggle of seven years, won the recognition of their freedom and their independent status among the nations of the world. We have seen how leaders like Washington, Madison, Morris, Wilson, Jay, and Hamilton grappled with the difficult task of overcoming mutual jealousies among the economic interests and the social classes of the new states, to persuade them to accept the Constitution of a real Union, strong enough to insure the preservation of order, the protection of property, and the vindication of the honor of the United States in the eyes of such European nations as were still disposed to regard us as a people "in a position of colonial dependence and fear." We have seen how, by purchase, conquest, and treaty, vast new regions were acquired beyond the Mississippi and beyond the Rockies for the constantly westward-moving explorers, missionaries, fur traders, mining prospectors, ranchers, and farmers, until by the middle of the nineteenth century the imperial domain of the United States reached unbroken from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the Canadian border to the Gulf of Mexico. We have seen how the conflicting economic interests of the commercial East, the planter South, and the new pioneer West led to impassioned debates in Congress over the tariff, public lands, internal improvements, and banking, culminating in the great issue of slavery, which led eventually to the secession of the South and to four years of Civil War for the preservation of the Union and the liberation of the slaves. We have seen how after the Civil War the attention of the government was more and more absorbed by economic problems arising out of the exploitation of the unbounded natural resources of the country: the concentration of capital in "big business," the demands of organized labor, the complaints of the associated farmers, the criticism of the arbitrary conduct of the railroads, the crusade for cheap currency. We have seen how, at the turn of the century, the United States entered upon the "new and untried path" of empire, with its complex problems of the government of distant peoples, alien in race, language, ideals, and customs. And, finally, we have seen how our country was drawn into the greatest war of history, sending its soldiers for the first time to fight on the battlefields of Europe and seeing its President sail to spend months in conference with the statesmen of the Old World at Paris, writing the terms of a European peace.

746. The Strength of America. Every one of these stages of development has brought new responsibilities to the government and people of the United States, and every one has aroused in timid minds the fear lest cherished ideals and institutions might be sacrificed. Just as one hundred and fifty years ago there were many who predicted that the colonies were rushing headlong into anarchy and ruin by repudiating their allegiance to "the best and kindest of kings," so today there are many who contend that we should lose our priceless independence by joining the League of Nations. There have been few sessions of Congress in which anxious orators have not predicted that the passage of this or that measure would mean the "downfall of the Republic." And still the Republic endures. Its industrial and financial strength is the wonder of the world: factories, blast furnaces, and public-utility plants of unsurpassed magnitude; the highest technical skill in laboratories and research bureaus; a foreign trade of $9,000,000,000; national wealth nearing the $500,000,000,000 mark. On July 1, 1925, American investments in Latin America, Canada, Europe, and Asia totaled $9,522,000,000, as against $2,000,000,000 in 1910 and $501,000,000 in 1900. With only 6 per cent of the world's area and 7 per cent of its population, the United States have 80 per cent of the world's automobiles (one for every five inhabitants of the country), 57 per cent of the world's telegraph and telephone lines, 40 per cent of the harnessed water power, and 37 per cent of the railway mileage. We produce over 70 per cent of the world's cotton, 65 per cent of its petroleum and steel, 60 per cent of its zinc and copper, 55 per cent of its coal and iron. Every region of our country, from the coastal lowlands of the Atlantic and the Gulf through the central plains to the towering ridges of the Rockies and beyond to the fertile valley of the Pacific states, produces its mounting surplus of food, raw materials, and manufactured goods, to be distributed from one end of the land to the other by the most effective transportation system through the greatest area of free trade in the world. Eight hundred thousand retail stores serve the ultimate consumers. With a friendly people of ten million on the north of like race, language, and political ideals as ourselves; with neighbors on the south too weak and disturbed in their internal politics to be a menace to our safety, even if they wished; with the broad oceans east and west separating us from the coast of Europe and Asia, — we have no such problems of national defense as confront the crowded, jealous nations of the Old World. For more than a century the four-thousand-mile border between the United States and Canada has not seen a fortress or a garrison.

747. "The Foes of our own Household." This rich and powerful Republic has no fear of foes from without. But there are dangers that threaten within. We are a wasteful people in the midst of our abundance, consuming the resources which we should be conserving for a future generation. It is estimated that the hasty plundering of our mines, oil fields, and forests entails an annual waste of 750,000,000 tons of coal, 1,000,000,000 barrels of oil, 600,000,000,000 cubic feet of natural gas, and 5,000,000,000 cubic feet of lumber. Strikes and lockouts, preventable illness and accidents, the maladjustment of labor supply to labor demand, result in the unemployment of about 15 per cent of the man power of the nation, and fully another 15 per cent of the workers are engaged in the manufacture of useless luxuries to flatter our vanity, or positively harmful "goods." More than three million people a year are made sick by food adulterations; another million are drug addicts; and no one knows how numerous are the dupes of the patent medicines, cure-alls, and beautifiers which have made us the victims of "the gaudiest collection of quacks in the world's history." Our preoccupation with material success threatens to blind us to the value of the patient, honest cultivation of mind and character. The conquest of the forces of nature has far outrun the organization of intelligence. If we have the enviable record of leading the world in economic prosperity, we have also the unenviable record of leading the world in recklessness, instability, and crime. Every year our losses by preventable fires exceed the cost of the Panama Canal. Fatal accidents claim one victim every five minutes. The number of suicides mounts steadily (12,061 in 1925). The losses paid by burglary-insurance companies have increased 600 per cent in the last decade. The number of divorces granted in the United States was 56,000 in 1900 and 175,000 in 1925 — or one divorce for every 6.7 marriages in the latter year, a ratio one and a half times as high as that of France and Japan, and more than fifteen times as high as that of England. Murders increased in this country from 7878 in 1924 to 11,287 in 1925, when there were twenty-five times as many as in England and Wales.

748. American Ideals. These are appalling facts. They are sicknesses in the body of the nation and, like illness in the human body, they must be realized to be remedied. If our Republic ever fails to fulfill the high hopes of the men who founded it and who sustained it in the days of weakness and trial, the fault will be with a generation that has lost the inspiration of their ideals. We shall continue to go through the forms of democratic government in vain if we lose the sense of responsibility, individual and collective, which is the cement which prevents freedom from crumbling into license. The fathers set up an ideal of liberty within the wholesome restraint of law, and "free government," in the words of President Coolidge, "has no greater menace than disrespect for authority and continual violation of the law." They conceived of a Republic in which the opportunity to make the most of one's talent and industry should be open to all, irrespective of birth, creed, or condition. They forbade Congress to prohibit the free exercise of religion or to abridge the freedom of speech or of the press. They declared that no person should be deprived of the rights of life, liberty, and property without due process of the law. They expressly reserved to the people of the states the exercise of powers not specifically delegated to the central government, never meaning to interfere with local self-government or personal freedom. These are the principles of American democracy, and they must be respected if America is to continue to be a land of liberty.

749. Passing the Torch. Paraphrasing the words of Abraham Lincoln, the teacher of American history today says to the boys and girls in the classrooms of our broad land, "In your hands, my young fellow students and citizens, lies the future of our country." If the coming generation is a little more faithful to the ideals of economy, industry, and honesty, of order, freedom, and disinterested service than the present generation has been, then we shall be going forward toward the fulfillment of the destinies of the Republic. If the coming generation is a little less faithful to these ideals, then we shall be headed down the road to degeneracy, defeat, decay. Could there be a more inspiring call than the stake of America's very life and honor for the youth of our schools to pledge themselves to study her past history with diligence in order that they may judge her present policies with understanding and meet her future problems with courage! A feature of the ancient Greek games was the relay race, in which the runner at the end of his lap handed on the lighted torch to his successor. It is a parable of all education and a symbol of ever-renewing life. The torch of our history was kindled at the sacred altar of liberty. Let it be your pledge and mine to bear it

> High like a beacon,
> Till our strong years be sped
> And sinews weaken;
> Till others in our stead
> Take from our loosening hand
> The torch full-streaming which we pass at Death's command.

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TOPICS FOR SPECIAL REPORTS

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2. **The Railroad Problem:** H. U. Faulkner, *American Economic History*, pp. 476–479; W. J. Cunningham, *American Railroads: Government Control and Reconstruction*, chaps. i–xiii; E. R. Johnson and T. W. Van Metre, *Principles of Railroad Transportation*, pp. 564–577; Young, pp. 85–106; F. H. Dixon, *The Interstate Commerce Act as Amended* (*Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. XXI, pp. 22–49).

3. **The Soldier's Bonus:** Young, pp. 420–428; Muzzey, *The United States of America*, Vol. II, pp. 774–778; W. C. Gregg (and others), *What the Country owes the Veteran* (*Outlook*, Vol. CXXVIII, pp. 511–515); E. Streeter, *The Battle of the Bonus* (*Outlook*, Vol. CXXXVI, pp. 276–279); H. MacNider, *A Bonus for ex-Soldiers* (*New York Times Current History*, Vol. XVI, pp. 545–550); J. R. Quinn, *Defending the Soldier* (*Forum*, Vol. LXXI, pp. 354–357).

4. **The Washington Conference on Naval Disarmament:** Adams, pp. 418–426; Charles Seymour, in *Encyclopædia Britannica* (eleventh edition), Vol. XXXII, pp. 957–960 (with map of the Pacific); *Roads to Peace* (*The New Republic*, Vol. XXVIII, Supplement, pp. 1–42); A. Bullard, *The A B C's of Disarmament and the Pacific Problems*; A. H. Abbott, *The League's Disarmament Activities and the Washington Conference* (*Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 1–24); *New York Times Current History*, Vol. XV, pp. 521–562, 699–724.

Questions for Review

1. Compare the treatment of the veterans of the Civil War and of the World War. **2.** What has the government done for the farmers since the war? **3.** What is an "outlaw" strike? **4.** On what legal ground did the government interfere to end the coal strike of 1919? **5.** What is meant by a "literacy test"? **6.** How did the Lusk Laws limit the freedom of teaching? **7.** What other laws do you know of that interfere with the freedom of teaching? **8.** Why could not Congress pass a prohibition law before the Eighteenth Amendment was adopted? **9.** Are there other amendments to the Constitution that are not strictly enforced? **10.** What are the advantages of a budget system? **11.** What objections to applying the surplus in the Treasury to the reduction of the national debt existed in Cleveland's first administration [**500**] that do not exist now? **12.** Why did Presidents Harding and Coolidge veto soldiers' bonus bills? **13.** Why did the farmer suffer more than the manufacturer from the deflation following the war? **14.** What change in the immigration law of 1921 was made in 1924? Why? **15.** Why could not Harding use the same method to end the coal strike of 1921–1922 that Wilson used in 1919? **16.** Why was the Washington Conference of 1921–1922 criticized as "futile"? **17.** What are the arguments for and against remitting the war debts owed us by foreign nations? **18.** Why does the United States still remain outside of the World Court? **19.** What is the Dawes Plan? **20.** Why did President Coolidge veto the McNary-Haugen bills? **21.** How were the Federal taxes reduced in the Coolidge administration? **22.** Compare our intervention in Nicaragua under Coolidge with our intervention in Santo Domingo under Roosevelt. **23.** What do you think of the Briand-Kellogg Pact? **24.** Describe the polar expeditions. **25.** What are some of the dangers threatening our society today? **26.** What do you consider the chief duties of a good American citizen?

TOPICAL ANALYSIS

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APPENDIX I

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE[1]

In Congress, July 4, 1776

A DECLARATION BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: — That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

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[1] The original copy of the Declaration of Independence is kept in the Library of Congress in Washington. The Declaration was adopted July 4, 1776, and was signed by the members representing the thirteen states August 2, 1776. John Hancock, whose name appears first among the signers, was president of the Congress.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature — a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measure.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the State remaining, in the mean time, exposed to all the dangers of invasions from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States;

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;

For imposing taxes on us without our consent;

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury;

For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offences;

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies;

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments;

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrection among us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in our attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity; and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these united Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And, for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

The foregoing Declaration was, by order of Congress, engrossed, and signed by the following members:

JOHN HANCOCK

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Josiah Bartlett
William Whipple
Matthew Thornton

MASSACHUSETTS BAY

Samuel Adams
John Adams
Robert Treat Paine
Elbridge Gerry

RHODE ISLAND

Stephen Hopkins
William Ellery

CONNECTICUT

Roger Sherman
Samuel Huntington
William Williams
Oliver Wolcott

NEW YORK

William Floyd
Philip Livingston
Francis Lewis
Lewis Morris

NEW JERSEY

Richard Stockton
John Witherspoon
Francis Hopkinson
John Hart
Abraham Clark

PENNSYLVANIA

Robert Morris
Benjamin Rush
Benjamin Franklin
John Morton
George Clymer
James Smith
George Taylor
James Wilson
George Ross

DELAWARE

Cæsar Rodney
George Read
Thomas M'Kean

MARYLAND

Samuel Chase
William Paca
Thomas Stone
Charles Carroll, of Carrollton

VIRGINIA

George Wythe
Richard Henry Lee
Thomas Jefferson
Benjamin Harrison
Thomas Nelson, Jr.
Francis Lightfoot Lee
Carter Braxton

NORTH CAROLINA

William Hooper
Joseph Hewes
John Penn

SOUTH CAROLINA

Edward Rutledge
Thomas Hayward
Thomas Lynch, Jr.
Arthur Middleton

GEORGIA

Button Gwinnett
Lyman Hall
George Walton

Resolved, That copies of the Declaration be sent to the several assemblies, conventions, and committees, or councils of safety, and to the several commanding officers of the continental troops; that it be proclaimed in each of the United States, at the head of the army.

APPENDIX II

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

PREAMBLE

WE, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I. LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

SECTION 1. CONGRESS

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.[1]

SECTION 2. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Election of Members. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

Qualifications. No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Apportionment. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers,[2] which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons.[3] The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative: and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three; Massachusetts, eight; Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, one: Connecticut, five: New York, six: New Jersey, four: Pennsylvania, eight; Delaware, one; Maryland, six; Virginia, ten; North Carolina, five; South Carolina, five; and Georgia, three.

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[1] The term of each Congress is two years. It assembles on the first Monday in December and "expires at noon of the fourth of March next succeeding the beginning of its second regular session, when a new Congress begins."

[2] The apportionment under the census of 1910 is one representative for every 212,407 persons.

[3] The word "persons" refers to slaves. The word "slave" nowhere appears in the Constitution. This paragraph has been amended (Amendments XIII and XIV) and is no longer in force.

Vacancies. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority[1] thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

Officers. Impeachment. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker[2] and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION 3. SENATE

Number of Senators: Election. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote. [Repealed in 1913 by Amendment XVII.]

Classification. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year; of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive[1] thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies. [Modified by Amendment XVII.]

Qualifications. No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

President of Senate. The Vice-President of the United States shall be president of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

Officers. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

Trials of Impeachment. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments: When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation.

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[1] Governor.

[2] The Speaker, who presides, is one of the representatives; the other officers — clerk, sergeant-at-arms, postmaster, chaplain, doorkeeper, etc. — are not.

When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief-Justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Judgment in Case of Conviction. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SECTION 4. BOTH HOUSES

Manner of electing Members. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.[1]

Meetings of Congress. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION 5. THE HOUSES SEPARATELY

Organization. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

Rules. Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

Journal. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy, and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Adjournment. Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SECTION 6. PRIVILEGES AND DISABILITIES OF MEMBERS

Pay and Privileges of Members. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

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[1] This is to prevent Congress from fixing the places of meeting of the state legislatures.

Prohibitions on Members. No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

SECTION 7. METHOD OF PASSING LAWS

Revenue Bills. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

How Bills become Laws. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Resolutions, etc. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION 8. POWERS GRANTED TO CONGRESS

Powers of Congress. The Congress shall have power:

To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

To establish post-offices and post-roads;

To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal,[1] and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

To provide and maintain a navy;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States,[2] and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings; — And

Implied Powers. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.[3]

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[1] Letters granted by the government to private citizens in time of war, authorizing them, under certain conditions, to capture the ships of the enemy.

[2] The District of Columbia.

[3] This is the famous elastic clause of the Constitution.

SECTION 9. POWERS FORBIDDEN TO THE UNITED STATES

Absolute Prohibitions on Congress. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.[1]

The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus[2] shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder[3] or ex-post-facto law[4] shall be passed.

No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken. [Extended by Amendment XVI.]

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SECTION 10. POWERS FORBIDDEN TO THE STATES

Absolute Prohibitions on the States. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex-post-facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

Conditional Prohibitions on the States. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

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[1] This refers to the foreign slave trade. "Persons" means "slaves." In 1808 Congress prohibited the importation of slaves. This clause is, of course, no longer in force.

[2] An official document requiring an accused person who is in prison awaiting trial to be brought into court to inquire whether he may be legally held.

[3] A special legislative act by which a person may be condemned to death or to outlawry or banishment without the opportunity of defending himself which he would have in a court of law.

[4] A law relating to the punishment of acts committed before the law was passed.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships-of-war, in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II. EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

SECTION I. PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT

Term. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected, as follows:

Electors. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

Proceedings of Electors and of Congress. [[1] The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate. The president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said house shall, in like manner, choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.]

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[1] This paragraph in brackets has been superseded by the Twelfth Amendment.

Time of choosing Electors. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.[1]

Qualifications of President. No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years resident within the United States.

Vacancy. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President; and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.[2]

Salary. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Oath. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation: — "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION 2. POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT

Military Powers; Reprieves and Pardons. The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices; and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

Treaties; Appointments. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United

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[1] The electors are chosen on the Tuesday next after the first Monday in November, preceding the expiration of a presidential term. They vote (by Act of Congress of February 3, 1887) on the second Monday in January for President and Vice-President. The votes are counted, and declared in Congress on the second Wednesday of the following February.

[2] This has now been provided for by the Presidential Succession Act of 1886.

States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law: but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

Filling of Vacancies. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION 3. DUTIES OF THE PRESIDENT

Message; Convening of Congress. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information[1] of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION 4. IMPEACHMENT

Removal of Officers. The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III. JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT

SECTION 1. UNITED STATES COURTS

Courts established; Judges. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION 2. JURISDICTION OF UNITED STATES COURTS

Federal Courts in General. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; — to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls;—to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction;—to controversies to which the United States shall be a party;—to controversies between two or more States;—between a State and citizens of another State;[1]—between citizens of different States;—between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects.

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[1] The president gives this information through a message to Congress at the opening of each session. Washington and John Adams read their messages in person to Congress. Jefferson, however, sent a written message to Congress. This method was followed until President Wilson returned to the earlier custom.

Supreme Court. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

Trials. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION 3. TREASON

Treason defined. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort.

No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

Punishment. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV. RELATIONS OF THE STATES TO EACH OTHER

SECTION 1. OFFICIAL ACTS

Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws, prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION 2. PRIVILEGES OF CITIZENS

The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

Fugitives from Justice. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

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[1] This has been modified by the Eleventh Amendment.

Fugitive Slaves. No person[1] held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SECTION 3. NEW STATES AND TERRITORIES

Admission of States. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

Territory and Property of United States. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION 4. PROTECTION OF THE STATES

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V. AMENDMENTS

How proposed; how ratified. The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

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[1] "Person" here includes slave. This was the basis of the Fugitive Slave Laws of 1793 and 1850. It is now superseded by the Thirteenth Amendment, by which slavery is prohibited.

ARTICLE VI. GENERAL PROVISIONS

Public Debt. All debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

Supremacy of Constitution. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

Official Oath; Religious Test. The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII. RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

Ratification. The ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in convention, by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth.

June 21 1788

In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.[1]

GEORGE WASHINGTON,
President, and Deputy from Virginia.

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[1] There were sixty-five delegates chosen to the convention: ten did not attend; sixteen declined or failed to sign; thirty-nine signed. Rhode Island sent no delegates.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

John Langdon
Nicholas Gilman

MASSACHUSETTS

Nathaniel Gorham
Rufus King

CONNECTICUT

William Samuel Johnson
Roger Sherman

NEW YORK

Alexander Hamilton

NEW JERSEY

William Livingston
David Brearley
William Paterson
Jonathan Dayton

PENNSYLVANIA

Benjamin Franklin
Thomas Mifflin
Robert Morris
George Clymer
Thomas Fitzsimons
Jared Ingersoll
James Wilson
Gouverneur Morris

DELAWARE

George Read
Gunning Bedford, Jr.
John Dickinson
Richard Bassett
Jacob Broom

MARYLAND

James M'Henry
Daniel of St. Thomas
Jenifer
Daniel Carroll

VIRGINIA

John Blair
James Madison, Jr.

NORTH CAROLINA

William Blount
Richard Dobbs Spaight
Hugh Williamson

SOUTH CAROLINA

John Rutledge
Charles C. Pinckney
Charles Pinckney
Pierce Butler

GEORGIA

William Few
Abraham Baldwin

Attest: WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary*

AMENDMENTS

Religion, Speech, Press, Assembly, Petition. Article I.[1] Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for redress of grievances.

Militia. Article II. A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

Soldiers. Article III. No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Unreasonable Searches. Article IV. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

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[1] These amendments were proposed by Congress and ratified by the legislatures of the several states, pursuant to the fifth article of the Constitution. The first ten were offered in 1789 and adopted before the close of 1791. They were for the most part the work of Madison. They are frequently called the Bill of Rights, as their purpose is to guard more efficiently the rights of the people and of the states.

Criminal Prosecutions. ARTICLE V. No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war and public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor to be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI. In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

Suits at Common Law. ARTICLE VII. In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise reëxamined in any court of the United States than according to the rules of common law.

Bail, Punishments. ARTICLE VIII. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Reserved Rights and Powers. ARTICLE IX. The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X. The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

Suits against States. ARTICLE XI.[1] The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against any of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

Method of electing President and Vice-President. ARTICLE XII.[2] The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate; —

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[1] Proposed in 1794; adopted in 1798.

[2] Adopted in 1804.

the president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; — the person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

Slavery abolished. ARTICLE XIII.[1] *Section 1.* Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Negroes made Citizens. ARTICLE XIV.[2] *Section 1.* All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive or judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of

[1] Adopted in 1865.

[2] Adopted in 1868.

the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Section 3. No person shall be a senator or representative in Congress, or elector of President or Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each house, remove such disability.

Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Negroes made Voters. ARTICLE XV.[1] *Section 1.* The rights of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Income Tax. ARTICLE XVI.[2] The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

ARTICLE XVII.[2] The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislatures.

Direct Election of Senators. When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, that the Legislature of any State may empower the Executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the Legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

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[1] Adopted in 1870.

[2] Ratified in 1913.

National Prohibition. ARTICLE XVIII.[1] *Section 1.* After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

Section 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

Woman Suffrage. ARTICLE XIX.[2] *Section 1.* The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

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[1] Ratified in 1919. In force in 1920.

[2] Ratified in 1920.

APPENDIX III

THE STATES OF THE UNION

No.	State	Date of Admission	Population, 1920	Rank	Land Area	Capital	Largest City
1	Delaware	Original States	223,003	46	1,965	Dover	Wilmington
2	Pennsylvania		8,720,017	2	44,832	Harrisburg	Philadelphia
3	New Jersey		3,155,900	10	7,514	Trenton	Newark
4	Georgia		2,895,832	12	58,725	Atlanta	Atlanta
5	Connecticut		1,380,631	29	4,820	Hartford	New Haven
6	Massachusetts		3,852,356	6	8,039	Boston	Boston
7	Maryland		1,449,661	28	9,941	Annapolis	Baltimore
8	South Carolina		1,683,724	26	30,495	Columbia	Charleston
9	New Hampshire		443,083	41	9,031	Concord	Manchester
10	Virginia		2,309,187	20	40,262	Richmond	Richmond
11	New York		10,384,829	1	47,654	Albany	New York
12	North Carolina		2,559,123	14	48,740	Raleigh	Winston-Salem
13	Rhode Island		604,397	38	1,067	Providence	Providence
14	Vermont	1791	352,428	44	9,124	Montpelier	Burlington
15	Kentucky	1792	2,416,630	15	40,181	Frankfort	Louisville
16	Tennessee	1796	2,337,885	19	41,687	Nashville	Memphis
17	Ohio	1803	5,759,394	4	40,740	Columbus	Cleveland
18	Louisiana	1812	1,798,509	22	45,409	Baton Rouge	New Orleans
19	Indiana	1816	2,930,390	11	36,045	Indianapolis	Indianapolis
20	Mississippi	1817	1,790,618	23	46,362	Jackson	Meridian
21	Illinois	1818	6,485,280	3	56,043	Springfield	Chicago
22	Alabama	1819	2,348,174	18	51,279	Montgomery	Birmingham

No.	State	Date of Admission	Population, 1920	Rank	Land Area	Capital	Largest City
23	Maine	1820	768,014	35	29,895	Augusta	Portland
24	Missouri	1821	3,404,055	9	68,727	Jefferson City	St. Louis
25	Arkansas	1836	1,752,204	25	52,525	Little Rock	Little Rock
26	Michigan	1837	3,668,412	7	57,480	Lansing	Detroit
27	Florida	1845	968,470	32	54,861	Tallahassee	Jacksonville
28	Texas	1845	4,663,228	5	262,398	Austin	San Antonio
29	Iowa	1846	2,404,021	16	55,586	Des Moines	Des Moines
30	Wisconsin	1848	2,632,067	13	55,256	Madison	Milwaukee
31	California	1850	3,426,861	8	155,652	Sacramento	Los Angeles
32	Minnesota	1858	2,387,125	17	80,858	St. Paul	Minneapolis
33	Oregon	1859	783,389	34	95,607	Salem	Portland
34	Kansas	1861	1,769,257	24	81,774	Topeka	Kansas City
35	West Virginia	1863	1,463,701	27	24,022	Charleston	Wheeling
36	Nevada	1864	77,407	48	109,821	Carson City	Reno
37	Nebraska	1867	1,296,372	31	76,808	Lincoln	Omaha
38	Colorado	1876	939,629	33	103,658	Denver	Denver
39	North Dakota	1889	645,680	36	70,183	Bismarck	Fargo
40	South Dakota	1889	636,547	37	76,868	Pierre	Sioux Falls
41	Montana	1889	548,889	39	146,131	Helena	Butte
42	Washington	1889	1,356,621	30	66,836	Olympia	Seattle
43	Idaho	1890	431,866	42	83,354	Boise	Boise
44	Wyoming	1890	194,402	47	97,548	Cheyenne	Cheyenne
45	Utah	1896	449,396	40	82,184	Salt Lake City	Salt Lake City
46	Oklahoma	1907	2,028,283	21	69,414	Oklahoma City	Oklahoma City
47	New Mexico	1912	360,350	43	122,503	Santa Fe	Albuquerque
48	Arizona	1912	333,903	45	113,810	Phoenix	Phoenix

APPENDIX IV

PRESIDENTS AND OTHER HIGH OFFICIALS

No.	Date	President	State	Vice President	Secretary of State	Secretary of Treasury
1	1789	George Washington	Virginia	John Adams	Thomas Jefferson	Alexander Hamilton
	1794				E. Randolph	
	1795				T. Pickering	O. Wolcott
2	1797	John Adams	Massachusetts	Thomas Jefferson		
	1800				John Marshall	
	1801					S. Dexter
3	1801	Thomas Jefferson	Virginia	Aaron Burr	James Madison	A. Gallatin
	1805			George Clinton		
4	1809	James Madison	Virginia		Robert Smith	
	1811				James Monroe	
	1813			Elbridge Gerry		
	1814					G. Campbell
	1814					A. J. Dallas
	1816					W. H. Crawford
5	1817	James Monroe	Virginia	D. D. Tompkins	J. Q. Adams	
6	1825	J. Q. Adams	Massachusetts	J. C. Calhoun	Henry Clay	Richard Rush
7	1829	Andrew Jackson	Tennessee		M. Van Buren	S. D. Ingham
	1831				E. Livingston	L. McLane
	1833			M. Van Buren	L. McLane	W. J. Duane
	1833					R. B. Taney
	1834				J. Forsyth	L. Woodbury
8	1837	M. Van Buren	New York	R. M. Johnson		

No.	Date	President	State	Vice President	Secretary of State	Secretary of Treasury
9	1841	W. H. Harrison	Ohio	John Tyler	D. Webster	Thomas Ewing
10	1841	John Tyler	Virginia	——		W. Forward
	1843				H. S. Legaré A. P. Upshur	J. C. Spencer
	1844				J. C. Calhoun	G. M. Bibb
11	1845	J. K. Polk	Tennessee	G. M. Dallas	J. Buchanan	R. J. Walker
12	1849	Zachary Taylor	Louisiana	M. Fillmore	J. M. Clayton	William Meredith
13	1850	M. Fillmore	New York	——	D. Webster	Thomas Corwin
	1852				Edward Everett	
14	1853	Franklin Pierce	New Hampshire	W. R. King	W. L. Marcy	James Guthrie
15	1857	James Buchanan	Pennsylvania	J. Breckinridge	Lewis Cass	Howell Cobb
	1860				J. S. Black	P. F. Thomas
	1860					John A. Dix
16	1861	Abraham Lincoln	Illinois	H. Hamlin	W. H. Seward	S. P. Chase
	1864					W. P. Fessenden
	1865			Andrew Johnson		H. McCulloch
17	1865	Andrew Johnson	Tennessee	——		
18	1869	U. S. Grant	Illinois	S. Colfax	E. B. Washburne Hamilton Fish	G. S. Boutwell
	1873			Henry Wilson		W. Richardson
	1874					B. H. Bristow
	1876					L. M. Morrill
19	1877	R. B. Hayes	Ohio	W. A. Wheeler	W. M. Evarts	John Sherman
20	1881	J. A. Garfield	Ohio	C. A. Arthur	James G. Blaine	William Windom
21	1881	C. A. Arthur	New York	——	F. Frelinghuysen	C. J. Folger
	1884					W. Q. Gresham
	1884					H. McCulloch

PRESIDENTS AND OTHER HIGH OFFICIALS (CONTINUED)

No.	Date	President	State	Vice President	Secretary of State	Secretary of Treasury
22	1885	Grover Cleveland	New York	T. A. Hendricks	T. F. Bayard	D. Manning
	1887					C. S. Fairchild
23	1889	Benjamin Harrison	Indiana	L. P. Morton	James G. Blaine	William Windom
	1891					Charles Foster
	1892				J. W. Foster	
24	1893	Grover Cleveland	New York	A. E. Stevenson	W. Q. Gresham	J. G. Carlisle
	1895				Richard Olney	
25	1897	William McKinley	Ohio	G. A. Hobart	John Sherman	L. J. Gage
	1897				William R. Day	
	1898				John Hay	
	1901			Theodore Roosevelt		
26	1901	Theodore Roosevelt	New York	——		L. M. Shaw
	1905			C. W. Fairbanks	Elihu Root	
	1907					G. B. Cortelyou
	1909				Robert Bacon	
27	1909	W. H. Taft	Ohio	J. S. Sherman	P. C. Knox	F. McVeagh
28	1913	Woodrow Wilson	New Jersey	T. R. Marshall	William J. Bryan	W. G. McAdoo
	1915				Robert Lansing	
	1918					Carter Glass
	1920				Bainbridge Colby	D. F. Houston
29	1921	Warren G. Harding	Ohio	Calvin Coolidge	Charles E. Hughes	Andrew W. Mellon
30	1923	Calvin Coolidge	Massachusetts	——		
	1925			Charles G. Dawes	Frank B. Kellogg	
31	1929	Herbert C. Hoover	California	Charles Curtis	Henry L. Stimson	

APPENDIX V

MEMBERS OF CABINET FROM ROOSEVELT TO HOOVER, 1901–1929

Roosevelt, 1901–1909	Taft, 1909–1913	Wilson, 1913–1921	Harding, 1921–1923 Coolidge, 1923–1929	Hoover, 1929–
Secretaries of State				
[1898] John Hay 1905 Elihu Root 1909 Robert Bacon	1909 P. C. Knox	1913 William J. Bryan 1915 Robert Lansing 1920 Bainbridge Colby	1921 C. E. Hughes 1925 F. B. Kellogg	1929 H. L. Stimson
Secretaries of the Treasury				
[1897] Lyman J. Gage 1902 Leslie M. Shaw 1907 G. B. Cortelyou	1909 Franklin McVeagh	1913 W. G. McAdoo 1918 Carter Glass 1920 D. F. Houston	1921 A. W. Mellon	1929 A. W. Mellon
Secretaries of War				
[1899] Elihu Root 1904 William H. Taft 1908 Luke E. Wright	1909 J. M. Dickinson 1911 H. L. Stimson	1913 L. M. Garrison 1916 Newton D. Baker	1921 John W. Weeks 1925 Dwight F. Davis	1929 James W. Good
Attorneys-General				
[1901] P. C. Knox 1904 W. H. Moody 1906 C. J. Bonaparte	1909 G. W. Wickersham	1913 J. C. McReynolds 1914 T. B. Gregory 1919 A. M. Palmer	1921 H. M. Daugherty 1924 Harlan F. Stone John G. Sargent	1929 W. D. Mitchell

MEMBERS OF RECENT CABINETS (CONTINUED)

ROOSEVELT, 1901–1909	TAFT, 1909–1913	WILSON, 1913–1921	HARDING, 1921–1923 COOLIDGE, 1923–1929	HOOVER, 1929–
		Secretaries of the Navy		
[1897] John D. Long 1902 W. H. Moody 1904 Paul Morton 1905 C. J. Bonaparte 1906 V. H. Metcalf 1908 T. H. Newberry	1909 G. von L. Meyer	1913 J. Daniels	1921 E. Denby 1924 C. D. Wilbur	1929 C. F. Adams
		Postmasters-General		
1901 Henry C. Payne 1904 R. J. Wynne 1905 G. B. Cortelyou 1907 G. von L. Meyer	1909 F. H. Hitchcock	1913 A. S. Burleson	1921 Will H. Hays 1922 Hubert Work 1923 Harry S. New	1929 W. F. Brown
		Secretaries of the Interior		
[1899] E. A. Hitchcock 1907 James R. Garfield	1909 R. A. Ballinger 1911 W. L. Fisher	1913 F. K. Lane 1920 John B. Payne	1921 Albert B. Fall 1923 Hubert Work 1928 Roy O. West	1929 R. L. Wilbur
		Secretaries of Agriculture		
[1897] James Wilson	[1897] James Wilson	1913 D. F. Houston 1920 E. T. Meredith	1921 H. C. Wallace 1924 H. M. Gore 1925 W. M. Jardine	1929 A. M. Hyde

MEMBERS OF RECENT CABINETS (CONTINUED)

ROOSEVELT, 1901–1909	TAFT, 1909–1913	WILSON, 1913–1921	HARDING, 1921–1923 COOLIDGE, 1923–1929	HOOVER, 1929–
Secretaries of Commerce and Labor				
1903 G. B. Cortelyou 1904 V. H. Metcalf 1906 Oscar Straus	1909 Charles Nagel			
Secretaries of Commerce				
		1913 W. C. Redfield 1919 J. W. Alexander	1921 H. C. Hoover 1928 W. F. Whiting	1929 R. P. Lamont
Secretaries of Labor				
		1913 W. B. Wilson	1921 J. J. Davis	1929 J. J. Davis

APPENDIX VI

MEMBERS OF THE SUPREME COURT, 1929

	Appointed by President
CHIEF JUSTICE	
William H. Taft	Harding, 1921
ASSOCIATE JUSTICES	
Oliver W. Holmes	Roosevelt, 1902
Willis Van Devanter	Taft, 1910
James C. McReynolds	Wilson, 1914
Louis D. Brandeis	Wilson, 1916
George Sutherland	Harding, 1922
Pierce Butler	Harding, 1922
Edward T. Sanford	Harding, 1923
Harlan F. Stone	Coolidge, 1925

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